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AND ART IN ITALY.
VOL. II.

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A HISTORY
OF
MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIANITY
AND
SACRED ART,
IN ITALY FROM 1350 TO 1400,
IN ROME FROM 1350 TO 1500.

BY
CHARLES ISIDORE HEMANS.

VOL. II.



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P R E F A C E.

IN the present volume is completed, so far at least as Rome and the Papacy are considered, my attempt to supply a historic sketch of the rise and vicissitudes of the Christian Church in Italy down to the last year of the fifteenth century. With that period, however, so vast a field, illumined by ever-productive genius and marked by extraordinary energies, opens before me, that I have found it necessary to extend the treatment of my subject beyond the limits at first proposed to myself, and undertake to prepare another small volume by way of Appendix to the present. The general aspects of religious life during that century in the Italian cities and regions have yet to be considered as entering into my theme; for I have here confined my attention mainly to Rome as the centre, and to the Supreme Pontificate as the chief representative, while scarcely glancing at the movements impelled by, or affecting, the religious principle and interest elsewhere in the course of the eventful epoch from A. D. 1400 to 1500. With such a subject before me as the Italian Church and Italian Art during the whole of that century—and seeing that the last should be the most important section of the work commenced by me

some years ago—it will be apparent to the reader that nothing like an adequate treatment can be supplied, even with the means at my disposal, in the compass of the few hundred pages here dedicated to it. I have desired to consider the Fine Arts of this country in their connexion with other expressions of thought, feeling, and faith, with the institutions, the literature, and worship of the land where their triumphs have been so illustrious. Strictly speaking, I may submit this volume to my readers as the completion of my undertaking with reference to the first fourteen centuries, but the commencement only of that part which refers to the fifteenth century of Christian civilization south of the Alps.

C. I. H.

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ERRATA.

Page 207, *for* Innocent VIII. *read* Innocent VII.

„ 302, *for* S. Mark, *read* S. Luke.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY : 1350 TO 1370.

DEVOTIONAL excitements, a fervour of re-awakened piety and zeal, the thronging of multitudes from all parts of western Europe to the City regarded as the centre of spiritual benefits—while that sacred City was at the same time a prey to anarchy and social disorder—such were the salient features of the picture presented by Italy and Rome at the period when this narrative begins. The Jubilee, instituted by Boniface VIII. for the first year of each century, had been appointed for the fiftieth year by Clement VI., in conformity with the urgent entreaties of the Romans, conveyed to Avignon by an embassy in which the two chief speakers were Petrarch and Cola di Rienzo. Pope Clement had yielded to the eloquently expressed desire of his Italian subjects, represented by two such able orators, and had granted a *second* Jubilee for each century, in consideration of the shortness of human life and the desirableness that each generation of mankind in Christendom might receive the chance, at least, of benefiting by the treasures of the Church, unlocked for the welfare of souls at that holy season.* Matteo Villani, our best authority

* The Bull of Pope Clement for this Jubilee assures the pilgrims who might die on their journey of eternal life, if their sins had been confessed ; and *commands* the angels to escort their souls from Purgatory into

for this celebration in 1350, tells of the discipline and order, the patience and good humour maintained among the pilgrims on their toilsome journey, begun in an unusually severe winter, along wretched roads, where such inns as then existed were far from sufficient to accommodate the ever-increasing crowd. The Germans and Hungarians, better able to endure cold than others, used to spend the nights in the fields, sleeping in the midst of circles of fire. After the caravans had entered the Roman States they were frequently attacked by brigands, who, not contented with robbery, sometimes murdered their victims. But here, too, were made benevolent exertions on behalf of the pilgrims, and respectable natives of those provinces kept guard along the highways by night. The pilgrims themselves administered summary justice on the criminals they were able to seize. When they left inns, where the host had had no time to keep accounts, they used to place the sum due on the table, and none (we are assured) would touch that money before it came into the proper hands.

Ill did the conduct of the Romans correspond to this piety, so laudably united with honesty and good faith! The police of the city was bad as possible. The market-prices were arbitrarily fixed by those interested; articles

Paradise: "Item concedimus quod si veré confessus in via moriatur, ab omnibus peccatis suis sit immunis et penitus absolutus. Et nihilominus prorsùs mandamus Angelis Paradisi quatenus animam illius à Purgatorio penitus absolutum in Paradisi gloriam introducant." Not only monks, but nuns are urged to undertake this pilgrimage; the latter, however, only with consent from their superiors, whilst those who remain in their convents are enjoined to say the whole Psalter for their wayfaring sisters. The Churches where the indulgence was to be obtained, in Rome, were S. Peter's, the Lateran, and the Ostian (S. Paul's) basilica. Villani tells us that all the pilgrims offered money, according to their means (*chi poco, e chi assai, come gli pareva*), every time they went for the prescribed devotions to those basilicas.

of food were monopolized; the only accommodation the strangers obtained in houses where they lodged was a wretched bed; food for themselves and their horses had to be sought elsewhere.* A Cardinal Legate, sent for the occasion from Avignon, could win neither respect nor obedience, though he kept up a degree of pomp and exercised an authority not less than might have satisfied the spiritual and temporal Sovereign himself. He resided at the Vatican; sat in judgment over all causes, ecclesiastical and civil; distributed offices and dignities; published indulgences, threatened penalties; celebrated pontifical High Mass with not less splendour than did the Pope; and when he rode from his palace to churches, his passage was proclaimed by sound of silver trumpets. One day when he went with his usual retinue to S. Paul's basilica, he was shot at with the arrows of a cross-bow from a paltry house, and one of two arrows, thus aimed at him, pierced his hat. His attendants rushed into the house, found the cross-bow, but not one of the inmates, who had escaped by a back-door or window. The terrified Cardinal was little consoled by the only punishment that could be inflicted—the instant demolishing of that deserted house. On another occasion some scuffle occurred between his servants and the people, who were crowding into the court of his palace to see a camel,—the curiosity he had brought with him from France. From a trifle this disturbance rose into furious tumult; the inhabitants of the Borgo quarter armed

* "The Romans, in order to profit irregularly, whilst they were able to afford everything in abundance and at cheap price to the pilgrims, kept up the dearness of bread, and wine, and meat for the whole year; and prevented the merchants from importing either foreign wine, or corn, or oats, so that they (the citizens) might sell their own provisions dearer."—*M. Villani*, Cronica, c. lvi.

in revolt, ready to attack the Vatican. They were finally pacified by the firmness and influence of the Commendator of the S. Spirito Hospital; and the Legate, witnessing this scene from a balcony, made the remark, natural enough, "that the Romans themselves were to blame for the prolonged absence of their Pontiffs;" also, that "the poorest parish priest at Avignon was more to be envied than the greatest prelate at Rome." That Cardinal, named Ceccano, soon left for Naples, and died, on his journey thither, at a village near S. Germano. His body was brought to Rome in a coffin slung on the back of a mule, and thrown into the vault of his family-chapel at S. Peter's, without funeral rites or attendant mourners.

We read of the intense eagerness and dangerous pressure of multitudes at the Roman basilicas. Every Sunday and festival the "Volto Santo" used to be exhibited at S. Peter's, and on those occasions not a few—sometimes so many as twelve—persons at a time were left dead, trampled under the feet of thousands, at the doors. The number of pilgrims (if we may accept Villani's report) exceeded that which had filled Rome in 1300: throughout Lent and Easter-week, 1,200,000; at the festivals of Ascension and Pentecost, 800,000; and during the rest of the year, 200,000. Among the devout throng came Petrarch—his third visit here, assuredly less pleasant to himself than his former sojourns at Rome, for all his friends of the Colonna house were no more; and it is probable that the melancholy impressions he now received may have been uppermost in his mind when he urged on Pope Urban V. the duty of restoring the Holy See to its proper centre, representing the unhappy conditions of this City as resulting from the injuries caused by the pontifical exile. Cola di Rienzo also came, probably incognito, but discovered before long; and the Cardinal Legate suspected him (with-

out any proof), of the attempt against his life above-mentioned. The Legate denounced Rienzo to the Pope, while thus unjustly accusing him; and it is probable that this led the ex-tribune to leave Rome and Italy, in order to seek that protection from the German King, Charles IV, which resulted in his betrayal to pontific authorities and imprisonment at Avignon. There were great personages who desired the indulgences without the pilgrimage of the Jubilee year; but Clement VI. refused the exceptional favour, even, in one instance, to royalty, when a King of Cyprus applied. At last, however, he yielded so far as to allow an Archbishop of Bari to extend those spiritual benefits with dispensation to thirty individuals who, not having visited Rome, were ready to advance sums, at the disposal of the Pope, for charitable or pious objects, and equivalent to the costs of such a journey. Towards the end of the year, when the period for obtaining indulgences was abridged, tumults broke out at Rome; the large profits, gained from the pilgrims, only stimulated the avarice and perhaps excited the restless spirit of the turbulent citizens. The two senators then in office, a Colonna and an Orsini, were powerless to still the tempest. The Vicar of the Pope, Ponzio, Bishop of Orvieto, who had garrisoned the Capitol in his Sovereign's name, was opposed by the Colonnas and their faction. Jacopo Savelli made himself master by force of the public palace on that hill, while Stefanello Colonna seized the adjacent tower of the Conti. General anarchy ensued; the streets were filled with a lawless mob; brigands and robbers committed outrages at the gates. At last, on the day after Christmas, 1351, a reaction against the aristocratic ascendancy ensued. An esteemed citizen, named Giovanni di Cerroni, was urged to accept the office of chief magistrate. Savelli was compelled, or found it prudent, to give up the Capitoline palace; and

Cerroni was elected Rector and Senator by unanimous votes of the people on the Capitol.

The Papal Vicar ratified this choice after the Senator had sworn fealty to the Pontiff. For a time, Cerroni's authority was efficiently enforced and obeyed. In the spring of 1352, an expedition against Viterbo and the turbulent Del Vico, lord of that city, was undertaken, but without success; and this discomfiture injured the credit of Cerroni. He resolved to retire from office. The struggle between those who supported and those who opposed him gave rise to combat and bloodshed. The Senator fled to the Abruzzi mountains. The people elected two other Senators, Stefanello Colonna and Bertoldo Orsini, and no Papal ratification was sought for. It appears that the Bishop of Orvieto threatened the ban of the Church against these unauthorized magistrates, but that his menaces were disregarded.

The contributions from the devout pilgrims were absorbed by the hiring of troops in a war for the restoration of Papal government in Romagna, and other provinces lost by the Holy See. The Archbishop of Milan, the Pepoli and Este, lords of Bologna and Ferrara, and Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona, supplied money or troops, or both, for this campaign in behalf of the enfeebled sovereignty of the Popes, whose absence at Avignon had well-nigh cost the total loss of their States in Italy. The political condition of the States nominally pertaining to the Church displayed signs and portents of dissolution. The origin of the temporal power of the Popes, in the VIII. century, was, strictly speaking, popular, and in the highest degree honourable to the Supreme Priests who had been led from the altar to the throne, and urged to wield the sceptre, as well as the crozier, by the respectful persuasion of their fellow-citizens. But subsequent donations from Princes, and the arbitrary bestowal of cities and provinces on the tiara, had founded

a fabric wanting the elements of genuine strength, though indeed destined for long endurance. In 1375, eighty towns and fortified places threw off their allegiance to the Pope, in the course of a few days. The means used for recovering lost possessions by the agents of the Pontificate, in this century, were sometimes more compromising than defeat. Cardinals were seen at the head of armies, which they led to the siege and sack of cities, and in some instances allowed to commit every outrage that disgraced warfare in the Middle Ages. The carnage at Cesena, ordered (or at least sanctioned) by the Cardinal of Geneva—which we shall have to notice farther in these pages—is a horror-striking example of the contradiction between the principles of the Church and the acts of pontifical government.

Benedict XII, assuming the right to administer the Imperial States during the vacancy of the German throne, affected to bestow on the Lombardic princes the territories they had already reduced under their sway. In return the Bavarian Louis, Emperor elect, but never recognised as such by the Popes, retaliated by sanctioning the occupation of provinces and cities, lawfully pertaining to the Holy See, by numerous usurpers, whose authority had thus the pretence of imperial ratification. The Malatestas became recognised lords of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano; the Polenta family of Ravenna; the Montefeltro of Urbino; the Ordelaifi of Forli and Cesena; the Gabrielli of Gubbio; the Alidosi of Imola. Gentile da Fabriano obtained almost independent sway at Camerino: Buonconti de' Monaldeschi held undisputed lordship over Orvieto after he had caused two colleagues to be put to death. Bologna, the city next in importance and grandeur to Rome, was effectually ruled over by Taddeo de' Pepoli, though he satisfied himself with the title of Vicar of the Church, and was pledged to an annual tribute of 8000 *lire*. At Faenza resided a Papal

Governor, with the rank of Count of Romagna; but the occupant of this office, Hector de Durfort, a relative of Clement VI., was obliged to share his authority with the Manfredi, the principal family of the place; and in 1350 the French Count was violently expelled from Faenza by Francesco Ordelaffi, lord of Cesena, and another Manfredi, lord of Forli. It was this provocation that induced Pope Clement to undertake the war, which begun with an expedition, commanded by the same Durfort, against Faenza—May, 1351. The Pepoli and the Alidosi sided with the pontific leaders. But the Count of Romagna suspected the fidelity of Giovanni de' Pepoli (son of the lately deceased Taddeo), and caused him to be treacherously arrested. He was soon released, owing to a revolt among the discontented and ill-paid troops under the Count's command. Such ill-advised proceeding naturally made an enemy of one disposed to be a powerful friend. Giovanni de' Pepoli soon afterwards sold Bologna with its province for 200,000 gold florins to the Archbishop Visconti, now absolute lord of Milan. The general decline of ecclesiastical government, under the Avignonese Popes, is noticed in language and tone almost comic by a chronicler of Arezzo in his metrical history of that city, extending from 1310 to 1384. He supposes himself a father thus addressing his son :

Dimmi, figliuol, s'avesse mai creduto
Ch'l gran poter ch'avia la Chiesa Santa,
Fosse in sì breve tempo caduto ?
De la Marca, Romagna, tutto quanta,
Del Ducato Perosgia, e Patrimonio
Si subito la Chiesa se ha smanta.

The conditions of Rome at this period have been, perhaps, represented in colours of exaggerated gloom. Contemporary writers indeed accord in depicting dismal realities, the consequences of licentious violence, unstable govern-

ment, unchecked crimes and outrages. An able historian, whose works throw light on many mediæval pictures, Von Reumont, rejects the tradition that the Roman population had sunk so low as 17,000 during the absence of the Popes; and we must agree with him if the statement can be admitted, that when Henry VII. visited this city in 1312, the one region which alone adhered to him, whilst other civic wards opposed him, could supply 10,000 combatants; that (as also stated by chroniclers), fifty years later, the people, apart from the Barons and their factions, could bring 22,000 armed men into the field. (?) The total number of Clergy in Rome, about this period, was 758 of the secular, 317 of the regular order; the nuns, 471; and the hospitalers, devoted to the care of the sick, 97. The churches, all included, were 424, among which eleven ranked as basilicas, 252 as parochial; 20, formerly privileged as abbatial, having passed into other hands or lost their privileges; and 44 churches are described as either ruinous or shut up and totally neglected.*

In the spring of 1353, the high prices of grain were the provocation or pretext of a revolt. Two Senators, an Orsini and a Colonna, then in office, became the mark for popular fury, and examples of the hard fate of those who attempted to control these turbulent citizens. With the customary cry, "Popolo, Popolo!" a multitude rushed to the Capitol, and threw stones at the windows of the palace where those officials then were. Colonna escaped, assuming mean disguise, and causing himself to be let down by a cord from a back window. Bertoldo Orsini, less fortunate though more courageous, appeared in armour amidst the angry crowd, and descended the stairs of the Capitoline hill, hoping to mount his horse and fly. Before he could pro-

* These statistics are given more at full by Von Reumont; and I have inserted them in the volume of which the present forms a sequel, p. 535.

ceed far he was struck by stones, obliged to turn back, and, while attempting to regain the palace, fell before an image of the Madonna, under the shower of stones which inflicted the death he met in silence. The Capitoline palace was seized by the armed people, who drove away the retainers of the patrician Senators. Presently was elected by popular acclamation an experienced citizen named Francesco Baroncelli, who had been senatorial secretary, and was now installed as Tribune. A multitude escorted him to the Capitol with the banners of the city, of the Caporioni, and also one displaying the image of the Virgin. He exercised his office well and vigorously, though but for a brief period, and was never recognised by the Pope.

Before proceeding farther we may consider the peculiarities of the municipal system in Rome during the absence of the Popes. The Senator, who, according to recognised rights, was nominated by the Pope, or by his Legate, held chief authority, was the highest administrator of justice, and from the year 1358 united to his office that of Captain of the People. From the same date it was invariably required that he should be a stranger, *i. e.* an Italian not of Roman birth, nor related to any of the great Roman families. His office was originally shared by two persons (like the Consulate of old), and held for one year; later it was held but by one at a time, and for only half a year. The two Senators associated together, for one year, received 3000 gold florins each. In 1340 the same salary was settled on them for the period now limited to six months of office. This appointment was afterwards reduced to 1800, and finally to 1500 gold florins. The six Judges of the Capitol, "Judices Palatini," were the assessors of the Senator. Five Notaries, two Sergeants, each with four assistants and eight servants, who wore a fantastic striped livery, swelled the retinue of the Senator. From 1358 he

was also assisted by a board of "Riformatori," seven in number. Next in honour, and by many degrees superior in authority, were the "Caporioni," thirteen magistrates, who had command over troops, had power over life and death, and represented the civic "Rioni" (or wards) of the same number. Their Prior, or president, was elected among themselves. They are said to have been constituted as a privileged magistracy, A.D. 958, in the time of Pope John XII.; but were called Decurions in earlier ages, probably till 1370, when they acquired a new name—"Banderesi"—the origin of which is thus accounted for: in that year the Florentines, suspecting the Legate of Bologna of hostile co-operation with the citizens of Prato against their Republic, endeavoured to excite revolt in the cities lately re-subjected to the Papacy by another Legate's exertions. For this purpose they sent to each of those cities certain banners with the word "Libertas" inscribed in gold letters.* The symbol was received by the Romans with enthusiastic joy; and such banners were distributed to each of the thirteen wards, and hung before the houses of the Decurions. Hence those magistrates took their new title. Their attributions were subsequently developed: they were charged with the preservation of public order, the suppression of tumults, and the guarding, or general police, of the city; and they had under their command a civic militia, 3000 strong. Essentially democratic was the principle of this constitution, notwithstanding the fact that Rome submitted, theoretically, to despotic sovereigns. Before laws and edicts proposed by the Senator could have force, or be formally published, the people were summoned to the Capitol by herald and sound

* A shield with that inscription appears amidst the painted heraldry under the machicolations of the grand old Palazzo della Signoria at Florence.

of bell, to give their suffrages by vote. They were represented by two Councils, one general, one special; the former composed of various classes, and of members chosen by lot; the latter invested with greater authority, and formed, it seems, of persons who held other appointments, as the seven "Riformatori," all entitled to sit in that Council.

A senatorial procession in these times was one of those mediæval pageants that might figure on the page of historic romance; and it seems that the shows of outward pomp were especially desired in Rome, where they formed singular contrast to the severe simplicity of antique manners and observances in that City of the Seven Hills. Escorted by many officials, and followed by pages, sergeants, trumpeters, mounted guards, came the Senator riding on a white palfrey caparisoned in crimson velvet, with fringes and tassels of silk and gold; that high functionary himself attired in a long robe of crimson velvet fastened with gold buttons, doublet of gold brocade curiously plaited and lined with ermine, mantelet (or cape) of ermine, scarlet hose, ducal cap of gold brocade lined with ermine, and shoes of red velvet with gold buckles; white doe-skin gloves with gold embroidery; on his fingers three gold rings, set with a diamond, a ruby, and an emerald; in his hand a gold wand, with ball and cross at the summit. The Banderesi appeared in robes of crimson velvet with short sleeves, lined with blue silk and embroidered with gold, doublet of purple satin, ducal caps of crimson velvet, hoses with one leg scarlet, the other red and yellow, red velvet shoes, and a white wand in the hand; the Prior distinguished by a robe called *laticlave*, of purple velvet, lined with ermine; all riding on horses whose trappings were of green velvet, embroidered with silver and gold, with tassels and fringes also golden. Six pages, bearing banners, preceded them.

The Judges of the Capitoline Court came in long robes, silk and velvet, of graver hue ; besides pages, trumpeters, minor officials, came fifty armed men on horseback ; and the procession was completed by two bands of musicians, in all sixteen persons, eight of whom sang, and eight played on instruments.*

The Banderesi merged at last into the "Caporioni," of the same number, who continued to represent the thirteen wards. Even in modern times, and under the fully developed absolutism of the Popes, these officials retained a remnant and shadow of their ancient attributions. During the vacancy of the throne, they enrolled troops, became responsible for public safety ; and when informed of the Pontiff's decease, that Caporioni in whose ward was situated the public prisons, went with banners and guards, and beat of drum, to liberate the captives, according to the somewhat perilous precedents of clemency on those occasions. During the period of "Sede Vacante," each Caporioni had the banner of his ward floating before his official residence.

No Roman citizen could be a "Judex Palatinus," or assessor of the Senator ; but the post of Senatorial Secretary was usually held by a Roman of respectability, sometimes of the minor patrician class. In 1380, we find a painter and a notary among the Banderesi, while four of the second-class nobility held office among their counselors.

The year 1362 proved stormy in Rome. The Senator,

* See for all these and many more particulars of costume, "Order and Magnificence of the Roman Magistrates in the time the Pontific Court was at Avignon," edited from a Vatican MS. by Muratori, "Antiq. Ital. Med." *Dissert.* 29, l. 33. It should be added that, according to other traditions, the Decurions took the title of Banderesi so early as 1262, in the time of Urban IV. Their original designation was derived from "Decuria," a civic region.

Cancelliere (of a well-known Pistoian house) was driven away; his office being abolished, and all the aristocratic families alike expelled. One Lello Pocadota, a shoemaker, was chosen to act as chief magistrate, with the seven *Riformatori* as his assessors. But these nominations did not last long. Several exiles joined a company of disbanded soldiers, Italians and Germans, called "*Compagnia del Cappelletto*," from their standard, a cap at the point of a lance. After laying waste the territory of Arezzo, these adventurers entered the province of the Patrimony. Panic prevailed in Rome, where it was feared they might venture to attack the city itself. Foreign soldiers, Germans and Hungarians, were recruited to assist the civic militia; and a force of 22,000 is said, (probably with exaggeration), to have been under arms within the walls. The marauders, however, did not approach nearer; but the effect of this alarm was such that the revolutionized system came to an end; Lello Pocadota, erroneously reported to have been slain in a skirmish, actually disappeared; the citizens submitted to the Pope, only making the condition that the Legate Albornoz should have no more control over them.

In 1361, Hugo de Lusignan, titular King of Cyprus, was appointed Senator by Innocent VI. The Pope's brief to the Roman magistrates, on this occasion, contains the following details, but too well confirmed by other testimony: "In your city, justice is subverted; concord banished; domestic hostilities lead to continual tumults, the violence of which is daily increasing." In another brief, of earlier date, from Clement VI., is noticed the neglect of religious rites and the abandonment of Rome's churches. The same Pontiff, who sent 14,000 gold florins for public works, and other things requisite in this capital, complains that S. Maria Nuova, the church he assigned to the Olivetan monks, who still officiate there, was neglected by the two canons alone

left of the dispersed chapter, and that those who had charge of that sacred building, now no longer a place of worship, were reprobates, "guilty of murder and other crimes."

In an address of the Roman magistrates to Gregory XI., urging him to settle with his Court in their city, they represented that "the cardinalitial churches are abandoned by those who receive their titles and honours from them; are left so desolate as to be without roofs and doors; their walls dilapidated; their interiors open to flocks and herds, which often stray in for pasture up to their very altars!" Such was the state of the Lateran, after having been twice on fire in this century, when Petrarch saw it in 1350. That writer reprobates the Vandalism of those who used to demolish Rome's antique edifices for the sake of selling their marbles. "After (he says) overthrowing the triumphal arches, from which, perhaps, they had already torn down the statues of their ancestors, they have not been ashamed to traffic with the relics of antiquity for the sake of a miserable gain, and for their own dishonour."*

* Petrarch infers that many such classic spoils went to adorn new buildings at Naples: "De vestris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum—desidiosa Neapolis adornatur." The poet's fine Canzone, "Spirito gentil," addressed to Rienzo, describes the manner in which sacred edifices were habitually profaned at Rome. He supposes the Saints to look down with sorrow from their celestial abode on such profanation of their earthly temples:

E se cosa di qua nel ciel si cura,
L'anime che lassù son cittadine,
Ed hanno i corpi abbandonati in terra,
Del lungo odio civil ti pregan fine,
Per cui la gente ben non s' assecura,
Onde 'l cammin a' lor tetti si serra,
Che fur già si devoti, ed ora in guerra
Quasi spelonca di ladron son fatti,
Tal ch' a' buon solamente uscio si chiude:
E trà gli altari, e tra le statue ignude

Those classical monuments which still stood erect, however decayed, were in great part buried under ground, or concealed by other buildings; and the strange mistakes of the learned Petrarch himself as to their origin or character, lead us to conclude that the epigraphs, still distinctly legible on their fronts, must at this time have been concealed by the barbaric fortresses, or other enormities in brickwork, thrown up against or around them—as were undoubtedly the arches of Titus and Severus, and the quadruple archway of Janus, on which structures some remnants of ponderous brick towers were to be seen in modern times. The Mausoleum of Augustus, long held as a fortress by the Colonnas, was now dismantled. The theatre of Marcellus was in like manner held and defended by the Savelli. The Forum and Capitol were encumbered by grim fortresses, which looked down in stern defiance, whilst they announced the prevalent contempt for classical antiquity. The Thermæ were probably less injured than other antique structures, because less suitable for purposes of fortification. The Colosseum, fortified and held by one baronial family after another, was better cared for since it had passed under the jurisdiction of the magistrates. Henry VII., during his stay here (1312), compelled the Annibaldeschi, its then owners, to abandon the castle they had built within its walls. In 1349 these and other ruins were much injured by earthquake, and the scattered material thus thrown down at the amphitheatre was offered for sale. About the same time it was that the chief baronial families began to use that ruined amphitheatre as the common quarry for the travertine or brick they wanted for

Ogn' impresa crudel par che si tratti.

Deh quanto diversi atti !

Ne' senza squillo s'incomincia assalto,

Che per Dio ringraziar fur poste in alto.

their own buildings; but this practice was probably checked, owing to the cession made by the magistrates of the ground-floor arcades as wards for the Lateran hospital of S. John.

We must conclude that the Rome of the XIV. century presented nothing like the architectural style, character, or grouping of the scene now before us, save at the centres most distinguished by classical antiquities. Not one inhabitable building, palace, castle, or monastery then stood in the same condition as at this day; still less any street or public place. Even among churches the few then characterized by the same leading features, in their principal masses at least, as at present, may be counted in a single line: S. Maria in Trastevere, Aracoeli on the Capitol, S. Stefano Rotondo, S. Sabina and S. Sabba on the Aventine, and the extramural S. Lorenzo. Eight churches are said to have been built in Rome during this century; but I believe we cannot make out this number without including the restorations, more or less complete, of those injured by fire or otherwise reduced to ruin. And the Campagna—now in desolate solitude, monotonous, but so impressive in its harmony with the memories of the “Niobe of Nations”—the Campagna was in those times devastated by frequent war, disturbed by military tumult, and overspread by a gloom different indeed, as to cause and effects, from the silent melancholy which there reigns at the present day. Petrarch best describes such realities in a letter to his friend Giovanni Colonna, written from the castle of another friend, Orso, Count d’Anguillara, at Capranica, where the writer took refuge, was indeed under the necessity of remaining, for many days, owing to the feud between the Orsini and Colonna, which then spread terror and tumult over this region, and prevented his pro-

ceeding on the last stage of his journey to Rome in 1336—Petrarch's first visit to this capital.*

The French Popes, and their Court at Avignon, cannot be passed over in our review of the state of Italy during the period of the so-called Babylonian Exile—that desertion of their see by the Pontiffs which Muratori considers as, together with the incessant wars during this time, the principal cause of “the general corruption of morals then prevailing throughout Italy.” (*Annali*, an. 1373.) That ecclesiastical Court on the banks of the Rhone was a source of scandals; the growing and long-permitted abuses within its sphere were an offence to conscience, an opprobrium to the Christianity of the age. Illustrious writers denounced and deplored; saintly men and women threatened the wrath of God against these patent evils. Not, however, that the personal character of the crowned High Priests who sat at Avignon was generally reprehensible. On the contrary, there were, among the seven who reigned in France

* “Peace alone is banished from these regions, whether through the guilt of the people, through a decree of Heaven, or the wrath of Fate and evil influences of the stars, I know not. The shepherd keeps watch by his flock in arms, less anxious to defend them against wolves than against robbers. The husbandman, wearing a cuirass, drives his oxen to labour with a spear instead of a goad. The fowler covers himself with a shield as he draws his nets; the fisherman fastens his bait to a lance. Water is drawn from the deep wells in a rusty casque instead of a pail. In a word, every man here is armed at all times. At night one hears from the walls the challenge of the sentinel and the cry to arms. There is no safety, no word of peace, no impulse of humanity for the inhabitants of this region: all breathes war, enmity, and passionate hate. Here have I been staying, half with half against my will, for sixteen days; and whilst the soldiery are hastening, summoned by the din of trumpets, to battle, I roam over the hills in solitude. All wonder to see me unarmed and heedless, as much as I wonder at their continual agitations.”

over the Church, men of sanctified life, against whose morals and example contemporary biographers bring no charge. We possess several histories of them by writers of their time, no doubt trustworthy; seven of John XXII., eight of Benedict XII., six of Clement VI., four of Urban V. (vi. Baluze.) The two Villani are indeed less favourable witnesses as to the conduct and character of some among these Pontiffs. Matteo says of Clement VI. that "he filled the Church with Cardinals, his own relatives, some of whom were so young and addicted to such disreputable courses that the consequences were most abominable." Yet another chronicler calls the same Pope, "a model of modesty and exemplar of piety."

As to his unfortunate choice of Cardinals, the Augustinian Luigi Marsigli declares that they were "avaricious, dissolute, importunate, and shameless Limousins"—being in the plurality, if not all, natives of that province. At Avignon was introduced the system of the reservation of bishoprics and benefices; also that of "commenda," or bestowal of abbacies and other preferments upon clerics not bound to residence, sometimes even upon laymen, who naturally cared for nothing but the revenues they were thus entitled to. The "Annates," originally limited to the smaller benefices, were extended by John XXII. to all preferments the disposal of which was claimed by the Holy See, thus being imposed a tax from every vacant post in the Church for the benefit of the Papacy. Spiritual supremacy became a vast and complicated scheme for financial aggrandisement! The nomination of bishops and abbots was taken from the Chapters, and appropriated by the Popes. The issue of commendatory letters for future appointment to benefices not yet vacant, by Papal behest, was carried to the utmost extent. The creating of new bishoprics led to a general breaking up of the ancient dioceses; and the transfer of

prelates from one see to another became more and more frequent. A new source of revenue, which promised to be inexhaustible, was opened by the exacting of tithes on ecclesiastical property in different countries for the benefit of the Holy See, and often for the furtherance of purely mundane interests, especially for the wars the Pontiffs were so frequently engaged in. Not only were *reserves* and *expectatives* continually multiplied, but the same benefice was sometimes bestowed on different persons, as each in succession offered a higher price for it. Cardinals attached to the Curia were now allowed to hold bishoprics, in whatever country, without obligation of residence; and the accumulation of pluralities reached a climax, one example of which we have in the case of the nephew of Clement VI., who became Pope as Gregory XI. Made Cardinal by his uncle at the age of seventeen, he held at the same time preferment as Archdeacon of three cathedral churches (Canterbury among the rest), Canon of two chapters, and Provost of another church, yet never received priest's orders till after his election to the Papacy!* The French Pontiffs could not emancipate themselves from thralldom to the French crown; and vacant mitres, in that country, had to be bestowed according to royal, rather than Papal, preference. We are not surprised to find the heroic but simple-minded Catherine of Siena admonishing Gregory XI. that the *stench* of corruptions in the Curia had reached her even at her native town among the Tuscan mountains; for that Saint believed herself possessed of the unenviable faculty of discerning the existence of vices by their offen-

* "The Roman Court became the universal head of all authorities and institutions in the Church. The inevitable consequence was to cripple the pastoral administration, whether parochial or diocesan, and introduce a general state of religious disease and decay; bishops and parish priests withdrawing more and more from their pastoral charges."—

sive smell! Dante declared that while worthless Pontiff's sat in the chair of S. Peter, that throne was *vacant* in the sight of God! and Petrarch saw in the Papal residence on the Rhone the mystic Babylon of the Apocalypse:—

L'avara Babilonia ha colmo 'l sacco
D'ira di Dio, e di vizi empi e rei,
Tanto che scoppia; ed ha fatti suoi Dei,
Non Giove e Palla, ma Venere e Bacco!

Terrible is the chastisement inflicted by the never-forgotten denunciations of Genius; and vain was the effort of Pope Pius V. to stifle the testimony of that Poet by ordering the suppression of the Sonnets against Avignon in future editions of his works.

Such scandals in the Church had their natural effect in the intellectual and political spheres. Long maintained ecclesiastical immunities were now encroached on; the prerogatives of the privileged caste began to be interfered with. At Florence, the clergy were subjected to the same taxation, and made amenable to the same tribunals as the laity. At Genoa, ecclesiastics were excluded from all public employments. At Venice, the regular clergy were required to take part in the defence of the State during the war of that republic with the Genoese; and those able-bodied monks who refused to take arms in the cause were expelled. At Turin was passed a statute to check "the iniquity, pride, and immoderate avarice of the clergy."—(*Super iniquitate, superbiâ et immoderata avaritiâ cleri et presbyterorum.*) At Pistoia, it was decreed that ecclesiastics should forfeit all claim on family-property, and could only apply to their kindred for assistance in the way of charitable succour. At Perugia, an official was appointed (1319) expressly to watch over the conduct of the clergy; and it was proposed that no letters should be forwarded to the Pope, not even by the bishop of the diocese, without the municipal seal being affixed.

After the death of Clement VI., was elected Stephen d'Albert of Limoges, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Innocent VI. (1352-62). During the interregnum the Cardinals passed a regulation to which all pledged themselves by oath—though some added the condition “if conformable to law”—obliging the new Pope and all his successors neither to create, depose, nor subject to censures any Cardinal without consent of at least two-thirds of the Sacred College; never to alienate or bestow as a fief, under condition of tribute, any city, castle, or territory of the Holy See, without similar consent from that cardinalitial body; to cede to the Cardinals one half of the revenues, taxes, &c. accruing to the Roman Church—other less important obligations being included in the prospective arrangements here prescribed. The elected, one of those Cardinals who had only signed conditionally, abolished this entire regulation by bull, the year after he had been raised to the Papal throne. Innocent VI. was an exemplary man, of austere devout life, and always animated by pure intentions; not learned or particularly enlightened, indeed, if we may judge from the fact that he suspected Petrarch of practising the black art, because knowing him to be an enthusiastic admirer of Virgil! “Whatever the cause (says the innocent poet himself), it is certain that he affirmed I was a magician, nor was ashamed to adduce, as proof thereof, that I had read and continued to read Virgil.”—(*Lettere Senile IV*—Le Monnier edition.) He energetically undertook the task of cleansing the Augæan stable of abuses by which the Church was compromised and the Curia disgraced. Scarcely had he been crowned when he enjoined on all bishops and beneficed clergy, then in his court, to return to their dioceses and parishes under pain of excommunication. He suspended an immense number of reserves, commendas,

and expectatives granted by Clement VI.; retrenched the expenses of his palace and domestics; endeavoured also to check the excessive luxuries of the Cardinals. Economical and self-denying in his private life, he was liberal in the furtherance of political undertakings and public works. He caused Avignon, hitherto an open city, to be surrounded by strong walls, with moats, including space sufficient for new buildings, gardens, orchards, &c. He spent enormous sums (*pecunias infinitas*) for the recovery by armed force of the States lost to the Pontificate. In 1353 he appointed as Legate for the Papal States, an individual well chosen for the arduous task of re-subjecting, whether by force or policy, the many cities and provinces which had cast off their allegiance to the Holy See—Gil Alvarez Carillo Albornoz, a Spaniard descended from the Kings of Aragon and Leon. While still young, this person had been raised (1337) to the Archbishopric of Toledo, and had, even in that capacity, distinguished himself as a warrior in the campaigns against the Moors. After the great victory of the Christians over the Moslems, on the field of Tarifa (1340), Alfonso XI. of Castille desired to receive knighthood from the hands of this warlike Prelate. Under the reign of Peter the Cruel, Albornoz had been obliged to quit Spain, and repaired to Avignon, where his talents were soon recognised, being rewarded by the Cardinal's hat in 1350. Whilst in Italy he was, we are assured, either loved or feared wherever known. Besides indefatigable energies, he did not want the more attractive qualities of magnanimity, learning, affability. Unblemished in moral life, he seems a perfect type of the warrior and statesman-priest of the XIV century, in whom the union of essentially opposed and apparently irreconcilable professions and functions, the most singular contrast between individual pro-

clivities and the sacred career chosen, gave no offence to the religious feeling of the age.*

The Legate was either accompanied, or soon followed, on his journey from France to Italy by another celebrated person whom we have lost sight of since his mysterious appearance at Rome during the Jubilee of 1350—Cola di Rienzo. The former Tribune had been, after hospitable entertainment for a time at the Court of Charles IV. at Prague, delivered up, as suspected of heresy, to the Archbishop of that See; and after several months of close confinement in the Bohemian fortress of Raudvitz, been finally consigned to Papal authorities, and led into Avignon (July, 1352), a captive, on foot, guarded by two archers, though not chained.† Soon afterwards he was brought to trial for heresy, before commissioners nominated by the Pope. Petrarch appealed earnestly to the Romans on behalf of one to whom they owed so much—"Your former Tribune, now a prisoner in a foreign land, and obliged to defend his cause in chains like a thief or traitor—the man whose counsels and acts once filled not only Rome, but all Italy, with joyful hopes." Rienzo was found guilty, and confined in a tower of the Papal palace. But Clement VI. was too enlightened, and too much a man of the world to treat such an illustrious captive with insulting harshness. He allowed him the solace of books, the Scriptures, and his favourite historian, Titus Livius; and after a time released him from confinement, though not giving him

* A writer, edited by Baluze, says of him: "In factis armorum, non ommissa pontificali decentiâ, doctus et expertus."

† The contemporary biography, edited by Muratori, and with ample annotations by Zefferino Re, in a later edition, says that Rienzo was absolved and appointed Senator of Rome by the Pope in July, 1353, and that he quitted Avignon together with Albornoz in the next month. Von Reumont ("Geschichte der Stadt Rom") supposes that he followed the Legate into Italy, and joined him at Montefiascone.

permission to quit Avignon, where he still remained under certain restraints. Innocent VI. not only absolved this distinguished exile from all ecclesiastical censures, but appointed him Senator of Rome, and announced to the people of that city, in a brief, 16th September, 1353, the delivery of "their fellow-citizen, the knight and nobleman, Cola di Rienzo;" enjoining on them to receive him with good will, and strenuously co-operate with him for the rescue of their city from its deeply-fallen fortunes, opposing firm resistance to domestic and foreign foes.

Albornoz was received with honours in Lombardy; but when he reached Bologna, he found the gates shut against him. In the (nominally) Ecclesiastical States he found, besides Rome, but two insignificant towns, Montefiascone, near Viterbo, and Montefalco, in the Spoleto province, still loyal to the Papacy and unoccupied by usurpers. A deputation from the Romans, which greeted him at Montefiascone, bore the voluntary submission of that people to the Papal sovereignty, and invited the Legate to come among them as their patron and as recognised representative of the Pontiff; at the same time offering to assist him in arms against Giovanni di Vico, lord of Viterbo, who had made himself master of almost the entire province of the Patrimony, and also of Terni, Narni, and Orvieto. The Romans had recently overthrown the ephemeral authority entrusted by the popular voice to their new tribune, Baroncelli, who was assassinated. Albornoz published the ban of the Church against Di Vico, and all other usurpers of her temporal dominions. That antagonist offered terms of peace, but soon violated the engagements made with the Legate; and the latter proceeded to declare his forfeiture of the cities he had possessed, Viterbo and Toscanella. Di Vico took refuge in Orvieto. The Legate besieged that rock-built town, so singularly fortified by nature, and was soon successful, for the haughty enemy

of the Pope deemed it prudent to submit, surrendered the city, and threw himself at the feet of Albornoſ, craving forgiveness. His example was ſoon followed by Gentile da Migliano, lord of Fermo, who ſpontaneouſly gave up that city in an interview with the Legate at Foligno—another town already re-subjected to the tiara. The ex-ruler of Fermo was appointed Gonfaloniere of the Church in reward of his ſubmiſſion. Next was undertaken the ſiege of Viterbo, which laſted about two months (May and June, 1354). It was whiſt the pontifical army was before thoſe walls that the Roman troops marched to aſſiſt there ; and Roman deputies came to requeſt that Rienzo, who had fought gallantly before Toſcanello and Viterbo, ſhould at once aſſume the authority conferred on him as Senator. The Legate reſuſed to ſupply the money requiſite for Rienzo's return and inſtalment in his new office ; but ſufficient means were obtained by a loan from the brothers of the famous *Condottiere*, Fra Moriale, at Perugia, whither Rienzo went after leaving the camp before Viterbo. Eſcorted by the ſoldiery hired for his ſervice, the Senator ſet out from Perugia, and entered Rome on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1354. He was received with the utmoſt enthuſiaſm, and all thoſe honours of feſtivity which Roman citizens ſo well underſtand the art of preparing in gorgeous and picturesque forms. He entered on the exerciſe of his office a changed man in many reſpects, leſs affable in manners, more prone to ſeverities, but ſtill full of energy, and bent on high objects. Determined, as in the days of his tribunate, to put down the licentious and lawleſs inſolence of the barons, he attacked the Colonnas in their chief ſtronghold, the caſtle of Paleſtrina, which ſtill ſtands in grim decay on the ſteep hill-side above the claſſic Præneste ; but was forced to abandon this enterpriſe for want of ſufficient troops. The finances of the Senator were far from adequate for his numerous and bold under-

takings. He imposed a tax on wine and salt; and this, a burden felt most by the poorest, prepared the way for the ruin of Rienzo.

Walter di Montreal, a Provençal knight of S. John (whose name was Italianized into Fra Moriale), had gone through the career of a gallant adventurer in the Neapolitan kingdom, and, after being banished from thence by Louis of Anjou, tried his fortune in the Roman States, where continual warfare offered an opening to his restless ambition. He allied himself with Giovanni di Vico, and, having promised pay to all recruits, soon found himself at the head of between 3000 and 4000 volunteers thus collected for whatever service, to the manifest peril of the regions they swept over. Unfortunately for himself, Montreal ventured into Rome whilst Rienzo still held the reins of government, and where his two brothers resided at the time, themselves on good terms with the Senator. It was reported to the latter that Montreal had threatened his life. This redoubted Condottiere was immediately arrested, brought to trial, tortured, sentenced to the death of a malefactor. Bribes, threats, entreaties were tried by him in vain. The proud adventurer could not at first believe that the base-born Rienzo would dare to send *him*, a cavalier, rich, dreaded, powerful, to die on the scaffold; but when his fate became certain, he gave signs of repentance, kissed the block, and exclaimed, "God save thee, sacred Justice!" His own and his contemporaries' estimate of his character serves to illustrate the moral feeling of the day. One writer compares him to Julius Cæsar, and the biographer of Rienzo says that "all Italy resounded to the fame of his virtues and glory." His own parting words, addressed to his brothers, express his complacence at the retrospect of a career neither better nor worse than that of other soldiers of fortune at this epoch: "I beg you to love each

other, and to be valorous before the world, as I have been, who have forced Apulia, Tuscany, and the Marches to show me submission!" By his death, as the above-named biographer informs us, "all Rome was troubled." The Italian princes approved of this execution, but the Romans imputed to Rienzo the selfish desire of appropriating the wealth of Montreal, which was indeed great,—for he left 100,000 gold florins, of which 60,000 are said to have been confiscated by the Pope. If the Senator secured any share of this ill-gotten treasure, it was not certainly the maximum. Montreal's execution was soon followed by another far less justifiable, and still more injurious to the popularity of Rienzo—that of Pandolfo di Guido, a generally esteemed and influential citizen, who could only be accused on mere suspicion of a design to raise himself into power as the rival of, or successor to, the Senator.

At last the once-idolized "Tribune,"—such he was still popularly styled—became hated or feared by the fickle multitude, who (says his biographer) "did not dare to speak, so much did they dread the Tribune, even as a Demon!" Innocent VI. sent him the confirmation by brief (9th September) of his senatorial appointment, together with wise and benevolent counsels as to the conduct of municipal government. A month after the date of this document, the Senator was awakened in his chamber, in the Capitoline palace, by tumult and menacing cries, first heard at an early hour, and becoming more vehement as the day advanced. A multitude had assembled before that palace, throwing stones, and shouting: "Death to the traitor, Cola di Rienzo, who has imposed the taxes." He rose, armed himself as a knight with cuirass and crested helm; took the *Gonfalone*, or standard of the Roman people in his hand, and thus showed himself on the balcony.

The shouts, the execrations were redoubled. In vain did Rienzo make signs to indicate his wish to speak ; in vain did he raise the cry, all unheard, of “ Viva il popolo,” whilst he displayed the Papal diploma, written in gold letters.* The troops of the *rioni* joined the throng on the Capitol, and the onset became still more formidable. Darts, as well as stones, were now hurled against the Senator as he stood, calmly dauntless, on the balcony. An arrow wounded him in the hand. The gates of the palace were fired ; the flames burst in ; the roofing fell ; the great staircase came down with a crash ; and at this crisis Rienzo found himself almost deserted in that burning pile ; his guards, officers, notaries, servants, had fled, or remained absent from their posts all that morning ; three persons alone, one a relative, were still in the building with him. He hesitated between two alternatives—either to come out, armed as he was, and force his way through the crowd with his sword, or to escape in disguise. Unfortunately he chose the latter, the less noble expedient ; laid aside his armour, blackened his face, cut off his beard, wrapt himself in a coarse peasant’s cloak, placed a mattress on his head for protection from the fire, and caused himself to be let down by a table-cloth from a back window above the prisons, the key of which he took with him, for there were prisoners whose escape he desired to prevent even at that moment. In this disguise he passed through one of the burning doors, adding his voice to the cries of the angry crowd against himself. His treacherous relative appeared on the balcony, and signified by dumb show the fact of his escape. At the outer door, just as he was quitting the vestibule of the palace, he was stopped : *Non gire, dove vai ?* (“ Move not ; whither are you going ? ”) said some unwashed artificer. The people pressed around him, and tore off his disguise. His gilt bracelets (a patri-

* Confirmatory of his senatorial office.

cian ornament then in fashion) sufficed to betray him ; and there he stood in the costume of a Roman baron, with doublet of green silk and purple hose. At first no insult was offered to him ; he was led by the arms, unmolested, down the stairs of the Capitoline hill to the sculptured lion at its base, the fatal spot where sentence of death used to be read and inflicted—where those condemned by Rienzo himself had met the fate of criminals at the block. For nearly an hour did the destined victim remain, silent and passive, seated on the lion's back, his arms folded, his glance directed now to one side, now to the other, amidst the eagerly-gazing crowd. We may suppose that the dignity of his aspect combined with the remembrances of an illustrious past to overawe the fierce multitude. At last an artisan seized a sword, and wounded him, perhaps mortally. The work of butchery was soon finished. No word nor groan was heard from Rienzo after that first death-blow, which probably killed him on the spot. The mangled corpse was dragged by a rope through the streets, amidst the brutal insults of the mob, as far as the church of S. Marcello, on the modern Corso. There it was hung up by the feet to a balcony ; and thus left exposed, for a night and two days, to be pelted by the boys who passed below. At last the Colonnas ordered it to be taken to the Mausoleum of Augustus, their now dismantled fortress. Either within the rotunda of that imperial tomb, or in the area before it, called "*Campo dell' Austa*," the Jews, to whom the grim task had been assigned—all of that community in Rome, it is said—assembled to burn those poor remains on a fire of dried thistles. The ashes were scattered to the winds ; not one relic was left of the once idolized Tribune and Senator, not one Christian rite celebrated over his bier ! Thus perished Cola di Rienzo seven years after his first appearance on the political stage, and but nine weeks

after his second elevation to power and eminence ! His personal property was confiscated. Among his effects was found, in his bedroom, a polished steel mirror, covered with strange figures and characters, which he had used for magical purposes—for invoking spirits, as supposed, and especially some hobgoblin of mediæval fantasy called “Fiorone”—so his quaint biographer informs us (*costringeva lo spirito di Fiorone*).

Greatness of ideas, elevation of purpose, and a high sense of justice, distinguish Rienzo above the level of vulgarly ambitious demagogues. He embodied notions as to the destinies of Rome, which were, no doubt, shared by many of her citizens—the cherished tradition of a supremacy supposed to be indefeasible. “Ils ont pris les souvenirs pour des espérances,” is finely said by Madame de Stael in reference to him and others like-minded with him. His laws (the temper of the times being considered) were singularly enlightened. Almost his first public act (1348) was to constitute a species of representative assembly ; and a letter is extant, in which he summons the people of Viterbo to send two elected deputies, their spokesmen, to that parliament. He was the first legislator to abolish the Vandal practice, so common in earlier ages, of demolishing the houses and castles of those struck by sentence of the law, as part of the penalty required by justice. A devout Catholic, he claimed, and no doubt believed in, something mystic and divine in his vocation and destiny. Petrarch commends the piety with which he received the Holy Communion every day. And it is remarkable that he neither adopted nor sanctioned such theories or maxims as have been current in later times against the temporal power of the Popes. Notwithstanding the Avignon exile, and all its evil effects to Rome and to the Church, he still shared the conviction that the headship of Catholicism reflected the

greatest glory on the capital of ancient Empire, elected as seat of that supremacy.

Cardinal Albornoz, aided by the Marquis Francesco d'Este of Ferrara and by Ridolfo di Varano, lord of Camerino, continued vigorously and successfully to prosecute his task of resubjecting the cities and provinces severed from the Papal States—or rather, in fact, of reconstituting a government completely dissolved in those parts. In 1355, an attempt was made to resist his conquering career by a league in which the parties were Malatesta, lord of Rimini, the Ordelaffi, lords of Forli, and Gentile da Migliano, who had broken the peace already stipulated, and made himself again master of Fermo. But the genius of Albornoz overcame all these obstacles. He laid siege to Rimini, where Galeotto Malatesta finally surrendered; and at the same time was recovered Ancona, which also had been held by the Malatesta family. The latter were still allowed to retain authority, as Vicars and tributaries of the Church, over Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Fossombrone. The Polenta family, lords of Ravenna and Cervia, soon afterwards submitted under like terms. The Trinci family, who held Foligno and Fabriano, and had long defied the Legate, at last yielded, consenting to become alike dependents, bound to pay annual census to Rome. By the year 1356 Albornoz had recovered for the Pope the entire Patrimony, the Spoleto Duchy, and the Anconitan Marches, besides many districts of Romagna. Soon after Rienzo's death he entered Rome, took measures for the restoration of order and peace, instituted something like a prosecution for the punishment of the Senator's murderers (who, however, escaped with impunity), and appointed, as successor in that office, Guido di Patrizi, a nobleman of Siena. The crusade published by the Legate against the Ordelaffi family and Manfredi, who still held Forli and Faenza, was supported by ample contributions

in money. Faenza was besieged, and entered by the Legate in triumph, 17th November, 1356. In the next year Albornozy was recalled, perhaps owing to some intrigue against him at Avignon, and another person, strangely chosen for such responsible post, was sent to succeed to him in office and command—an abbot of Clugni, who (says Muratori) “knew better how to say his Breviary than to direct military enterprises.” This new Legate seems to have felt his inefficiency, and Albornozy was entreated to delay his departure. The Cardinal summoned a Parliament at Fano, to address his farewell counsels to the representatives of cities, on whom he enjoined fidelity to the Papal throne. At this juncture came intelligence of a popular movement at Cesena, then besieged by the legatine troops, one party within its walls being adverse to the Ordelaifi and favourable to the pontific cause. Albornozy hastened to avail himself of the opportunity for conquest; took possession of Cesena, but had to encounter vigorous resistance from a heroic woman, Cia, wife of Francesco degli Ordelaifi, who defended the citadel after the city itself had been occupied by the assailants, nor would yield till the donjon-keep had been reduced to ruin—then only could Cia and her children be made prisoners. Albornozy laid siege also to Forli, and before his departure made a league, offensive and defensive, against the Visconti—having penetration to perceive that the power and ambition of that family threatened the greatest danger to the Papal cause. The Este, the Doge of Genoa, the Marquis of Montferrato, the Beccaria of Padua, and Visconti da Oleggio, now almost independent master of Bologna, were parties to that league. When the Cardinal appeared at Avignon he was accompanied by Malatesta of Rimini, the former antagonist, but now reconciled ally and vassal of the Papacy. In the course of the next year Albornozy was

reinstated in the office of Legate, and resumed his task of conquest. He again directed the siege of Forlì, and before long took possession of that city, after Ordelaffi had capitulated and been allowed to retain dominion over two other towns, Forlimpopoli and Castrocaro. At Ravenna the recognised ruler, Bernardino da Polenta, a cruel and voluptuous tyrant, was about this time succeeded by his son Guido, who applied to the Legate for the ratification of his authority as vicar and tributary of the Holy See. All Romagna was now subjected to the Church. The petty despots who had usurped the Ecclesiastical States offered more or less resistance, but were speedily subdued, because supported by no vigorous or organized popular efforts. Their struggles had been actuated by selfish ambition; they fought not for the emancipation of a people, but for their own interests; and it is evident throughout this war that a general antipathy against ecclesiastical rule was not the inspiring motive which had led to it, or influenced the populations alternately withdrawn from and subjected to the power of the tiara.

Bologna alone was still held by a petty despot able to defy the Legate, and to subject the city to his tyrannical sway—Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio, an illegitimate son of the famous Archbishop of Milan. In 1350 Bologna was basely sold to that powerful Prelate for 200,000 gold florins by Giovanni Pepoli, who had leagued with the pontific cause, but, notwithstanding, had been treacherously made prisoner, together with numerous attendants and 200 mounted soldiers, by the Count of Romagna in his camp, where Pepoli had presented himself for amicable conference. The Pope laid the Milanese States under interdict, and cited the Archbishop Visconti to Avignon. The latter declared himself ready to obey the summons, and meantime ordered lodgings to be prepared in that city for himself and for

his servants, also for 12,000 horse and 6000 foot soldiers. Clement VI. thought best to dispense with so formidable a visit, intimated to the Archbishop that he need not take the trouble of coming, and even paid on his behalf 40,000 florins towards the expense of those alarming preparations. The contest was settled by pecuniary transaction; and the investiture of Bologna for ten years was bestowed on the lord of Milan at the price of 100,000 gold florins. One of his nephews was deputed by the Archbishop to govern there; and after the death of the latter, the prelate's son, Giovanni, above named, entered on the same post, which he abused by tyranny, but had the means to maintain against the armed opposition of Bernabo Visconti, his cousin. A long struggle ensued, with desolating warfare, which drew down every kind of suffering on the inhabitants of the environs. The Count of Romagna, as well as the Visconti, led armies against Bologna, and laid waste its territory. On one occasion, when the city was taken and held for a time by the Count, that leader is said by a chronicler of the period to have actually destroyed Bologna [*destruxit Bononiam usque ad portas*]; but this may be understood with reference to the fortifications alone. At last Giovanni da Oleggio became unable to resist longer against his various foes, and ceded that city to the Legate, who entered at the head of his troops, March 1360. But, instead of bringing peace, this surrender only provoked a renewal of war. Bernabo Visconti now commenced a contest with the Legate for possession, and the often devastated environs of Bologna were the theatre of their struggles. Every imaginable atrocity and licence were committed, both in this and the neighbouring Modenese territories, by the Hungarian archers, some 5000 strong, a contingent sent by the king of that country to fight under the legatine standard. The last success of the energetic Alborno was

the taking of Assisi, 1367 (the last year of his active life), soon after that town had emancipated itself from the sway of Perugia, its more powerful neighbour.

As usual, the war waged for the temporal interests of the Papacy, cruel as were any other contests of the time, was backed by all the threats and supported by all the thunders of spiritual supremacy. Ecclesiastical agents enriched themselves by the traffic in dispensations, which were declared, or believed to be, sufficient for release from every bond, absolution from every sin. Plenary indulgences rewarded those who contributed either by pecuniary or military aid; and for some time the average received by the Legate every day was said to be from 1000 to 1200 gold florins—perhaps an exaggerating, but still very significant report.

In the October of 1354, Charles IV., Emperor elect, entered Italy, and (3rd November) arrived at Pavia, invited by the Lombardic cities, being himself eager to obtain the imperial crown at Rome. He travelled with the insignificant escort of 200 mounted men, and Matteo Villani says he appeared like a merchant in haste to arrive in time for a fair! The Lombardic league had expected to secure his assistance in opposing the ever-encroaching power of the Visconti. The allies were disappointed. Charles was bribed into alliance with that family by the splendid gifts, with the promise of the iron crown of Italy, sent to welcome him on his approach. His avarice, weakness, and the want of dignity with which he submitted to insults from the free Italian cities, drew down general contempt; yet all the illusions as to the *quasi*-divine prerogatives and boundless rights of the imperial sovereignty seem to have still occupied many minds, in the sense that they are eloquently expressed by Petrarch, who hailed this advent as fraught with happy and glorious promises for his country. At

Milan the German was magnificently entertained by Bernabo and Gian Galeazzo Visconti, nephews of the lately deceased archbishop ; and the then occupant of the Metropolitan See placed the iron crown on his head, with the usual splendours of ceremonial, at the S. Ambrose basilica. The Visconti supplied a retinue of men-at-arms to escort Charles, with fitting honours, to Rome. He set out from Siena for that journey on the 28th March, 1355, his retinue now consisting of 4000 Italians and Germans. He had made the humiliating promise to the Pope not to pass a single night in Rome after his state entry and coronation ! On the way he was refused admission into the gates of Viterbo, and had to proceed, with all his company, to Sutri before rest or refreshment could be enjoyed. He evaded the precise fulfilment of his promise by entering Rome, at first, *incognito* ; and, though the representatives of the city had come out to meet him a mile beyond the gates, he left the highway to reach, unperceived, the Porta Pertusa, near the Vatican, where he entered, unnoticed and unknown, thence proceeding to the residence of the Canons of S. Peter's, who gave him lodging. At midnight he visited that church, where was shown to him by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia (who had made his entry publicly the same day) that relic so much revered, the Veronica, or "Volto Santo." The morrow being Good Friday, the pious Emperor-elect went on foot, still *incognito*, to S. Paul's, the Lateran, and S. Maria Maggiore, fasting and praying, and venerating all the relics in those churches. That night he passed in the monastery of S. Prossede, where, of course, he did not fail to pay honour to the Holy Column. Next day he entered the Vatican palace, dined there, and received the Senators with the other chief magistrates. On Easter Sunday (5th April) he was crowned, together with his young bride, Anna, by the Cardinal Bishop of

Ostia, after having first left and then re-entered the city by the Porta Castello, the Senators leading his horse from that gate to the stairs before S. Peter's. At the Pontifical High Mass the Emperor served as Deacon. After the coronation he rode in state to the Lateran, distinguished citizens leading his horse and that of the Empress, others holding a canopy over their heads. Money was thrown to the people during this procession. After a devotional visit to the Lateran Church, was held a banquet in the adjacent palace, so long left deserted and in part ruinous. Conformably with his promise, Charles had scarce time to finish his meal, when it was necessary to quit Rome, and the cavalcade proceeded to S. Lorenzo beyond the walls, in the cloister adjoining which church the Emperor and Empress passed the night, and, next day, gave a banquet to the representatives of the Roman people. The day after, they went to Tivoli, but could not remain there long, owing to the want of pecuniary means, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions; also to the tumults which arose among the dissatisfied and probably ill-paid troops at that little town, the inconveniences of which in the XIV. century may be imagined from what it is now.

This was almost the first instance of an imperial coronation at Rome attended by no bloodshed, or contest between German troops and Italian citizens.

At Siena the Emperor was besieged in the palace where he lodged, and obliged to accept the conditions of immediately quitting the city, after 20,000 florins had been paid down for his urgent expenses. At Cremona and Bergamo he was forced to wait two hours before being allowed to enter the gates, nor could do so, at last, with more than one-third of his retinue, after all had laid down their arms. At Florence the magistrates took oath of fealty to him, and advanced 100,000 florins, with

promise of 4000 florins per annum to this imperial mendicant, as ransom for the regalia in the states of their Republic. They stipulated that their laws and statutes should be confirmed by the sanction they seem to have deemed of such importance; but added the humiliating requirement that Charles IV. should not even enter Florence or any other walled city in its territories! The indignity to imperial rank in the conditions imposed by the Pope that he should quit Rome immediately after the coronation, was felt by others, if not by Charles himself. "Oh, day of opprobrium (exclaims Petrarch), oh, insupportable oath! The Pope, who has renounced Rome, does not wish that others should remain there!" One Italian Prince, the Marquis of Montferrato, was glad to obtain from Charles IV. the sanction of the authority he had already exercised over Turin, Susa, Ivrea, and Alessandria.

Innocent VI. was succeeded by a Benedictine Abbot, Guillaume de Grimoard, who, not being Cardinal, had no place in the conclave where he was elected, and took the name of Urban V. (1362-70). He was a truly religious, conscientious and virtuous man, one of the best among Popes, and certainly the most respectable among sovereigns of his time. It is said that he had in early life desired above all things to see the restoration of the Pontificate to Rome, and formed the resolution to effect that object should it ever be in his power to accomplish what was so important for the Church. In the same year, before the death of Innocent VI, Avignon had been disturbed by a lawless invasion, which might have convinced the French Pontiffs that they were not secure even in their fortified retreat on the Rhone. The so-called "Great Company," a horde of mercenaries, English, French, Normans, and Spaniards, led by the famous Breton Captain, Bertrand du Guesclin, entered that territory, on their march to fight against the Moors in Spain. They affected the vocation of Crusaders, and in

that character demanded from the Pope a subsidy of 200,000 florins, as well as absolution from their sins. The *latter* boon was unhesitatingly granted, the *former* demurred to ; but it was finally deemed best to comply with this also, and the sum was presented. When, however, De Guesclin learned that it had been pressed by taxation out of the citizens of Avignon, he refused it, protesting his desire to obtain payment, not from the necessitous people, but from the well-filled coffers of the Papacy. This demand of the scrupulous invader was actually satisfied, and the same amount (it is said), supplied from other sources, paid down to him—but how ascertain the reality of the substitute in such a case ?

The pontificate of Urban V. proved eventful for Italy and beneficial to the interests of the Church. He felt that by the abandonment of their ancient seat the Popes had enfeebled their influence and betrayed their trust ; and he was anxious to rescue the Holy See from compromising subjection to the crown of France.* He intimated his intention to the Romans, to the German Emperor, and to Charles V. the French King. The latter sent Nicholas D'Orême (his former preceptor) to dissuade Urban ; and in full Consistory this envoy made a speech against the projected removal, on a text strangely chosen from the legend of the vision of the Saviour to S. Peter, when that

* In June, 1366, Petrarch addressed to the Pope, from Venice, the letter, often quoted, which represents so vividly the miseries of Rome, caused by the absence and neglect of her supreme pastors : “ With what heart, Holy Father—forgive the boldness of my zeal—with what heart canst thou sleep under the gilded ceilings of thy chambers on the banks of the Rhone, whilst the Lateran is lying low, the mother of all Churches left roofless, abandoned to the winds and inclemencies of seasons ; whilst the sanctuaries of S. Peter and S. Paul are tottering in decay, and what once were temples of Apostles lying ruinous, formless heaps of stone, which might truly draw tears from hearts of stone ? ”

Apostle fled from his prison at Rome, and was encountered by the Divine Being on the Appian Way—"Domine quo vadis?" The French Cardinals added their remonstrances: France, more peaceful and better governed than Italy, was the suitable seat of the supreme Pontificate; Avignon was a more holy city than Rome; even Julius Cæsar had called this land "most religious;" and the Druids had established a religious system there before the birth of Christianity—such the precious arguments adduced! Urban answered by giving directions for speedy departure; sent his Chancellor to Rome to prepare the Vatican Palace for residence, and gave orders to Cardinal Albornozy to put in order for his reception the castle built by that Legate at Viterbo—a still imposing edifice, though altered and applied to other uses, which stands on an ample piazza near the gate leading to the Florence road from that town. On the 30th April, 1367, Urban, with several Cardinals and many other ecclesiastics, quitted Avignon; on the 17th May they embarked at Marseilles in twenty-five galleys furnished by the Queen of Naples, by the Republics of Pisa, Venice, Genoa, and Lucca. The travellers landed at several ports, Toulon, Villafranca, Albenga, Genoa, Piombino, Portovenere, before arriving at the last on their voyage, Corneto. At Genoa, more than a thousand persons, all in white vestments, formed a procession accompanying the Pope as he rode through the streets, pontifically vested, his horse led by the Doge and the Podesta of Pisa. On the coast, below the heights crowned by the old towers of Corneto, silken tents, decked with garlands of evergreen, were erected, and an altar in the midst, under a rich pavilion, was prepared for mass, which the Pope celebrated before he mounted his horse to ride to that city. There the travellers arrived on the 3rd June, and lodged in the Franciscan convent, where deputies from the Roman

people came to welcome their yet unknown Sovereign, and offer to him the keys of their city and of the S. Angelo Castle, also a more significant donation, which they deemed it in their power to bestow—the absolute dominion over their city and commonwealth. After three days' rest at Corneto, the Pope travelled by Toscanella to Viterbo, where he arrived on the 9th June. There he was received with popular rejoicings and every suitable honour; but his prolonged sojourn was overclouded by more than one disaster. On the 24th August, Cardinal Albornozy died in that city of the fever which had long consumed him, and prevented him from meeting the Pope at Corneto. On one occasion Urban V. asked this talented and most energetic man, who had held the legatine office for fourteen years, to give account of the large sums entrusted to him. He replied by directing his Holiness's attention, from the window of the palace where both stood, to a waggon now driven into the court of that building, completely laden with the keys of the cities he had re-subjected to the tiara. "There (he said) is my reckoning!" on which the Pontiff embraced him, more than satisfied. A chronicler of Perugia says correctly, that "the Spanish Cardinal was a noble lord, and of a truly great soul"—that he had pacified and reduced to order the Romagna provinces, where, after his death, "all took arms again without scruple." He left a monument of his abilities as a statesman in the constitution he drew up for the reconquered cities, which continued to be their *norma* of government for centuries subsequent. His body was laid in the Franciscan basilica at Assisi, but transferred, in 1371, to his own cathedral at Toledo; and on that occasion Gregory XI. granted indulgences to all who attended the funeral convoy on its way from Umbria to Spain.

On the 5th September broke out a tumult at Viterbo,

originating in a mere trifle, a quarrel between the servants of Cardinals and some citizens who were washing a dog at a fountain. The populace took arms, and raised cries of "Death to the Church! Long life to the people!" The movement soon assumed the proportions of formidable revolt. The Pope fled from the episcopal palace, his residence hitherto, and took refuge in the castle. For six days he and the Cardinals with him sustained a siege in that fortress. At last came armed assistance from other towns, Corneto, Montefiascone, and Orvieto. The Count de Montemarte, an Orvietan, quelled the rioters by his timely interposition with soldiery. And soon the populace, struck with remorse, appeared penitent, and entreating pardon before the Pontiff, giving up their weapons and the chains with which they had barricaded the streets. Of their own accord they hanged the most culpable rioters before the doors of the Cardinals who had been insulted; and it was ordered that all the lofty brick towers in the city should be levelled to the height of the house-tops—no doubt far below their original altitude. This revolt made a most painful impression on the mind of Urban V. He observed that it was "the beginning of the troubles and severe trials awaiting the Church;" and it is supposed that the resolution to return to Avignon was formed by him in consequence.*

On the 16th October a numerous and splendid cavalcade left Viterbo, in the early morning, for Rome. The Marquis Nicholas d'Este, who had arrived on the 14th from Ferrara, opened the procession with 700 mounted and 2000 foot soldiers, all in rich uniform, commanded by one of the Malatesta family; next rode eleven Cardinals with their chaplains and domestics; the Pope followed on a palfrey, his bridle held (as they entered Rome) by Amadeus IV. the Count of Savoy, known on the historic page as "Conte

* Von Reumont, "Geschichte der Stadt Rom," B. VI. section ii.

Verde ;" behind His Holiness came Ridolfo di Camerino, holding over his head the sacred *veixillum* of the Church ; Galeotto Malatesta followed, with 200 horse ; and the rear of the procession was formed by Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, monks, and other ecclesiastics ; servants and guards—in all, 2000 persons. At a church, a mile from the city, they were met by the Emperor Charles IV. who had visited Urban at Viterbo, and preceded him to Rome, arriving there five days previously. From that spot he shared with the Conte Verde the task of leading the Pontiff's palfrey till they reached the stairs before S. Peter's.

On the piazza before the Vatican all alighted ; the Count Amadeus gave the accolade of knighthood to twelve nobles present ; the Pope entered the Church, knelt at the Apostle's tomb, and shed tears as he recited the appropriate psalm : " By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept." After granting indulgences from his throne in the basilica, Urban entered the Vatican palace, thenceforth preferred for pontific residence to the long silent and still perhaps ruinous Lateran. On the vigil of All Saints Urban celebrated high Mass at the chief altar of S. Peter's, where that rite had not been witnessed since the time of Boniface VIII. Next day took place the renewed coronation of the Emperor, together with his fourth wife, Isabella, who were crowned in the same church by the Pope. A few days afterwards was celebrated the solemn installation of Pope Urban at the Lateran, according to antecedent observances at that cathedral-church of the Pontificate ; and for this occasion it was necessary to clear away accumulated ruins along the path followed by the procession, for the passage from the Colosseum to the S. Clemente church.

In the following year arrived another Emperor, John Palæologus, now on a progress through Europe with the object of obtaining aid against the ever-encroaching and

overwhelming power of the Turks. This Potentate did not hesitate to abjure all those doctrines of the Greek Church condemned by Rome, and to recognise the Papal Supremacy in an emphatic profession of faith received by four Cardinals at the church of S. Spirito, and read by him from a document drawn up in Greek and Latin, with a golden seal appended. A few days afterwards (12th October, 1369), this act was more solemnly repeated. The Pope, on a throne surrounded by Cardinals and Prelates, received the Emperor at the summit of the stairs before S. Peter's. Palæologus knelt, kissed the foot and hand of Urban, who then embraced him, and led him into the basilica, whilst the *Te Deum* was chanted by all present.

The profession of faith was renewed at the high altar during the pontifical Mass; but neither this pompously celebrated conversion, nor all his entreaties and compacts, availed to protect the Greek Autocrat from the miserable series of humiliations and defeats which were awaiting him. He left Rome after an unprofitable stay prolonged for some months. Another sovereign, the beautiful Joanna of Naples, visited Urban V. not long afterwards, and came with all the splendours of her luxurious court, a train of barons and knights clad in silk and gold, so numerous indeed that it was difficult for all to find lodgings. Urban received the Queen at the entrance to S. Peter's; and on the fourth Sunday of Lent presented her with the Golden Rose, annually blessed by the Popes before the High Mass in their chapel on that day. Not a little sarcasm was excited among the Romans by the devout eagerness of these Neapolitan visitors to obtain indulgences—just as would be the case at the present day.

The last years preceding the pontifical restoration had been marked by troubles, though not so serious or tragic as others of recent occurrence in Rome. In 1363 the Sena-

tors had been driven away, and all authority vested for some months in the Riformatori. After another period of senatorial office, that magistracy had been suspended for almost a whole year (1365-6). In 1362 a warfare, insignificant indeed, was carried on between the Romans and their neighbours of Velletri. A series of invasions followed, spreading terror and tumult over the waste Campagna. Two adventurers, the Englishman John Hawkwood, and the German Baumgarten, led into that district their bands of mercenary soldiers, the refuse of armies no longer in the pay of any government; and for the winter of 1364-5 the Germans, fierce marauders like the rest of such disbanded troops, took up their head-quarters at Sutri.

Within the walls of Rome prevailed comparative tranquillity; and the Pope was able to accomplish certain reforms of the municipal system without any violent opposition. The Riformatori henceforth disappear. Urban restored another body, the "Conservatores," or assessors of the Senator, who had existed in the earlier part of this century, three in number, served by twelve subordinate officials; the special attributes of these Conservatores being to preside over the civic finances, the guilds, the prisons, aqueducts, the repair of churches, public buildings, and walls, &c. Another council, invested with some authority, was brought into being, but not, it seems, for long duration, by Urban's influence. The Senator was desired to summon the people, and, in co-operation with the Banderesi, elect four experienced persons out of each "Rione," as a board for deliberating and voting on future questions of civic interest.

Far less pacific was the state of the provinces, and at the favourite summer residence of Urban V., Montefiascone, troubles awaited him. The citizens of Perugia had shown

an independent spirit, loath to recognise the absolute sway of the Papacy; and the Baglioni family, who, with their partisans, supported the Pontifical interest in that city, had been deprived of all power, shortly before an open revolt against the government of the Church. The Perugians had positively refused to recognise the Papal sovereignty when summoned by Urban to do so. In the spring of 1368, Perugia commenced war against the Pontiff; and whilst he was at Montefiascone sent its forces against that small but well-fortified town, beneath whose walls 4000 horse were seen scouring the environs, and within whose gates the missiles of that besieging force from time to time fell. The Pope found himself in personal danger. He was rescued at last by the interposition of the same Count di Montemarte of Orvieto, who had proved so efficient a protector against the violence of the Viterbese. With comparatively few troops, the Count defeated and drove away the Perugian force, who left that neighbourhood and the entire district of Orvieto, bordering on that of Montefiascone, in the most dreary desolation.

Urban V. possessed virtues which commanded respect, and gave an example of piety which touched the hearts of those around him. But he wanted the courage of constancy. Influenced either by his fears or affections, by the remembrance of what he had suffered during his stay in Italy, or his attachment to his country and to the Cardinals of that country, who ceased not to urge his return, he at last resolved on that step, the announcement of which, made at Montefiascone in the summer of 1370, with intimation to his court to prepare for the journey in two months, excited distress and astonishment. Deputies from Rome came to entreat him to abandon such purpose, and return to his metropolis; he answered that he trusted in the guidance of the Holy Spirit. A saintly matron,

Brigida of Sweden, who had obtained from him the sanction of a religious society founded by herself, came to warn him of the Divine displeasure, declaring that it had been revealed to her by the Blessed Virgin, that, should Urban return to Avignon, the wrath of Heaven against him would be speedily manifested by the death of the erring Pontiff. Remonstrances were in vain; the pretext alleged to the world was the Pope's desire to intercede as peacemaker between France and England, the long wars between which countries had broken out anew and with redoubled violence; Charles V. having announced to the States General at Paris (9th May, 1369) the rupture, after a truce of brief duration, with Edward III; and from this time till the armistice of 1375, hostilities were incessant, their course being marked by a great misfortune to the English, the death of the Black Prince. On the 7th September, 1370, Urban V. and his attendants embarked at Corneto in thirty-four galleys supplied by France, Aragon, and Naples—three years and three months after this Pontiff had disembarked on the same coast where he first trod Italian soil. The travellers reached Avignon on the 24th of September. On the 19th December following, Urban died, in his sixty-first year, not at the Papal palace but in the house of his brother at that city; having desired, when he felt the approach of death, to be carried to that house, and laid on a humble couch, in his Benedictine habit, within a chamber open to every visitor, where all classes, clergy and laity, might witness the last scene, and look on the Supreme Pastor at the moment which levels all earthly distinctions.

Petrarch wrote to this Pontiff with severe but sad reproaches for the desertion of his See. Yet the great poet believed in the miracles ascribed to Urban after his death; for his memory was cherished as that of a saint. Waxen images hung over his tomb at S. Victor, and the church of

the Abbey he had governed at Marseilles, attesting the miraculous cures wrought through his intercession! Scarcely, says a chronicler of the time, "was there a church in any important city of the world where the image of Urban was not painted, and honoured with vigils and oblations." De Sade states that *eighty-two* of his supposed miracles were found to be authentic, when subjected to formal tests, according to a MS. record thereof in the Vatican.

We may prefer to dwell on the substantial benefits secured to the Church by this virtuous, if not altogether blameless, Pontiff. He exerted himself to extirpate simony and pluralities, and in a "constitution," (*Horribilis*) denounces particularly the latter abuse. One of the reforms he laboured to effect in Italy and other countries was that of monastic discipline, now woefully declined. At Monte Cassino, which had become a deplorable example of dereliction from the high standard, he restored the abbatial office, together with the genuine Benedictine observance. Notwithstanding all prohibitions against the multiplication of religious orders, he approved the rules of two such societies, newly founded, the *Jesuati*, originated by S. Giovanni Colombini of Siena, and the Congregation of S. Salvator, formed by the Swedish saint, Brigida, whose prophetic warnings we have seen fulfilled in the death of Urban V.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—1370 TO 1399.

THE SUCCESSOR to Urban V., elected at Avignon on the 30th December, 1370, was Pierre Roger, lord of Beaufort in Anjou, and Cardinal Deacon, who took the name of Gregory XI. Froissart tells us he had made a vow in his youth to restore the Holy See to Rome, should it ever be in his power to accomplish a step so important. The Romans, loyally disposed towards him, sent an embassy, soon after his election, to offer to him, for the term of his life, and in his *private*, not public or hierarchic, capacity, the dominion over their city. Other embassies, which reached Avignon from Rome in 1374, urged the immediate restoration of the Pontificate to its proper seat, and represented to Gregory the probabilities even of another schism—the raising up, namely, of an Anti-Pope—should the See of S. Peter be longer abandoned by those hitherto, though at a distance, considered its legitimate occupants.

The Abbot of Monte Cassino was ready to accept the proffered tiara. Gregory, aware of the dangers which beset his temporal sovereignty, made a league with the Estes, the Marquis of Montferrato, and other Italian princes, against the Visconti, both of whom, Bernabo and Galeazzo, he excommunicated. One clause in the Papal sentence against that powerful family imported the prohibition to contract matrimony with any individual of the Visconti house.*

* This excommunication was inserted in the Bull, "In Coena Domini."

Tithes, for the expenses of the projected war, were imposed on the clergy of England, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, and Poland. The Visconti, on their part, strengthened themselves by a league with Florence and the Neapolitan crown. Occasion soon occurred for the Florentines to avenge themselves on the Pontific government, suspected of practices injurious to their immediate interests. A French Cardinal, who acted as Legate at Bologna, was believed to have encouraged the lawless designs of the English adventurer Hawkwood against Prato, a town the industrious neighbour of Florence, and subject to the same republic. The complicity of the Legate in a secret treaty for the occupation of Prato seems certain. Hawkwood and his mercenary troops were, however, bought off by payment and by promises to that leader of annual subsidies from Florence. A revolt, for which the Papal States were ripe, was now excited and supported by the Florentines, who sent a banner, with the inspiring device, "*Libertas*," round the cities on the banks of the Tiber and among the mountains of Umbria. Citta di Castello was first to set the example (November, 1375); Viterbo, Montefiascone, Narni, followed. The Cardinal at Bologna was deprived of authority; his palace invaded and sacked; he himself compelled to fly in disguise to Ferrara, with which city he was suspected of holding treasonable correspondence, for a projected sale of Bologna to the Este house. Perugia, impatient of the government tyrannically exercised by a French Abbot as Papal Vicar, emancipated herself at once. Assisi, Spoleto, Gubbio, Urbino, Ravenna alike revolted. In the course of a few days, eighty places, cities, fortified villages and castles included, had cast off their allegiance to the tiara. "It seemed (says Muratori) that all the populations, even of the smallest towns, were bent on gaining indulgences by rebelling against the Pope,

their lawful sovereign!"* Thus were the fruits of Albornoz' brilliant victories instantly lost to the Church! In several cities, the aristocratic dominions cast down by that warlike Legate were again set up: the potent families again obeyed. Forlì now submitted to the Ordelaffi; Macerata and Camerino recognised Rodolfo de Varano as their lord. At Faenza, a movement for placing the city under the lordship of Astorre de' Manfredi was checked by the arms of Hawkwood and his fierce mercenaries, sent thither by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who held also rank and office as Count of Romagna, in the Pontific cause. A general sack of that ill-fated city ensued; about three hundred victims (mostly children) were put to the sword; three hundred of the principal citizens were made captives; and about eleven hundred more, of both sexes, driven into exile.†

Meantime, the Pope, personally blameless for the atrocities committed in his name, used the thunders of the Church against Florence, in his eyes most culpable. In solemn consistory (31st March, 1376) that city was laid under interdict; and about a month afterwards divine

* "Gregory XI. was a good Pope; but the Ultramontane officials sent by him to govern in Italy were not good men. All were eager to devour the revenues of the Pontifical Camera, and to extort money by whatever means, whilst careless of administering justice. Thus did the Pastors of the Church (as they were called) win not only discredit, but disapproval and hatred, from all—nor was there any remedy against the flood of disasters."—Muratori, *Annali*, an. MCCCCLXXV.

† "Tutta la città con nudita crudeltà fu interamente data a sacco, e vi restarono trucidate circa 300 persone, massimamente fanciulli. L'iniquo Inglese col protesto che meditassero ribellione, 300 de' principali cittadini cacciò in prigione; spinse fuor di città gli altri (erano circa 11,000 persone dell' uno e dell' altro sesso) con ritenere solamente quelle donne, che piacquero a lui ed ai suoi." Such Muratori's narrative, which I prefer quoting in the original Italian, *Annali*, MCCCCLXXVI.

worship was suspended in its churches. All intercourse of whatever description, and all commerce with the Florentines were forbidden. Their property, of every kind, was to be confiscated. Their persons might be seized, and reduced to slavery, by whomsoever in whatever country, without law or mercy for the reprobate people. Many availed themselves of this license to pillage and confiscate. Florentine banks were despoiled; and several natives of that doomed city, settled in Avignon or other towns of different countries, were compelled to return to their homes after suffering ruinous injury, loss of means and position.*

This example of the exercise of Pontific power, at a period of comparatively advanced civilization, is the more strikingly illustrative of the tendencies peculiar to hierarchic absolutism, because proceeding, *not* from a sternly ambitious or worldly-minded, but from a pious, estimable, and self-devoting man, well entitled to the reverence and affection he won from his contemporaries!

Genoa and Pisa were, soon afterwards, laid under interdict for the sole offence of not expelling all Florentines from their gates. At this emergency it was that Gregory, moved by many entreaties, and among others by those of an extraordinary woman, to be farther mentioned in these pages, Catherine of Siena, determined at last to satisfy

* A compendium of the proceeding is thus supplied by one of the contemporary biographers of Gregory XI. :—"Ne aliquis eis vel eorum alicui participaret loquendo, comedendo, bibendo, emendo, vendendo, aut alias quovis modo, daret consilium, auxilium, vel favorem directé vel indirecté. . . . Mandavit quod panni aut aliae merces quæcunque per eos aut in eorum territorio factæ sive titulo emptionis, sive donationis, aut alias qualitercunque ad usum aliquorum nullatenus cederent aut reciperentur nisi in quantum hoc ad eorum damnum seu jucturam cedere posset. Confiscavit nihilominus omnia eorum bona tam mobilia quam immobilia ubicunque consisterent. Personas insuper eorum cupientium suas fieri, fieri ordinavit."—v. Baluze, *Prima Vita Greg. XI.*

the desire of Italy and the Church by restoring the Holy See to Rome.

He left Avignon on the 13th September, 1376, and embarked with thirteen Cardinals and several prelates at Marseilles, on galleys supplied by the Queen of Naples, the Pisans and Genoese, 2nd October.* The voyage was tempestuous; some of the ships were wrecked on the Tuscan Maremma coast. One prelate, the Bishop of Luni, was drowned; and one of the Cardinals died of suffering and fatigue at Pisa, where it had been necessary to leave him. At Genoa the travellers were obliged to remain, owing to stress of weather, from the 18th to the 29th October. Characteristic of the manners of the time were some of the hospitalities offered to the distinguished travellers. At the port of Pisa, (one writer says, at Livorno) the magistrates made presents in substantial kind—calves, lambs, loaves, wine, and other good things for his Holiness; also for each of the Cardinals, two barrels of wine (described as Greek wine and claret), two calves, two sheep, and four sacks of bread. The voyagers stopped at several other ports. The fortified Orbitello, on the low sea-coast between lakes of salt water,

* We fortunately possess a most curious metrical narrative of this journey by one of the prelates of the party, Peter Amelius of Brenac, an Augustinian, and Bishop of Senigallia, whose *Itinerarium Gregorii XI.* is edited by Muratori (*Rer. Ital. Script.* T. iii. p. 11.) He begins with an invocation to the Virgin as “Maris Stella;” and frequently rebukes the turbulent ocean for not submitting in peace to the Lord of the world. Indeed the doctrine of Papal Infallibility is anticipated here, with the superadded attribution of almost absolute Divinity to the person of the Pontiff:

“Cur a tuo mundiue Principi non vis dominari?

Dominus seculi est, quem tu vehis, cui te oportet humiliari.

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Tempus esset, ut, mare, tuum Dominum cognosceres, illique obediens,
DEUS in terris est, quem utero tuleris,” &c.

was passed by on foot, after they had landed near, soon to re-embark at Porto Ercole, the Portus Herculis of the ancients.* Sailing by night under the mountain promontory of Argentaro, which shelters both Orbitello and that small sea-port, they saw its swelling acclivities rise distinct, illuminated by countless torchlights, against the darkness—for even the desolate Maremma gave tokens of rejoicing at the restoration of the Holy See. On the 6th December they landed at the haven below Corneto, and thence rode up to that castellated town, once defended by one hundred towers, but now little noticeable save for the picturesque gloom of its old palaces and solitary streets! Here they passed five weeks, the Pontiff and several (if not all) of his suite being lodged in a Franciscan convent, where they celebrated Christmas. Treaties were, meantime, concluded with the Roman citizens, as stipulated and drawn up by three Cardinals empowered so to act. The Pope was to enjoy unlimited authority (*plenum et liberum Urbis dominium*) over Rome from the moment of his landing at Ostia. About midnight, 13th January, all re-embarked at the haven of Corneto, and about noon, next day, the ships were at anchor before Ostia—not then, as now, a desolate and pestilential coast, but for this occasion animated by the concourse and jubilation of multitudes, who had come from Rome to greet their yet unknown Pontiff with exulting demonstrations. After sunset were heard choral songs from groups assembled by torchlight. On the following night, after a religious service, the travellers proceeded up the Tiber; and when the galleys approached the extramural basilica of S. Paul's they found the river's banks covered with throngs of spectators, ready to pay

* "Non enim decuit Papam in Orbitello parvulo cum tanta acie remanere;

Calcato mare parvulo, pedester progreditur Pastor cum suo baculo."

the same honours of loyal welcome to the Pope. He did not land until the morning of the 17th January. After first attending mass, celebrated by the poetic Bishop of Senigallia, in that basilica, and afterwards visiting the Benedictine monastery which adjoins it, Gregory desired to set out on his triumphal progress to Rome. A troop of chosen horsemen escorted his Holiness; twelve Cardinals rode beside him: the Grand Master of Rhodes carried the sacred banner of the Church before him. The Senators, the Banderesi, the Counsellors, all vested in silk, the nobility in their full pomp, the military, and a thousand comedians all dressed in white, swelled the train; the players taking the part of strenuous vocalists, singing and applauding the whole way.* From S. Paul's to the Ostian gate, the road was lined with decorations of foliage, evergreens, &c. At that towered gateway, the procession was met by "innumerable prelates," in full pontificals, and all the Roman clergy, alike in sacred vestments, carrying wax torches and religious insignia. The imperial banners as well as those of the "Rioni" floated over the moving multitude; the clang of trumpets, the harmonies of almost all known instruments, and the pealing of all the church-bells united in joyous accord.† At the gates the Senator presented the keys of the city to his Holiness; and as the cavalcade passed through the crowded streets, women (many of whom wept for joy) strewed flowers from the house-tops, while old and young raised

* "Egrediente summo Pontifice sancti Pauli palatium, affuerunt mille histriones.

Progrediente Præsule ante chorizabunt, induti omnes panno albo, manibus plaudentes."

We cannot suppose that these "comedians," pertained to a class higher than that of the mime, mountebank, or court jester. Petrarch places the histrionic exhibitors of his time on the same level with the basest parasites: "Una est histrionum atque parasitorum lex, utrique blanditiis armati, post fortunam eunt." (*De Remed. utriusq. Fortunæ*, l. 1, Dial. 28.)

† "Tintinnabula cum omni genere musicorum."

the cry, *Vivat Dominus!** Never had Rome beheld such a Pontific triumph! Though they had entered in the early morning, the travellers did not arrive before S. Peter's till the hour of Complines, after Vespers. The whole city was by that time illuminated, but most brilliant was the display on the piazza of the Vatican, also on the front and in the interior of the great basilica, whose nave and aisles were suffused with light from 8000 gold and silver lamps during the act of thanksgiving now performed at the Apostle's shrine. Late was the hour when the weary Pontiff and his suite sat down to a banquet served on dishes set with gems, in a brightly illumined hall of the Vatican—henceforth the chosen residence and privileged home of the Pontifical Curia.

The sequel in the history of Gregory XI. failed to correspond to the bright promises apparently conveyed in this burst of enthusiastic loyalty. He did not succeed in his attempt to limit the authority of the Banderesi, and the republican institutions of civic government were maintained after as before the restoration of the Holy See. Some few weeks after the Pope's arrival occurred a scene of bloodshed and savage license at Cesena, which left a dark stain on the memory of the Cardinal Robert, brother to the Count of Geneva, whose title he inherited, and was the last to bear. He had been sent into the Papal States at the head of a force of Bretons, from Avignon, and had taken up his residence at Cesena. The Bretons made themselves hateful by their violence and rapacity. A quarrel arose, caused by the attempt of one of those soldiers to take by force the meat from a butcher's stall; the populace took arms against the foreign garrison, and more than 300 Bretons were slain. The Cardinal sum-

* "Iste est Dominus quem speravimus—vivet Papa," as the Bishop of Senigallia paraphrased these acclamations.

moned the English mercenaries, with Hawkwood, their leader, from Faenza, where they were then quartered, promising to them remission of all their sins, and offering them all the spoils and booty of Cesena as compensation for the services, or rather vengeance, he desired. Another captain in the service of the Church, Count Alberico di Barbiano, arrived with 200 lances to co-operate and share those rewards. A general massacre and pillage began; and it was in vain that the citizens defended themselves against overwhelming numbers. No age, sex, nor condition was spared; infants were slain in the cradle; children dashed against the pavement; pregnant women horribly put to the sword; nuns subjected to brutal outrage in their convents. . Hawkwood indeed exerted himself to save the weaker sex, and sent about a thousand women, under military escort, to Rimini, where they arrived safe. At least 3000 citizens were massacred, and about 8000, in utter destitution, found their way, begging on the road, to Cervia or Rimini. In the "*Cronaca Riminese*," edited by Muratori, we read that *all* the monks and nuns in Cesena were slain, after being despoiled of their property; that more than 1000 children were among the victims; and that on the 25th of April not a living citizen was left in that town; nor any victuals, grain, wine, or oil, to be had—except, of course, what the brutal soldiery now enjoyed. After this tragedy the Cardinal set out for Ferrara, leaving the desolated Cesena in the power of Hawkwood and his troops. The Cardinal of Geneva (as he was styled) may have been less guilty in this transaction than contemporaries supposed. He had previously given proofs of humanity in his career as a leader of armies; and the circumstance of his subsequent election as an Antipope exposed him inevitably to the attack, perhaps to the calumnies, of the party adhering to his legitimately

elected rival in the Pontificate. The mercenary troops who had thus preyed on Cesena, and shortly before on Faenza alike, demanded the pay which that Cardinal Legate could not supply. In order to obtain it he deliberately sold Faenza for 40,000 gold florins to the Marquis Nicolo d'Este of Ferrara. Soon after this, however, that city passed under the power of its former lord, Astorre Manfredi, who, aided by Bernabo Visconti, and the Florentines, effected entrance by night through a sewer, was again recognised as lord of Faenza, and thus baffled the plans of the mortified Legate.

The Pope, whose disposition was pacific, desired at last to conciliate by treaty, or concessions, those whom he had so sternly anathematized, the now irreconcilable Florentines. But the terms he proposed by embassy were rejected; both at Pisa and Florence the interdict, submitted to for a time, was set at nought, and priests were compelled to officiate in all the churches as usual. This drew down on both cities a renewal of the disregarded spiritual fulminations.

The Florentines farther injured the material forces of the Holy See by winning over from its service to their own the redoubtable Hawkwood, whom they engaged to command their army with the large stipend of 250,000 florins a-year. The loss of Faenza was soon more than compensated for by the recovery of Bologna, and through pacific means; the citizens entering into treaty with the Pontiff, and agreeing to recognise his sovereignty on the condition of retaining for five years their independent municipal administration, whilst paying annual tribute of 10,000 gold florins to Rome. Bolsena, on its beautiful lake, another of the many towns lost to the Tiara, was recovered by a singular contrivance, but at a cost fatally compromising to the winning side. The Franciscan friars, whose convent stood near

the walls, introduced by night a company of Breton soldiers, who soon became masters of the place, but disgraced the advantage obtained for the Pope by a general pillage and massacre, putting to the sword about five hundred inhabitants of both sexes.

Gregory, disheartened by the difficulties of government, and the continued turbulence of the Romans, thought of returning to Avignon, as the French Cardinals ceased not to urge for their own interests. He did not live to take that step. Whilst at Anagni, during the last summer of his life,* he addressed a brief to the Bishop of London, enjoining on him to proceed against the heretical Wickliff. In the February of 1378, this Pontiff's enfeebled health began to sink under a chronic malady, and when scarcely

* His journey to Anagni is almost as circumstantially described as that from Avignon by our friend the Augustinian bishop. On his way from S. Peter's to S. Maria Maggiore, where the Pope celebrated High Mass, (thence going to the Lateran for the night), he was accompanied by a stately procession, all the clergy, the principal nobles, the Senators, and recently created "Conservatores;" also the indispensable "histriones," with musicians and jugglers, whose presence even the gravity of the Papal Curia admitted no less than did the Courts of secular princes in these times :—

In exitu Palatii Sancti Petri adfuit Senator cum concivibus nobilibus :
 Histriones, Joculatoresque erant innumerabiles, qui præibant, etiam et
 Musici ;
 Rectores Urbis et Sacrae Societatis tripudiabant, omnes Clerici et Laici;
 Conservatores antecedeabant omnes, induti loriceis.

The picturesque and high-situated town of Anagni, rarely visited by tourists, though well deserving to be so, is complimented by the poet:—

Vale, mons et regio temperata, multum grata cum tuo aspectu!

On this journey the whole party stopped for two days at the monastery of Grottaferrata, on the way to which one of the Pope's retinue was robbed by brigands.

forty-seven years of age, he expired on the 27th March following. He was buried at S. Maria Nuova, between the Forum and the Colosseum, the church of which he had been Cardinal Deacon, and where the Roman magistracy (in 1584) erected a monument to him, with a relief representing his triumphal ingress into Rome. He had provided by his last testament that the election of his successor might be lawfully made in whatever city, and with less than the required majority of two-thirds, in case the full number of Cardinals should not be able to assemble. His pontificate, troubled as it was, proved in some respects glorious, and honourable to the credit of the sacred throne he filled. He worthily sustained the part of a peace-maker and umpire between contending powers. His efforts to conciliate France and England were vigorous, persistent, but thwarted by the policy of implacable hostilities under our Edward III. and his successive opponents on the French throne. Gregory brought about peace between Castile and Aragon, after having reconciled the King of the former country with that of Navarre, and received from the Aragonese King the declaration which made his crown tributary to the Holy See for the possession of Sardinia and Corsica. Certain unjustly severe articles in the Aragonese code of laws were modified according to this Pontiff's counsels. Sicily was relieved from an interdict, after the King, Frederick III., had agreed (in 1371) to pay tribute for that island, in the amount of 1500 gold florins a-year, to the Neapolitan crown, and to take thenceforth the title of "King of Trinacria." Joanna of Naples promised, after this, to obtain through her influence at the Curia the removal of the interdict, which the Sicilians had not set at nought; and that Queen herself renewed the vow of homage and fidelity to the Pope in the cathedral of her capital city on the 4th January, 1372. A bull, issued by Gregory in the March of 1375,

commanded all prelates, abbots, and heads of Religious Orders, with exception of the Cardinals, Legates, and Nuncios who held offices at his own or other courts, and the four Patriarchs whose sees were occupied by infidels, to return to their dioceses and monasteries for permanent residence in those spheres of their respective duties.

Once under this pontificate, twice in the course of this half century, had the Papal Government been almost dissolved—completely so, indeed, beyond the city and immediate environs of Rome. Yet Gregory XI. had only to show himself in Italy, and he was received like an angel from heaven! The best and worst qualities of such Government were manifested under his sway; inherent weakness, betrayal, and unworthy vicegerency by its own officials, but withal a certain self-regenerating power, a virtue and energy sufficient to command esteem. An administration in the hands of priests had become hateful, owing to individual vices, but also proved itself capable of winning and deserving love.

The Conclave which had now to elect a Pope was the first ever held in the Vatican palace, where sixteen Cardinals, eleven of whom were French, assembled on the 7th of April, 1378. The Roman magistrates appointed officials to administer justice and ensure safety to the sacred College and to all of the Pontific court during the vacancy. They placed strong guards in the purlieu of S. Peter's; and took the precaution of erecting a marble block, with an axe laid beside it, on the piazza before that church; causing proclamation to be made three times a day that instant death should be the punishment for any injury to the ecclesiastical dignitaries. Nevertheless the Conclave which ensued was most stormy; and the election was accomplished amidst such terrors and precipitation as drew down evils upon the future, affording pretext for the most dis-

astrous schism that ever afflicted the Roman Church. An armed multitude entered the palace together with the Cardinals, and forty of these intruders contrived to remain after the rest had been got rid of, and the doors shut for the night. The Bishop of Marseilles, charged with the guardianship of the Conclave, entertained them at a hospitable banquet, and at last, after eating and drinking their fill, they were induced by their own superiors to quit the palace at the third hour of night. The Borgo quarter round S. Peter's was crowded with citizens and peasants, attracted by curiosity to see what was to ensue, just as Compagna peasants of our own time flock into this city for the great religious ceremonies; and all that night the eating houses and wine-shops near the Vatican were filled by noisy customers. The general, and certainly not unreasonable demand, was that the new Pontiff should be a Roman, or at least an Italian. The Cardinals refused to treat with the people on this subject, and declared that if forced to elect an Italian, or whomsoever else, such nominee would not be recognised as legitimate Pope.

During the night and the whole of the next morning the Vatican was surrounded by menacing throngs, who urged their demand with vehement cries: *Romano lo volemo, lo Papa Romano lo volemo!* Two deputies of the people, admitted into the sacred precincts, represented to the Cardinals that their lives would be in danger unless the popular desire were complied with. They answered with dignity, asserting their right to perfect freedom of action; but promised that the election should be speedily accomplished. The tumult increased. Furious shouts, heard in the *penetralia* of the palace, threatened that all the Cardinals should be cut to pieces unless a Roman, or at least an Italian, became Pope. A Cardinal who appeared at a window to parley, was exposed to the terrors of a reception

only confirmatory of those threats. Three other Cardinals (the Deans of the three Orders, namely, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons) then showed themselves at the window, and intimated the promise that the Pontiff should certainly be an Italian. The election proceeded with the usual formalities ; and after a struggle between two parties, the votes concurred, almost unanimously, in favour of an individual not belonging to the sacred College, and therefore not present in the Conclave, Bartolomeo Prignani, a Neapolitan, recently raised to the See of Bari, the first who held in the Curia the office of "Regent of the Apostolic Chancery,"* and the last ever elected to the Papacy without being previously Cardinal. The event was announced to the people from a window by the Cardinal of S. Peter's (as the Archpriest of that basilica was styled) ; but the multitude around the palace, perhaps not hearing his words, supposed that he himself was the elect, greeted him with shouts and cries of "Viva San Pietro !" and began to disperse. They proceeded to act in a manner curiously characteristic of the social state of Rome, and of law as enforced there—namely, to invade and pillage the house of that aged Cardinal, named Tebaldeschi, whom they erroneously believed to be Pope. And, strange to say, this usage has been exemplified, indeed tolerated, on like occasions at periods much more modern than the XIV. century ! As soon as the Archbishop of Bari heard of the election above narrated, he hastened to remove his books and other property to a safe place, "lest (says his secretary) on the rumour arising that he had been elected Pope, the Romans, *as they were wont*, should break into his lodgings, to despoil

* A substitute, or representative, of the Vice-Chancellor of the Church, one of the highest offices, always held by a Cardinal. Prignani, though Archbishop of Bari, had never even visited his metropolitan See.

him of his books and other things." Meantime the weary Cardinals, taking advantage of an interval of tranquillity, sat down to a comfortless dinner (*miserrimo prandio*, as one chronicler describes), but were soon disturbed by yet more menacing tumult. The doors of the palace being still shut and guarded, the people returned, suspecting that they had been deceived by a false report; the Vatican was again surrounded, and many forced their way into the Conclave. In extreme alarm some Cardinals fled through a gap in the wall (probably prepared for such emergency of danger), but they were brought back by force; others, however, succeeded in escaping by different doors to the S. Angelo castle, some to more distant places of refuge, Zagarolo, and other fortified towns on the Campagna. The Vatican was in part sacked, and the cellars were reached by the invading populace, who drank their fill of the choice wines there deposited.* The fumes of intoxication now augmented the frenzy of excitement and rage. According to one account (and we have several by contemporaries) of these events, the Cardinals in their extreme terror forced, or persuaded, one of their colleagues, the Archpriest of S. Peter's, to assume a false character, and appear pontifically vested before the crowd who had broken in. That aged Cardinal was tumultuously led to the altar of the chapel, and overwhelmed with the homage eagerly offered to him by the people, till, compelled probably by pain, as his hands were swollen with gout, he protested that he was not entitled to this, that he was not the elect one. He was unheard or disregarded; those deceived could not be as easily undeceived. Meantime the Archbishop

* "Sitibundi et sitientes, volentes bibere de bono vino Papali, aperuerunt cellarium Domini Papae, in quo erant vina Gracca, Garnaria, Malvoisia, et diversa alia vina bona."—Thomas de Acerno, apud Muratori, I. iii.

of Bari, who, without being informed of what was in store for him, had been privately summoned to the palace, contrived to keep his election unknown to, and his person unobserved by, the people, and remained for the night, almost alone, in the Conclave. The next morning (9th April) he sent to announce his election to the Senators and Magistrates. They hastened to the Vatican, ready to do him homage as Pope; but he desired to wait till six Cardinals, who had taken refuge in the castle, could return with the safety guaranteed by the Senator. Eleven of the Cardinals reassembled about the hour of vespers, and at last in peace; but it seems that this day's evening did not pass without tumult in the city, owing to a mistake between the archiepiscopal title of the new Pope, and the name, Jean de Bar, that of a French Chamberlain of Gregory XI, in bad repute, whom report had represented as the elect. Urban VI (the name assumed by the real Pope) now received the usual homage, was placed in the chair of S. Peter, and gave his blessing to the people, sprinkling them with holy water, from the portico of the Vatican basilica. On the 18th April (Easter Sunday) he was crowned before the gates of S. Peter's,* and on the same day went with great pomp, attended by all the Cardinals, prelates, nobles, magistrates and officers, to take possession of the Lateran basilica.

In the first Consistory held by him, a few days after these ceremonies, Urban severely upbraided the Cardinals for their worldly and luxurious living;† declared his reso-

* The coronations of Popes took place in front of the church, visible to the multitude, before the new S. Peter's was built. The installations at the Lateran were usually the most splendid of these inaugural rites.

† "The greater number of them (the Cardinals) kept each a hundred horses, and had ten or twelve bishops and barons (in their suite); they all possessed great churches as well as hospices; and they moreover

lution to put a stop to such scandals; required that each Cardinal and prelate should be contented with a single benefice, and moreover with a single dish at meals, at which latter requirement the Cardinals (almost all French, as we have seen) were grievously displeased.* The Pope himself gave example of this abstemious diet, even when he entertained his dissatisfied guests to such scanty banquets.

Among his first acts of foreign policy was the confirmation of the election of Wenceslaus, son of Charles IV., to the Empire—the consent of the Holy See being still deemed requisite in such cases. Another act was the acceptance of a treaty with Florence, by which that Republic obtained relief from the anathemas thundered against it by Gregory XI., whilst pledging itself to the payment of large sums, 70,000 florins in that year, and 180,000 in the course of four years, for the expenses of the war carried on by Rome. “This enlightened Republic (observes Milman) trembled under ecclesiastical censures even from a Pope of doubtful title.”

The antecedents of Urban VI. had been a personal protest against the corruptions of the time; modest, austere, studious, as his private life is described by Theodore de Niem, his secretary, who tells us that “he never went abroad with more than one servant and two mules;” and that he, the same secretary, used every night to read the Scriptures to him, after he had laid down on his bed, till he fell asleep. But this pontiff presents an example of the deteriorating effects of power and irresponsibility on character. The modest and virtuous prelate became an irascible, hard-hearted, and cruelly vindictive Pope. His treatment of

led wicked and licentious lives.”—*Cronica Riminese* in Muratori, *Rev. It. Script.* T. xv.

* “De quo scandalizati fuerunt nimium Domini Cardinales,” says a chronicler edited by Muratori.

the Cardinals, whom he insulted rather than admonished, soon provoked the opposition which assumed alarming proportions, and led to a schism disastrous to the whole Church. Thirteen of their number (twelve French and one Spaniard) withdrew to Anagni,* and there, having procured troops from Viterbo to protect them against violence, drew up a protest, requiring Urban VI. to abdicate, declaring his election to have been compulsory, and therefore invalid; and threatening him with canonical penalties unless he should comply with their mandate. On the 9th August (1378) they passed sentence of deposition against him. From Anagni they went to Fondi, where they had a powerful protector in Onorato Gaetani, Count and feudal lord of that place. Thither they invited three Italian Cardinals, who had accompanied Urban VI. to Tivoli; and to whom they held out the bait of promising for *each* the Papal tiara at the new election they meditated. The Italian Cardinals came, but did not, according to some writers, approve of their counsels. On the 21st September was held a Conclave in the Gaetani palace at Fondi; and the Cardinal of Geneva, whose acts as Legate had been notorious, was elected Pope. He took the name of Clement VII., and was crowned in the Fondi cathedral on the 31st October; the tiara and pontific jewels having been brought from the Castle of S. Angelo. In the sacristy of that cathedral is kept a marble throne, adorned with mosaics, but much mutilated, said to be that on which the Antipope was inauspiciously installed; and the ruins of the Gaetani palace, still conspicuous at Fondi, are popularly called, "palazzo del Papa."†

* Muratori says their number was twelve in all.

† Von Reumont informs us that this cathedral and the episcopal chair in question suffered from Saracenic outrages on the occasion of a raid against Fondi by Chiareddin Barbarossa, 1534, with the object of carry-

Clement was at once recognised by the Neapolitan Queen, and subsequently by France, Spain, Saxony, Scotland, and Cyprus. But those very Cardinals who elected him, had voted for, and during several weeks treated Urban as legitimate Pope. They had written to Princes, announcing his election as such. The Cardinal, who now became his rival, had himself written in that sense to the king of England, Richard II. ; and the six French Cardinals at Avignon, to whom tidings of the new election were sent, refused at first to recognise Clement, whilst they reprobated the authors of the schism.*

Joanna of Naples was at first favourably disposed towards Urban, a born subject of her crown ; and her capital was illuminated for several nights in honour of his election. She received his envoys with honour, and sent them back laden with presents for the Pope : 40,000 ducats in ready money, and shiploads of wine, corn, salt meats, cheese—"vina et blada, ac carnes salsas, et caseos per mare in navigiis, in magnis quantitatibus," says Theodore de Niem. The Queen's fourth husband, Otho of Brunswick, Prince of

ing away, as a prize for the Sultan, the beautiful Julia Gonzaga, wife of Vespasiano Colonna, Count of Fondi, after the Gaetani had lost that place and title. The fair lady fled from her castle to the mountains on the night of this attack, and Barbarossa could only vent his rage against defenceless citizens, or senseless stones. Over the entrance to the cathedral is a lunette of one of the Gaetani family kneeling before the Virgin. Fondi is now a wild and savage-looking town.

• "O wicked servants (they answered, addressing the Cardinals at Fondi)—ye shall be condemned out of your own mouth! Ye say that a fierce multitude of armed men surrounded your Conclave, with terrible and mortal threats, to force you to elect an Italian or a Roman, yet without limiting your choice to any one person in particular. It is therefore manifest, as to the person whom ye own to have elected, that ye chose him freely and not under violence. The election of that person we hold, and shall firmly hold, to have been canonically accomplished."

WALSINGHAM, in *Richard*, an. 1378.

Tarentum, offered his respects to the Pontiff in person, having arrived at Rome shortly after his election.* The sullen pride of Urban offended the Prince; and the historian above-cited describes a scene at a banquet, when Otho, kneeling before the Pope, offered him a cup of wine, which he delayed to receive till rebuked by a Cardinal for such ungracious haughtiness. Otho's efforts to make peace between Urban and the rebellious Cardinals were sternly repulsed; and he remarked that such a Pontiff would prove the ruin of many; that he should rather be called "Turbanus" than Urbanus. It was probably his conduct to her husband, which alienated Joanna from his cause; and on hearing that she supported the schismatic Cardinals, the furious Pope declared he would send her to spin wool in the convent of S. Chiara at Naples.

After finding himself deserted by almost all the Cardinals, he created twenty-six others, and would have given the Cardinalitial rank to twenty-nine at once, but that three refused the now somewhat perilous honours. The Antipope meantime projected an attempt to expel his rival by armed force from Rome; and sent the Bretons, still in his pay, to devastate the Campagna, and effect the occupation of the city. The towns of the Comarca were divided between the two claimants. Terracina, Anagni, Veroli declared for Clement; Altari and Ferentino for Urban. The Count of Fondi made war against his own relatives on behalf of the Antipope; took by force from his brother the picturesque and strong-built town of Sermoneta; and from his cousins the high-placed Norma, on the mountain opposite to Sermoneta, also the now ruined Ninfa on the plain below. The Orsini faction, opposed by Francesco di Vico

* According to Muratori, the Queen's substantial gifts were presented by Otho, not by the envoys.

of Viterbo, began the usual interchange of raids and depredations on the mournful Campagna. The Bretons, after encamping under the Alban hills, and devastating the surrounding district, attempted to approach Rome by the Salarian bridge over the Anio. There meeting with resistance, they slew, and threw into the river many soldiers of the guard on duty. This being reported in the city, a multitude marched, tumultuously and without order, out of the gates against the invaders. An action took place at that bridge fatal in result to the Romans, and at least eighty (according to some writers a much greater number) of their militia were left dead on the Anio banks—"slaughtered like cattle at the shambles," says Theodore de Niem.* When this disaster was known in the city, not only wailing and panic, but tumult and indignation prevailed. The popular hatred broke out more violently than before (though already manifested in similar scenes during this contest) against the prelates and "curiales," or courtiers of the Vatican, especially against the foreigners in such office. Their houses were broken into, their goods despoiled; their persons seized and thrown into prison, where many remained several months. Women reviled and spat at the foreign bishops in the streets—such the odium drawn down upon the ecclesiastical court by Pope and Antipope! At last the Bretons, informed by their spies of a meeting of principal citizens on the Capitol, for consultation at this emergency, seized the opportunity of effecting entrance by the Lateran gate. A mounted company with lances, thus

* There are great discrepancies in the accounts of that action at the bridge over the Anio; some writers reporting the numbers slain as 300, others as 200; the minimum, 80, seems more credible, if the slaughter on one side alone be considered. A recent invasion, 1867, induced the Pontific officers to order the blowing up of the ancient bridge in question, as it was feared that Garibaldi's volunteers might approach Rome by the Salarian Way, which crosses it.

entering, rode straight to the Capitol, and reached it as the counsellors were dispersing. The citizens took arms, and a tumultuous combat ensued, in which the horsemen with their lances had naturally the advantage, and about two hundred Romans were slain on the piazza of the Capitol. But the Bretons, instead of following up their victory, and occupying the city for the Antipope, at once retreated, fearing perhaps the aggregate force which might have been arrayed against them.

The S. Angelo castle was held by a French captain, Pierre de Rostaing, with a garrison; he had never given up that fortress, as required, to Urban VI., and now defended it for the Antipope.* From that gloomy fortress descended showers of darts and bolts; and presently began a bombardment, spreading conflagration, ruin, and death around the castellated mausoleum.† A circle of warfare, at the same time, environed Rome; the Orsini and Onorato Gaetani had led their forces to the siege; and the S. Agnes gateway (Porta Pia) was attacked during almost a whole month by Raynaldo, one of the Orsini brothers. The cattle and flocks, driven to the city for the sustenance of the unfortunate people, were seized by the assailants; and only the fields and vineyards nearest to the walls could be utilized for obtaining other food. At last the Romans had strength to open a systematic assault on the castle of S.

* After the death of Gregory XI. this chatelain inquired of the French Cardinals at Avignon whether he should consign the castle to that Pope's successor. They replied that it was manifestly his duty to do so, and that they doubted not that their colleagues in Rome would be of the same opinion. But the other Cardinals secretly intimated to Rostaing that he was not to give up that fortress to Urban VI., who, consequently, could not be completely master of the city.

† "Guerram movit cum sagittis et bombardis ad ipsam Urbem vehementissime sagittando; multas cum eisdem bombardis, seu pixidibus æneis, domos concussit."—Theod. à Niem, *Historia*.

Angelo. That fortress was besieged for the greater part of a year, and at last taken, 29th April, 1379.* The victors applied themselves strenuously to the task of demolition, intending utterly to destroy the imperial Mausoleum. The quadrangular basement was reduced to the state of ruin in which we now see it; all the marble incrustations were stript off; but the massive travertine structure of the huge rotunda resisted, in the lower part at least, all the efforts of the assailants, and was left to defy time and violence as it does at the present day. It stood in gaping ruin and desolate solitude, like the colossal tombs on the Appian Way, till restored in brickwork by Boniface IX., finally rising again into strategic importance, with buildings strengthened and enlarged by the works of Alexander VI. and Paul III. Theodore of Niem describes vast corridors extending far below the central tower, lined with good brickwork, and spacious enough for two riders or five pedestrians to advance abreast along their dark ways; subterraneans unknown to modern research, and probably formed for retreat or escape when the tomb was first converted into a fortress. The first writer who mentions this building subsequently to the siege and attempted demolition, is Benvenuto di Rambaldi, the commentator of Dante. He describes it, in the year 1389, as "destroyed and laid prostrate"—a manifest exaggeration.†

The Antipope who, as we have seen, obtained support and recognition from Queen Joanna and her fourth husband, Otho, who had been present at his coronation, was invited by the Queen to Naples, and escorted thither from Fondi by troops sent for the purpose. At Naples he was entertained in the royal residence, that gloomy Castel dell'

* "That fortress" (says Muratori) "was constrained to surrender either by famine, or more probably by payment."

† "Istud sumptuosum opus destructum et prostratum est."

Uovo, which looks like a mass of solid rock rising out of the sea, and was then united only by a bridge with the mainland. Here Clement received devout homage from Joanna, her husband, the barons, knights, and also ladies of the court. But disturbance broke out in the city after the arrival of this unpopular guest—for such he was to the Neapolitans, whose religious instinct, naturally strong, in this case guided them right, and determined their opposition to a pretender, the invalidity of whose claims they could understand. The popular voice declared against undertaking war, or submitting to any national sacrifice for the cause of an Antipope; and Joanna was obliged to yield for the sake of her own and of Clement's safety. She dismissed her guest, who returned to Fondi,* and who, soon afterwards, accompanied by the Queen and by the Cardinals of his party, embarked in three galleys for Marseilles, whence he proceeded to Avignon, henceforth the seat of the Antipopes during a schism of forty years' duration.

Urban, after taking refuge from the political tempest at Tivoli, returned to Rome, and passed, barefooted, in penitential procession through the streets to S. Peter's.

Far from peaceful, however, was his life at Rome during the rest of this and the first months of the following year. At one crisis of danger he met his fierce adversaries with a commanding dignity which evinced the worthier elements in his character, and reminds of the conduct of Boniface VIII. before his persecutors at Anagni. A passionate revolt broke out among the people, how immediately provoked we cannot learn. The insurgents entered the Vatican palace with tumult and violence. Urban received them

* Collenuccio states that the Queen and Clement embarked from the castle at Naples for Marseilles, without separating before that voyage; but earlier writers mention the Antipope's return to Fondi, and embarkation at Gaeta.

seated on his throne, in pontific vestments, the tiara on his head, the crucifix in his hand. "Whom seek ye?" he asked of the crowd. At which words, answered by none, they shrank back awe-struck, and without attempting farther outrage, quitted the chamber and palace at once!

Soon after the taking of the S. Angelo castle, during the siege of which he could not reside at the Vatican, Urban published a crusade against the Neapolitan Queen, denouncing her as schismatic, heretical, unworthy to reign, and offering her crown to Charles, Duke of Durazzo, a descendant of King Robert, and nephew of the Queen, who, being childless, had recently adopted as her heir Louis of Anjou, brother to the French king, Charles V. Urban laid his plans with fatal success, and sowed the seeds of future evil, to fructify in a long series of civil wars, invasions, and incalculable sorrows to the Neapolitan kingdom. The demons of Discord and Slaughter may be said to have obeyed the summons of this Pope. The conditions he dictated for the acceptance of the offered crown were,—that it was to be held as a dependency of the Papacy, and that the Principedom of Capua and the Duchy of Amalfi were to be conferred on his nephew, Francesco de Prignano, called Buttillo,—to all which Charles of Durazzo assented. That Prince arrived in Rome from Hungary, where he had received Urban's propositions, in November, 1380,* and was received with all possible honours; first created Gonfaloniere (or standard-bearer) of the Church and Senator of Rome. Finally, after taking the oath of fealty to the Holy See for his prospective kingdom under the same conditions as did Charles of Anjou in 1265, he was crowned by Urban's hand at S. Peter's on the Feast of Pentecost, 2nd June,

* The crown had been first offered to Louis, King of Hungary, now an aged man, the cousin of Charles of Durazzo, and brother to the unfortunate Prince Andrea, first husband of Queen Joanna.

1381. Charles III. of Jerusalem and Sicily, as he was now styled, had need of money for the invasion of his new states, and Urban did not scruple to seize or pledge the sacred ornaments and images in churches, to despoil altars of their sacramental vessels, their gold or silver crosses, for the expenses of this "Crusade;" about 80,000 gold florins being thus amassed and presented to Charles.* More than the usual indulgences were promised to all who would take arms in this war; and it was this spiritual bounty for temporal ends which suggested to Froissart the observation that "military men do not live upon pardons, but hold them in slight esteem till the hour of death." Tithes were imposed on all benefices in England for the same cause, and a Bishop of Norwich (Henry Spencer) was appointed leader of the crusading forces from that country. The revenues of *all* vacant benefices were reserved to himself by the Pope, who, not contented with this, ordered the estates and property of churches and monasteries in Rome to be sold to citizens, who purchased enough to yield more than 80,000 gold florins for the Pontific treasury. Shortly afterwards Urban commissioned two Cardinals to pledge or alienate the moveable and immoveable property of many other churches, notwithstanding the opposition made by Bishops or Chapters, who had a right to reclaim against such proceedings. Similar means were used, and with the same unscrupulous rapacity, by the Antipope, in France, to supply funds for the war in the Anjou cause. "The cause of God was alleged by both alike (says Mura-

* "Aureos et argenteos calices, cruces, et alia pretiosa jocalia Ecclesiarum et monasteriorum in magno numero et valore distrahendo et alienando, necnon multas imagines Sanctorum etiam argenteas tunc conflando in monetam reduci fecit, et pecunias quæ exinde pervenerunt ipsi regi Carolo pro solvendis stipendiis suo exercitu assignando."—Theod. de Niem, l. I, c. xxii.

tori), while both were guided by the same counsellor, Ambition."

Pope Urban pronounced at S. Peter's an eulogium on the king, fastened a red cross on his breast, and placed a gilt battle-axe in his hand—to confirm by symbolism his character as a veritable "Crusader." On the same evening (8th June, 1381) Charles left Rome with a splendid retinue of nobles, knights, pages, and about 300 lances; all the Cardinals accompanying him to the Ostian gate, and there taking leave, while they actually knelt before this favourite of Fortune and the Pope. With about 1500 horse, and a much greater number of foot soldiery, that Prince invaded the Neapolitan States, and having arrived in the capital on the 17th July, besieged the Castel Nuovo, where the queen had taken refuge, unable to maintain more than a brief and feeble resistance. Her imprisonment and tragic fate, her death by assassination (22nd May, 1382), are well known. Urban's vengeance was complete!

Meantime the Antipope, not less active than his rival, crowned Louis of Anjou at Avignon, conferred on him also the office of Standard-bearer of the Church, and furnished for the expenses of the counter-invasion all he could offer,—a great deal more indeed—namely, another kingdom to comprise the principal provinces of the Pontific States, under the name "Kingdom of Adria,"* for this rival claimant of the disputed sovereignty. Louis set out for Southern Italy soon afterwards. On his approach, Urban, fearing for the safety of his person and capital, offered the same indulgences as those of the Crusade to all who would bear arms in his defence during four months. But the danger was imaginary. Louis never appeared before

* The authenticity of the Bull, in which this strange offer is made by Clement to Louis, has been questioned.

Rome's walls, pursuing his march along the mountains and through the towns nearer to the Adriatic coast. Contrary to the advice of several Cardinals, Urban determined to visit that kingdom, now ruled by, and generally subjected to, the successful claimant, but far indeed from being peaceful or well-governed. Charles met his guest near Aversa, and, alighting from his horse, acted as groom to the Pontiff, walking beside him till they entered that town. At the spot where the meeting took place some delay necessarily occurred; many peasants crowded around the Pope, all eager to kiss his foot, but before they did so prostrating and three times kissing the ground—so like what the superstitious peasantry of those parts would do at the present day, that the anecdote (see Theodore de Niem) is worth preserving. It soon became evident that no cordial friendship existed between the King and Pontiff. At Aversa the Pope, after being first lodged in the episcopal palace, was led thence by night, almost with violence, to the castle, and there detained three days like a state prisoner. At Naples he made his entry together with the king, and was received by all the clergy as well as by the people, eager to see him pass, with the greatest honour. The Castel Nuovo, the royal residence of the Anjous, was his lodging. He here published the crusade against Louis, who had led his forces into Apulia. The king is said by some writers to have renewed, by others to have demurred to his promise of constituting an independent Duchy in his own States for the benefit of the Pope's nephew.* That individual soon disgraced himself by a crime against the person of a professed nun, a noble lady, whom he carried

* "The author of the *Giornali Napoletani* writes that the King promised anew, and confirmed the promise already made, to bestow on the Pope's nephew the principality of Capua, the Duchy of Amalfi, Nocera, Scafati, and other towns."—Muratori, *Annali*, an. 1383.

away from the convent of S. Salvatore, and detained for some days at his lodging—a monstrous sacrilege against the Church, and especially odious in the eyes of the devout Neapolitans. He was cited before the tribunal of the King, and, not appearing, condemned to capital punishment. His uncle excused him on the plea of his youth—the juvenile offender being in his fortieth or forty-first year; and Urban contrived so efficiently to protect, that the sentence and all legal proceedings against him were nullified. The revenues of his Duchy, 70,000 gold florins per annum, were secured to Francesco Prignano, who, for a short time, held all the possessions the Pope had claimed for him, but lost everything after Urban's death, and came to a miserable end, perishing with all his family by shipwreck on a voyage to Venice. The final rupture between Charles and Urban is said to have been hastened by the freedom with which the latter (now animated by good intentions indeed) advised the former to lighten the burden of taxes felt distressfully by his subjects—to which Charles replied that a Pontiff should attend to ecclesiastical affairs, not to those of kings or their ministers. Urban, treated and guarded rather as a prisoner than a guest in the great castle, obtained at last the liberty to reside in the archiepiscopal palace instead. The semblance of a reconciliation was brought about after this; and on his next visit to the King the Pope entered the royal chambers under a canopy of gold tissue, and was received by his Majesty with prostration before him and the homage of kissing his foot. Charles promised him 5000 gold scudi per annum, on condition of his abstaining from all interference in the administration of the realm. On New Year's Day, 1384, Urban celebrated high Mass in the Naples cathedral; blessed the standard of the Crusade, and bestowed it upon the King, as Captain General of the Church; after this excommunicating the

Anjou Duke Louis. Plenary indulgence was again promised to all combatants in the cause of the Durazzo against the Anjou house. After Charles had marched with his army into Apulia for this war, Urban also left Naples, and went to Nocera, one of the towns now held by his nephew. He was here apprised by the Cardinal Orsino of a plot, in which six (Theodore de Niem says five) Cardinals and the Bishop of Aquila were said to be accomplices, for seizing the Pope's person and causing him to be arraigned as heretical; among the accused being the Cardinal Archbishops of Taranto and Corfu, a Franciscan Cardinal who had formerly been Archbishop of Genoa, and the Bishop of London—"all (says Muratori) among the most learned and conspicuous persons of the Sacred College." They were arrested and thrown into prison, loaded with chains, the night before the attempt was, according to their accusers, to have been carried out. In the castle of Nocera, where the Pope resided, they were examined by the "question," and every such torture as the legalised atrocity of the time could apply was suffered by these unfortunate victims, all of whom declared their innocence, except the Bishop of Aquila, who once confessed, but retracted so soon as relieved from agony. Theodore de Niem was one of those charged to preside, and from him (an eye-witness on several occasions) we have the sickening details of these ghastly scenes in the castle, besides report of the remorseless persistence of the Pope, who rejected the intercessions of the King, and sternly repulsed his own attendants when they ventured, with tears and entreaties, to appeal on behalf of the unhappy Cardinals.* Whilst a Venetian Cardinal was being tortured, Urban walked in the garden overlooked by

* "*Quanta plura dixi (says Theodore of his own vain efforts in the cause of mercy) tanto magis ipse irascebatur, et facta est facies ejus tandem prae iracundia quasi lampas ardens.*"

the window of the room to which the captives used to be led for the "question"; and there recited his breviary in a loud voice, thus to remind the executioners of his presence and stimulate them to their task! Perhaps the worst accusation ever brought against Urban VI. was that wrung by anguish, almost without intent, certainly without power to injure him, from one of his victims, the Cardinal de Sangro, who owned the judgment of God in his terrible sufferings, not more, he said, than he deserved for the wrongs he had inflicted when acting as Legate in that kingdom, sparing neither Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, nor priests, because he hoped *thus* to please his master! * No proof whatever of the actual guilt of these Cardinals is on record. The Pope, seizing the pretext for a final rupture with the King, now imputed to Charles III. participation in, or instigation of, the supposed plot. He solemnly excommunicated the King and his Queen Margarita, declared that they had forfeited the crown, and laid Naples under interdict. He summoned Charles to appear before his tribunal, to which his Majesty answered that he would come *in arms*. The Neapolitan clergy were forbidden to observe the interdict, and penalties were threatened to those who should pay any heed to it. Presently the Grand Constable of the realm, Alberigo da Barbiano, who had formerly served the Pope, appeared with an army before Nocera. That town (or probably the castle alone) was besieged from the beginning of February till about the middle of August, 1385, during which period the Pope daily appeared at a window, and with sound of bell and burning torch, four times pronounced anathema and curse against his enemies, throwing down the torch at the climac-

* The Neapolitan and Italian clergy had been persecuted by Urban's agents for their supposed attachment to the cause of the Antipope; the Cardinal de Sangro was active in carrying out these proceedings against them by destitution, confiscation, and torture.

teric words. The Constable answered by publishing to the sound of trumpet the price, 10,000 gold florins, set on Urban's head, and offered to whomsoever should deliver him up, alive or otherwise. Whilst the siege lasted, the captive Cardinals (their prison, we are told, was a dry cistern of the castle) were frequently tortured, but persisted in protesting their innocence, and were sent back to suffer cold, hunger, and thirst, besides the sharper pangs so often endured by them. Theodore, who was obliged to attend, with the Pope's nephew and other assessors, could not always endure the scenes in the torture-room, and sought excuse for escaping. On the 5th July, an effort was made to rescue the Pope. Raimondello Orsino, arriving with troops, attacked the besieging army, and effected entrance with his soldiers into the castle. When recovered from a wound received in the encounter, he left, after 10,000 gold florins had been paid down by the Pope for his deliverance, and marching with his forces into Calabria, obtained efficient co-operation from the Count di Sanseverino. The latter soon appeared at the head of 3000 horse before Nocera, and at once succeeded in his gallant intervention, discomfited the assailants, and set free the Pope, who, on the 8th August, quitted the Nocera castle, escorted by his valiant protectors, and leading with him in bondage the accused Cardinals. Theodore de Niem states, what we may reject as an incredible atrocity, of which even Urban VI. would scarcely have been capable : that, because the Bishop of Aquila was too much enfeebled by suffering to keep pace on horseback with the rest, Urban ordered the guards to kill him on the spot, and leave his corpse on the roadside ! * The travellers pro-

* No other historian of the time mentions this ; and the secretary, who was present at the tortures, does not speak as an eye-witness of that journey, not having been of the party.

ceeded by mountain paths to Benevento, where the Pope had the usual honours paid to him, and lodged in the picturesque castle on a plateau at the upper end of that city. Thence he pursued his journey to Bari; and from that port, or from some point of the coast nearer to Trani, sailed with his attendants and prisoners in ten galleys provided (not without a high price charged) by the Genoese, for the capital of that Republic. Landing at Messina, Urban there published once more the anathemas and sentence of deposition against Charles III. At Corneto he pledged that city, and made its inhabitants hostages, to the Genoese for the payment of his debts. At the port of Pisa, where was another sojourn on this voyage, Pietro Gambacorti, lord of that city, came to do honour to the Pontiff, and at the same time to intercede for his prisoners. The Pope ordered them to be brought before him: squalid, hirsute, emaciated, their scanty garments hanging loose round their wasted persons, they came to hear themselves fiercely reproached for their crime; they protested their innocence, and summoned Urban to answer before the judgment-seat of God for their wrongs, at which the Pope grew furious, commanded them to be taken back to the ships, and declared to Gambacorti that they were wretches unworthy of compassion! On the 23rd September the galleys arrived at Genoa, where Urban resided during the rest of the year in a convent of the Knights of S. John. Whilst here he felt the consequences of the impression made by his cruelties. Even in those times the reputed Vicar of Christ could not so far defy public opinion or moral feeling as to drag about in chains the tortured captives,—who followed him into Genoa, with bare heads and bare feet, riding on mean animals—even an Urban VI., in the midst of external honours and ecclesiastical pomps, could not display *this* spectacle without exciting reprobation.

tion to be embodied, sooner or later, in avenging deeds or irreconcilable animosities. The convent, S. Giovanni di Pré, where he lodged, was assailed by an angry people, and though they were repulsed, the Pope's servants fell into rude hands. Plans for the rescue of the prisoners were made in the city, and it was even believed that Urban's life might be taken away by poison. The fate of the Cardinals, one of whom, Da Cagorno, had been the revered pastor of the Genoese See, was only accelerated. They mysteriously disappeared from their dungeon, either strangled, their bodies being destroyed by quicklime in a pit under the stables, or (as Platina states) tied up in sacks and thrown into the sea. Five were the victims put to death without form of trial at Genoa; but one, the Englishman, Adam Eston, styled on his tomb perpetual administrator of the diocese of London, who was not even accused of more than cognisance of the supposed conspiracy, was spared, on the intercession of his sovereign, Richard II. Even so far as London had travelled the report of those cruelties which incited the English King to an effort for the rescue of a subject from the "unrelenting fangs" of Urban VI. Cardinal Eston, degraded from his rank, and utterly impoverished, was able to leave Italy, but still under durance, and guarded by a French cleric of the pontifical "Camera."*

The rumour of another invasion of the Neapolitan States by the young Louis, son of the Anjou Duke, rival of Charles III.—Louis I. having died of his wounds in Apulia—alarmed the Pope so much as to induce him to quit Genoa in the December of this year. He travelled to

* He was restored to honours by Boniface IX., and died at Rome 1397. One Cardinal, who was at Genoa at this time, deserted Urban on account of these atrocities, and publicly burned the red hat, received from him, on a piazza at Pavia. He afterwards received another from the Antipope.

Lucca, and there remained till the following September, 1387. At the Christmas celebrations in the grand old cathedral, he introduced a usage which has since held its place among the spectacular pomps of the Roman Church, still contributing to the symbolism and significance of the august pontific rites at the Vatican on the night and morning of the Nativity: the blessing, namely, of the Sword and Cap (*gladium et pileum*, or *ensis et galerus*—italicé, *stocco e berrettone*)—destined as a gift to some prince, or valiant captain, distinguished by signal services to the Church or the Holy See. The intent is to substitute such donations for the more ancient practice of presenting the “Standard of S. Peter,” embroidered or painted with the image of that Apostle and the pontific keys, to some alike meritorious champion. Urban VI. blessed the sword and cap, now for the first time so used, at the midnight High Mass, and at once bestowed them on Forteguerra, Gonfaloniere of the Lucchese Republic, who had served as Subdeacon, chanting the Epistle, at that same rite.*

* The prayer with which this blessing is given, holy water and incense being used, supplies the best exposition of the significance ascribed to the objects—though the sword only is here contemplated: “Benedicere digneris quæsumus, Domine Jesu Christi, hunc ensem in defensionem S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Christianæ Reipublicæ, ordinatum nostræ benedictionis officio ad vindictum malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum; ut per eum, qui te inspirante illo accingitur, vim æquitatis exerceas, molemque iniquitatis potenter evertas, et sanctam Ecclesiam tuam, ejusque fideles, quos ut pretioso tuo sanguine redimeres hodie in terris descendere et carnem nostram sumere dignatus es, ab omni periculo protegas atque defendas, et famulum tuum, qui hoc gladio in tuo nomine armatus erit, pietatis tuæ firma custodia munias, illæsumque custodias; Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia secula seculorum.” Those instances of the bestowal of the sword and cap, which fall within the period contemplated in this volume, serve so far to indicate an historic bias of the Papacy, that I may here enumerate them. The donation was made, after the first instance

The sword and cap are in our time blessed by the Pope in the sacristy of the Sistine Chapel, before matins on that sacred night, or at S. Maria Maggiore when his Holiness celebrates the midnight mass there ; and both objects are

above mentioned, by John XXIII. to the Emperor Sigismund at Constance, during the sessions of the Council fatal to that Pontiff, in 1414 ; by Martin V. to the Dauphin, son of Charles VI., 1419 ; by Eugenius IV., at Florence, to the " Signoria " of that Republic, through the hands of the Gonfaloniere Minerbetti, 1434 ; by Nicholas V. to Albert of Austria, brother of the Emperor Frederick III., 1456 ; also to Ludovico Bentivoglio, Senator of Bologna, through means of the Cardinal Legate Bessarion ; by Calixtus III. to Henry IV. of Castile, after his victories over the Moors, 1457 ; by Pius III., from Mantua, to Frederick III., 1459 ; to Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, 1460 ; to Louis XI., with exhortations to join the Crusade against the Turks, 1461 ; to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 1461 ; and to Cristoforo Moro, Doge of Venice, 1464, (the principal, if not sole object of these favours being the promotion of the cause enthusiastically embraced by that energetic Pope—the delivery of Constantinople from Moslem sway) ; by Paul II. to the same Emperor Frederick, at Rome, 1468, and to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, 1471 ; by Sixtus IV., to Filiberto I., Duke of Savoy, 1474 ; to Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, 1477 ; to Edward IV. of England, 1477 ; by Innocent VIII. to Francis, Prince of Aragon, son of the Neapolitan king, Ferdinand I., 1484 ; and to Giovan Giacomo Trivulzio, the Milanese general of the pontifical army, 1488 ; by Alexander VI. to the Landgrave of Hesse, 1492 ; to the Prince, afterwards King Ferdinand II. of Naples, 1493 ; to the Archduke Philip of Austria, father of Charles V., 1497 ; and to Louis XII. of France, 1499. The instances in which the donation has been made to Sovereigns of the British Isle, besides that given in the above list, were the following : by Julius II. to Henry VII., 1505 ; by Leo X. to Henry VIII., at the same time that the title " Defender of the Faith " was conferred upon him, 1515 ; also to James V. of Scotland, 1514 ; by Paul III. to the same James V., with admonitions to protect the Catholic faith and people from the persecutions of Henry VIII., 1537 ; by Julius III. to Philip II. of Spain, the Consort of Mary of England, at the same time that the symbol of the Golden Rose was sent for that Queen, through Cardinal Pole, 1555. The last donation was by Leo XII., 1825, to the Duke d'Angoulême, soon after his expedition to put down the constitutional party in Spain, and restore

supported by a mace-bearer, at the epistle-side of the altar during the ensuing rites, as is the case also on the next morning, when they again appear in the superb procession before and after the Papal High Mass at S. Peter's. The sword is a huge two-handed weapon, with golden pommel; the cap like those formerly worn by Sovereign Dukes (but much too large for any human head), of crimson velvet and carmine, adorned with pearls, and with the figure of a dove in silver filigree on the front; this broad-brimmed head-piece being far less graceful than gorgeous. Liturgic writers find a mystic origin for the observance in the vision of Judas Maccabeus, when he beheld, on the night before he was to combat against Nicanor, Governor of Judea under King Demetrius, an apparition he himself describes—the late High Priest Onias in act of interceding for the Israelites, and the Prophet Jeremiah, who presented to him a golden sword, with words of inspiring import.*

. From Lucca the Pope went to Perugia, whose citizens were now loyally disposed towards him, notwithstanding their frequent revolts against pontific sway. He made his

the absolute government of Ferdinand VII. For this complimentary offering the Pope blessed the sword and cap a second time, on the 3rd May, and sent a special Ablegate to confer them on the Duke at Paris. Since then these objects have been but once renewed.

* “And this was his vision : That Onias, who had been high priest, a virtuous and good man, reverend in conversation, gentle in condition, well spoken of, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, holding up his hands, prayed for the whole body of the Jews. This done, in like manner there appeared a man with grey hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty. Then Onias answered, saying, This is a lover of the brethren, who prayeth much for the people and for the holy city, to wit, Jeremias the Prophet of God. Whereupon Jeremias, holding forth his right hand, gave to Judas a sword of gold, and in giving it spake thus: Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries.”—*Maccabees II., c. XV. 12—16.*

entry accompanied by eleven Cardinals, and an escort of more than 500 horse. A few days afterwards he published, on the principal piazza, the crusade and ban of the Church, with the usual symbolism of burning and extinguished tapers, against Spoleto and Orvieto, cities at this time in revolt against his government, and of which the latter, especially, was disturbed by internal discords. A successful intervention for the pontific cause was effected in those districts by the two Orsini and the same Count di Sanseverino who had rescued Urban at Nocera. The environs of the Lake of Bolsena were mercilessly devastated; harvests destroyed, herds and flocks driven away by the troops there combating for the Pope.

Charles III was assassinated (1386) in Hungary, whither he had gone to claim the crown after the death of his cousin, King Louis. The succession of his son Ladislaus, a child ten years old, to the Italian kingdom was disputed; and his widow, nominally Queen Regent, was obliged to fly with her two children from the Castello d'Uovo to the fortress of Gaeta. Urban boldly put forth the claim that the Neapolitan kingdom had devolved on the Holy See; and formed the project of obtaining it by conquest, probably with intent of bestowing the crown deemed vacant on his nephew. It was in vain that the widowed Queen sought to mollify his heart by releasing Francesco Prignano from imprisonment, and sending him to entreat the pontific protection for her children and herself, or at least to allow ecclesiastical sepulture to the remains of her murdered husband. The Pope, without either army or money sufficient for accomplishing his ambitious project, required all the bishops of his obedience (namely, those who did not recognise the Antipope) to enjoin on their people the sacred duty of co-operating in arms, or by payment, with the war in his interest. These efforts were unsuccessful;

but Urban had means to hire a not inconsiderable force in Tuscany and among the disbanded English mercenaries, who offered their services under a captain of the same country. Escorted by these troops he left Perugia, bent upon the Neapolitan invasion; but had not travelled more than ten miles when he fell from his mule, and suffered such injuries, being of unwieldy corpulent person, as disabled him from riding farther, and probably hastened his death. He proceeded, however, in a vehicle of some sort. At Narni his soldiers began to manifest discontent, and it is said that as many as 3000, the most efficient because mounted men, there deserted, leaving not more than 800 in his service for the rest of the disastrous journey. Urban did not wish to repair to Rome, but to reach Ferentino by way of Tivoli, at which town he was waited on by a deputation of Romans, with the request that he would immediately return to the capital, which had not seen him for about five years. Disregarding this prayer, he proceeded to Ferentino, where the remaining troops, whom he could not pay, followed the example of their comrades, and disbanded. According to some chroniclers, however, this desertion was not the act alike of all those mercenaries; a certain number remained; but as the Romans refused to admit them within their city, the Pope sent them to make war in the revolted Orvieto district. Urban was, at all events, obliged to abandon his projects of conquest, and return to Rome, however unwillingly. He is said to have been warned by a holy hermit to take this step; and another legend records a vision of S. Peter, in form like the bronze statue of the Apostle in his great basilica, seen hovering in air, and preceding the Pope on his Rome-ward journey—which Urban commanded his attendants to keep secret, as they did till the marvel was made public, after his death, by his confessor. Farther troubles awaited the

Pope after his ingress, amidst customary honours, into his long-deserted metropolis. Disturbances had occurred during his absence. A prefect of the city, named Angelo, had been murdered by the populace and by some of the pontifical soldiers, not at Rome but at Viterbo; and Theodore di Niem tells us that the homicides tore him to pieces, actually made sausages of his flesh, and eat it! The Banderesi and Conservators clung to their special privileges, and refused to recognise as Senator a Genoese appointed by the Pope, for which he excommunicated them. Those offenders presented themselves in garb of penitence, with cords round their necks, to supplicate forgiveness. They were absolved, and an expedient, somewhat singularly adopted to pacify the discontented citizens, was the anticipation of the Jubilee Year, according to decree now passed by Urban, that such sacred celebrations should be thenceforth held every thirty-third year, in remembrance of the age of the Saviour in His life upon earth. On the 18th October, 1389, Urban VI. died, in his seventy-second year, and, as supposed by several historians, of poison, though the Cardinals who announced the event in letters to princes, assign natural causes. One chronicler of the time denounces him as "a cruel, scandalous, and very bad man" (*vir pessimus, crudelis, et scandalosus*); but the Florentine historian, Ammirato, undertakes to justify him on the ground of manifest necessity for severe measures amidst the then embarrassing circumstances of the Pontificate.

On the 2nd November the fourteen Cardinals, now in Rome, elected to the vacant throne Pietro Tomacelli, called from his birth-place the Cardinal of Naples, who henceforth becomes known to history as Boniface IX. (1389-1404). On the 9th of the same month he was crowned, according to antecedents, on a loggia of woodwork, gorgeous with

draperies, erected on the summit of the stairs before S. Peter's; and immediately afterwards the whole retinue of ecclesiastics and other dignitaries present rode to the Lateran for the ceremonial installation of the new Pope in that primordial basilica, from which he returned to take up his residence in the Vatican the same day. Boniface IX. was of a noble but impoverished Neapolitan family, had been respectable in his private life, but showed incapacities for the high position he was now called to, which are curiously particularized by the Dutch historian. He was ignorant of the usages of the Curia, unable either to write in suitable style or to chant at the altar in just cadence; and his indiscretion in signing documents, which probably he did not understand, led to strange confusion.* At the ensuing Christmas he opened the Jubilee Year (1390), conformably to the innovating decree of Urban VI.; the holy epoch commencing at the Vespers of the Nativity, to be closed on the same occasion in the year subsequent. The times were unfavourable. No pilgrims arrived from the countries where Clement was recognised as Pope; but many continued to travel Rome-ward throughout the year (*innumerabiles peregrini toto isto anno*, says the contemporary above-quoted) from Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Northern Italy, and some also from England. Among other Italian magnates came the Marquis Alberto d'Este, accompanied by 400 knights, besides many other attendants, all in penitential garb, with black banners and pennons floating from black lances. At a distance of a mile from the city they were met by five Cardinals and the Grand Master of the Knights of Jerusalem; and on the morrow the Marquis and his principal companions dined with the

* "Scribendi atque canendi imperitus—ignoravit gravitatem pontificalis officii, et adeo supplicationes sibi porrectas indiscreté signavit."—Theod. a Niem.

Pope, who granted all the graces demanded of him ; condoned to Alberto the arrears of census claimed by the Holy See for Ferrara, and legitimated his natural son, who succeeded him as Nicholas III. The tribute to which the Esti had pledged themselves was 10,000 gold florins per annum, as well as the maintenance of one hundred mounted men for the service of the Papacy, at whatever period such military aid might be desired. On the fourth Sunday of Lent, the Pope bestowed the Golden Rose, blessed by him in the rites of that day, on the Marquis, and granted the privilege of constituting the public schools of Ferrara as a University under pontific patronage. This pious Marquis Alberto, who had succeeded his brother Nicholas II. in 1388, had, soon after his occupation of the dependent throne, been disturbed by a conspiracy in which his nephew, Obizzo, was compromised ; this being detected and baffled, not only were the accomplices severely punished, but Obizzo and his mother with him were beheaded by the uncle's order !*

Other princes sent envoys to obtain from the Pontiff the spiritual benefits without the pilgrimage of the Holy Year. Richard II. of England and John I. of Portugal were expressly privileged to secure the indulgence on condition of certain pious observances, without leaving their states. The inhabitants of certain German cities received the general permission to substitute devotional visits to churches, and offerings for the restoration of Roman basilicas, as means for securing that indulgence in its plenitude. Copious contributions flowed in ; and though much

* The object of the conspirators, who were gentlemen (*Signori*) of Florence and Padua, was to assassinate Alberto and raise Obizzo, called Obizzone, the son of Aldobrandino III., eldest of three brothers who successively ruled at Ferrara, to the place of that uncle who visited the offence so remorselessly on his near relatives.

was applied to the requisite church-repairs, it is stated that much also passed into the hands of the Pope and his officials for other uses; much (as we shall see) went to defray the costs of the war carried on by Ladislaus against the Anjou Louis. This Jubilee Year is marked by portentous signs of corruption in the Latin Church, and of a decline from the originally exalted character of the Roman Pontificate. Boniface IX., not content with the regularly supplied offerings, sent questors over different countries to sell the indulgence at the presumed cost of the journey to Rome, a transaction inevitably leading to such abuses as were the actual result. In some kingdoms, and even in single provinces, more than 100,000 florins were extorted by these emissaries, who thus enriched themselves, were able to travel with retinues of servants and horses, and were accused of having offered for payment not only the canonical indulgence, but absolute remission of sins without the condition of repentance!* Many of them came to evil end. Some were driven to suicide by fear of the popular rage against them; or, being unable to give account of their stewardship, were detained long in prison after their return to Rome. Some fell into diverse heresies—never (it seems) to be converted.†

* “*Omnia peccata, etiam sine pœnitentia ipsis confitentibus relaxaverunt, super quibuslibet irregularitatibus dispensarunt interventu pecuniæ.*”—Theod. a Niem. l. I. c. 68.

† Chaucer, living at this time, may have had these very proceedings in his mind when he delineated with such humour the character and proceedings of the “Pardoner” in his Prologue to the Canterbury Tales:—

A gentil Pardoner,
That streyt was comen from the Court of Rome.
Of his craft fro Berwyk unto Ware
Ne was ther such another pardoner.
Wel cowde he rede a lessoun or a storye,

In the general eagerness to obtain this indulgence of the Jubilee without the pilgrimage originally prescribed, we see a sign and consequence of declining faith in that localized concentration of spiritual benefits hitherto claimed, and with such extraordinary success, for the sole city of Rome !

For about seven years of his pontificate, Boniface IX. stood in awe of certain Cardinals, whose higher sense of ecclesiastical proprieties would have led them to oppose the course he meditated on adopting, and to which his worldly spirit inclined him. Simony in its worst form, rapacious, shameless, ignoble was organized by this Pope. To him is ascribed the final development and perpetuation of "Annates," which, though of earlier origin, had been first imposed as a heavy tax on bishoprics and benefices by John XXII. All the European nations recognising Boniface as legitimate Pope submitted to this augmented exaction, except England, where, however, it was finally agreed that "first-fruits" should be paid to the Apostolic "Camera" in Rome by those appointed to bishoprics, though not for other church preferments.

Edward II. of England obtained from Clement V. the tithes of all church-property in his states for two years, under pretext of a crusade never undertaken by that king. To indemnify themselves for this, the English bishops demanded the revenues of all the benefices left vacant in their respective dioceses during one year. Their request (says a zealous encomiast of the Papacy) "redounded to their

But altherbest he sang an offertorie ;
 Ful wel wist he when that song was songe,
 He moste preche, and wel affyle his tunge,
 To wynde silver, as he right wel cowde ;
 Therefore he sung ful meriely and lowde.

*

disadvantage; for the Pope founded upon this the system of Annates" (Moroni, "Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastico.") John XXII. was comparatively moderate, exacting only the first-fruits of the less important benefices during three years. But it was the sinister distinction of Boniface IX. to set the example of an undisguised avarice, which aimed at reducing the agency of the Roman Curia into a vast mechanism for aggrandisement at the expense of Latin Christendom! The last degradation of the high ideal of the supreme Pontificate, personified and vindicated, for the glory of S. Peter's throne, by so many great and holy men, was due to the covetousness of this Neapolitan Pope.* He sent his emissaries over Italy to inquire about the health of those who held rich livings; and if any such incumbents were found to be sick or weak, their deaths were reported, and their benefices put up to sale, at Rome. The Pope himself frequently sold the same living two or three times; and during a visitation of pestilence (1399) the same benefice was sometimes sold to several persons in the course of one week, as purchaser after purchaser died off. To the last bidder used to be granted the graces styled "preference" (*anteferre*); but this was superseded by the higher favours designated as "prerogative of preference" (*prærogativa antelationis*)—price of the former, twenty-five; of the latter, fifty florins. *All* preferments in Rome were made venal; and if the Pope could not

* "At once to indulge, palliate, and establish this simony, he substituted as a permanent tax the Annates, or First-fruits of every bishopric and rich abbey, calculated on a new scale, triple that in which they stood before in the Papal books. This was to be paid in advance by the candidates for promotion, some of whom never got possession of the benefice. Mansi has proved against Raynaldus, that Boniface, if not the inventor of the Annates, first made them a perpetual burden."—Milman, "*History of Latin Christianity*." B. XIII.

obtain ready money, he did not refuse payment in kind—sheep, oxen, horses, swine, or grain. He would sign no supplication for whatever object, or from petitioners however poor (Cardinals alone excepted), without the fee of a gold florin for each individual concerned, or named therein. Even the dying were not left at peace in this city, when anything could be extorted on account of the offices they had held; their money, books, clothes, vessels used to be seized by the bailiffs of the Pope, who is compared, not unjustly, by Theodore de Niem, to “a raven gasping for its prey!” He issued, in his seventh year, a regulation obliging such bishops and abbots as could not pay immediately for their letters of induction, to resign their offices till the debt could be fully discharged; and thus were high dignitaries liable to be for a time degraded, the prelate to forfeit his mitre, the abbot to be driven from his monastery, till their money reached that absorbing gulf, the pontific treasury—irregularities that caused great scandal, and offended the conscience of the faithful, as we can well believe, conformably with the statements of the writer so often quoted above, who tells us moreover that “nothing, however unjust or absurd, but could be obtained for money at the Curia” under this Pontificate.* Friars purchased dispensations to quit their convents, and hold livings as secular priests, or sometimes to enter less suitable careers, as soldiers in the pontific army. Rome was overrun by these fugitives from the cloister; but the last extreme of scandal was given in higher places of the Church, when persons of the worst, or basest, antecedents, contrived to obtain the venal mitres procurable at the centre of corruptions; and we are told that pantomime actors, buffoons, frequenters of

* “Nec potuit adeo quid injustum aut absurdum postulari, quod non concederetur intercedente symoniaci pacto.”—Theod. à Niem. L. II. c. 12.

the taverns, etc., were allowed thus to degrade the episcopal dignity without any previously-exacted penances or canonical satisfaction.* The atmosphere around the Papal throne became what such influences naturally made it. The "Curiales" learnt the trick from their master: all, from highest to lowest, were versed in the ways of simony and usury, which it became a fashion to deem justifiable. That the Pope could not err in such matters, was now a byword among these courtiers of the Vatican. Even the sanctuary was profaned by the dominant spirit of worldliness; and while prelates were celebrating High Mass before the Pope, his Holiness used to call his secretaries around his throne for inquiring on the subject uppermost in his mind, the receipts into his coffers! The last insult against the majesty of Ritual was thus exemplified by the Head of the Church! An anecdote of Boniface's death-bed is sufficiently characteristic to be credible; being asked how he felt, he answered, "I should be quite well if I had money!"

Another means by which the revenues of the Papacy were greatly augmented, was the bestowal, or conceding, of Vicariates, for annual payment of tribute, on several potent families who had already obtained almost sovereign sway in cities of the nominally Pontific states. Thus were the Malatesti, the Este, the Ordelaffi, the Alidosi and Manfredi families recognised as reigning Princes, on condition of the census by which they in their turn recognised the suzerainty of the Pope. The city of Aquila voluntarily gave itself to the Pontific government after the death by assassination of Rinaldo Orsino, its ruler. Spoleto, which had been usurpingly occupied by the same Orsino, and after his

* Scandals that might seem incredible, but for the distinct statements of the same Theodore, who tells us that there were among these bishops appointed under Boniface IX., "*scurræ, histriones, aut discoli*," and goes on to describe their antecedents.

death by his heirs, was recovered for Boniface IX., though its castle was still defended for the Antipope Clement. Viterbo fell (1392) under the lawless sway of Sciarra di Vico, who entered with armed force, massacred two hundred citizens, and drove away the rest of those resisting; but that capital of the "Patrimony" province was, after a time, resubjected to the tiara. The Pope bestowed the lordship of Orvieto on his brother, Giannello Tomacelli, who was at first well received there, but soon compelled to give place to the *Condottiere*, Biordo di Michelotti, whom the citizens invited to assume military and civil authority over them. Another of the Pope's brothers, Andrea, appointed by him Governor of the Anconitan Marches, was defeated in battle and made prisoner by Gentili de Varano, lord of Camerino. After paying the required ransom, Boniface recognised this successful antagonist as Vicar of the Holy See over a region extending from the eastern limits of the Spoleto Duchy to the Adriatic.

Perugia was at this time distracted by civil wars; whilst the surrounding territory was laid waste, the city had to endure a siege, being invested by an irregular army of mercenaries and returning exiles, led by Biordo di Michelotti. The magistrates, after all other efforts had failed, applied to the Pontiff for protection, and invited him to reside within their walls. Boniface, being far from satisfied with his circumstances at Rome, and greatly irritated against the too powerful Banderesi, complied with this request, on condition that all the fortresses belonging to Perugia should be given up to him. He set out from Rome (17th October, 1392) with twelve Cardinals, and a retinue consisting in all of one thousand persons. They were welcomed with splendid festivities at Perugia, and lodged in the palace of the Podesta; the Pope, however, being subsequently a guest at the great Benedictine monastery of S. Pietro,

which he caused to be fortified. For a time his efforts to reconcile the two rival factions, headed by the Beccarini and Raspanti families, were successful: but tumult and party strife returned, the ever-recurring evils of Italian civic society in these ages. In the summer of 1393 a scene was witnessed by the Dutch secretary, whose description I translate from his own words: "At the beginning of August, about the dinner hour, I who was then living in the neighbourhood of Pope Boniface's palace, saw many of the Raspanti suddenly rush into the piazza before that residence, and there at once attack and cruelly put to death the Beccarini whom they encountered. Perhaps one hundred perished on that day; among them being many soldiers, many doctors of law, and other eminent citizens. This invasion and slaughter lasted some days." (*Hist.* l. ii. c. 15.) The Pope left Perugia by night for Assisi, and refused, when urged by a deputation, to return thither. Soon afterwards the impatient exiles, about 500, entered Perugia under the leadership of Biordo, who now secured the local sway, making himself absolute lord of that city, and thence extending his dominion over Spello, Nocera, Citta di Pieve, Lodi, Orvieto, and finally over Assisi also, after the Pope's departure from thence. Boniface, after a time, recognised the authority of this adventurer, with the usual bestowal of a vicariate and requirement of a census to Rome. Biordo di Michelotti exercised his office with some ability and prudence during about four years, at the end of which period his career was cut short by a violent death. The abbot of the S. Pietro monastery, whom he had trusted as a friend, hired the assassins, and accompanied them to the palace of this now dreaded captain. Biordo, roused from his sleep by knocking at his door, opened so soon as he heard the voice of the abbot, greeted and embraced the treacherous friend, who had come to have him put to death

in his presence. After witnessing that deliberate murder, the abbot fled to the Pope, who received him with honours ; and it was probably this very compromising conduct on the part of Boniface, which led to the dark imputation (never perhaps so distinctly brought against a Roman Pontiff) that he had himself ordered the assassination of Biordo.* That crime was avenged by the victim's brother, Ceccolino di Michelotti, who put to death certain of the abbot's relations, burnt down several houses belonging to him, and sacked his wealthy monastery. Ceccolino obtained a lordship almost like that of his brother at Perugia. The Pope endeavoured to recover that city by violent means, and gave the command of his troops, mustered for this undertaking, to Ugolini Trinci, lord of Foligno. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, recently created Duke of Milan by act of Wenceslaus, the German Emperor, or (more properly speaking) King of the Romans, had obtained possession of Pisa, and now aimed at extending his sceptre not only over Perugia, but also over Bologna, a city he greatly desired to annex to his increasing territories. The Florentines, alarmed at the rapid successes of the Visconti, sent their general, Hawkwood, with a corps of soldiery, for the defence of Bologna, whilst the Pope laid his plans for the re-subjec-

* Theodore de Niem brings this charge circumstantially against the Pope: "Ad alias (i.e. other expedients) se convertit, per quos Biordum dolo interfici procuraverat, prout statim factum fuit," &c. Muratori, treating the accusation as rumour only, neither endorses nor refutes it: "In this year (he says) Biordo of Perugia, who had been actual lord of that city, was killed by the abbot of S. Peter's ; and it was believed by order of the Pope. But the Pope did not by this means recover Perugia." On which the ecclesiastical editor of the *Annali* (Catalani, Rome, 1787), observes in a note: "Nothing more natural than that such a report should be spread with reference to the death inflicted on a usurper of the dominion of a city pertaining to the Holy See!"

tion of Perugia. But that Umbrian city anticipated the designs of the Milanese Duke, and liberated itself from the onset of the Pontific forces by voluntarily submitting to Gian Galeazzo in the year 1400. The Bolognese gallantly opposed the forces of Visconti, and two invasions of their territory (1390) resulted in failure to the aggressors.

In 1394 was published a Crusade in the Neapolitan States for the cause of Ladislaus, in opposition to a new rival claimant of the crown, Louis, son of the Anjou Duke of the same name, who had fought against Charles III., and had died of a wound in 1384. Another coronation by the Antipope Clement, at Avignon (1389), had consecrated the title of this pretender as Louis II., King of Jerusalem and Sicily. Boniface remitted, in favour of Ladislaus, the census of 800,000 gold florins due to the Holy See from the Neapolitan (then called the Sicilian) kingdom ; and at the same time conceded to that monarch for three years all the tithes in his southern states. This was on the occasion when Ladislaus was crowned as king of Hungary, by a Cardinal deputed by the Pope, in 1403.

We must go back to the events of the year 1392 in order fully to estimate the relations between that king and the Pontiff, and the exceptional favours which Boniface IX. did not hesitate in his case to grant. Ladislaus had, in his fourteenth year, been wedded at Gaeta to Constance, daughter of Manfredi di Chiaramonte, one of the wealthiest Sicilian nobles, a marriage probably arranged by his mother, Queen Margaret, for the sake of the ample dowry of the bride, much wanted by the young king. In 1392 Ladislaus visited Rome, bent on obtaining two favours : money and troops for the war against Louis, and a divorce from his lawful wife. He alleged that he had been constrained to contract marriage when under age and not fully responsi-

ble. The divorce, as well as the subvention for the war, was granted. A Cardinal was deputed to take off the ring, in presence of the Bishop of Gaeta, from the hand of the unfortunate Princess, who, deprived of all royal insignia, had to retire into the obscurity of private life. In 1394 the king gave her in marriage to Andrea da Capua, afterwards Count di Altavilla; and a scene occurred at this wedding which excited sympathy for the sorrowful bride. At Gaeta, where the ceremony took place, as the newly-married pair were riding through the town, Costanza, weeping bitterly, told her second husband that "he ought to deem himself the most fortunate man in the world, since he had the Queen, wife of King Ladislaus, for his love and concubine!"—which words, we read in the *Giornali Napolitani*, caused much pity and displeasure among all,—namely, the people who heard them.*

Most true it is that the Roman Pontiffs have repeatedly braved the displeasure of the greatest potentates by maintaining the sanctity of the marriage-tie, and sacrificed every worldly consideration to the duty of protecting the injured wife, or denouncing and curbing the licentiousness of royal adulterers. But history cannot pass over the examples of an opposite course pursued to their discredit

* The chronicle, in quaint Italian (Neapolitan dialect), edited by Muratori, and extending from 1266 to 1478, gives a somewhat different account of this transaction from that which Muratori himself accepts as authentic. According to the *Giornali*, Ladislaus behaved so cruelly to his wife that she herself desired the divorce, or at least a legal separation. The king, we here read, turned her out of his house; obliged her to live in poverty with her governess and two maid servants she had brought with her from Sicily. "She determined to send King Ladislaus to the Pope for the dispensation to separate from him;" but the sequel to the history seems irreconcilable with this naïve statement. The same writer tells of Costanza's persistence in styling herself the wife of Ladislaus long after her divorce.

by worldly-minded Popes, and displaying the fatal consequences of alliance with the great of earth, the corrupting effects of temporal power over sacerdotal supremacy!

Theodore de Niem tells us that Boniface, whilst resident at Assisi, sold the entire city of Riga, for 15,000 gold florins, to the Teutonic Knights, though the local lordship by right pertained to its Archbishop, who, with all his chapter, protested against this transaction.* It was during this sojourn at Assisi that the Pope received a deputation from the Romans, begging him to return to his metropolis, which had not seen him for so long a time. He seems to have been reluctant to trust himself among those citizens, and required that a treaty should be drawn up at Rome for the securing of his own and the pontific interests generally. In August, 1393, the terms were agreed to in conference on the Capitol; a Cardinal and the Abbot of S. Paul's representing the Pope; the Conservators, the Banderesi and Counsellors acting for the Roman people, 136 notabilities, from the several "rioni," being witnesses. It was stipulated that the Senator should be appointed by the Pope, and salaried out of the treasury of the Camera; that the three Conservators should exercise senatorial power during the vacancy of that office, but should take oath of fealty to the Pope; that the civic authorities should have

* In the *Art de Vérifier les Dates* we read a different statement: that the cathedral clergy of Riga were required only to adhere to the religious rule of the Teutonic Knights, and to depend on the Grand Master of Livonia for investiture of ecclesiastical dignities and prebends. That city, founded by Albert, third Bishop of Livonia, about A.D. 1200, was subjected after a long siege to the above named Knights in 1330. In 1366 it was so far restored to the jurisdiction of its Archbishops that the Grand Master held military command alone, with the right of occupying the fortresses, leaving all else to the prelatie authority.

no jurisdiction over ecclesiastics, or over the Pontific Court and household; that the Pope, the Cardinals and religious communities, should be exempt from all public burdens and taxes, &c. Boniface farther required that a solemn embassy should be sent to invite him to return, with a thousand mounted men for his escort; and that 10,000 florins should be advanced for his immediate expenses. All was granted by the Roman magistrates except that full amount of the subvention, which they reduced to 6000 florins. In September, 1393, Boniface re-entered Rome with his numerous retinue. His sojourn at the Vatican was soon disturbed by conspiracies of threatening aspect, though not sufficiently vigorous to shake the throne of that temporal power which was now entering another phase, fortunate for the Papacy.

The Colonna family, whom we have not seen for some years on the political stage at Rome, still held their strong castle at Palestrina, alternately tendering military service to the Roman magistrates (as during the absence of the Pope at Perugia) and to the Florentine Republic, in whose wars in the Milanese States they had fought with 200 lances under their own banner. Boniface had accused them of disaffection or treason against the Church. They vindicated themselves in a public manifesto. The three brothers, now representing this powerful family, were the sons of Stefano, who (ob. 1360) had been mainly instrumental in the overthrow of Rienzo's government. They now allied themselves with Onorato Gaetani, Count of Fondi, the hitherto irreconcilable foe of the Pope and supporter of the Antipope. Gaetani was suspected of carrying on intrigues with certain Roman nobles for the depression of the power, and even for laying snares against the life, of Boniface. A revolt was attempted in the July of 1394, but without any success. In the November ensuing it broke

out with more vigour and tremendous impetus.* The insurgents attacked the Vatican; the Pope's life was in danger. Fortunately a potent ally was at hand—no other than King Ladislaus, who had sailed up the Tiber with his galleys, anxious again to obtain arms and money from the Pope for the war against his rival, Louis, who had now possession of Naples. Ladislaus interposed in time to protect the Pontiff's person and residence; and before he left, which was within a few days, effected a seeming reconciliation between the Vatican and its subjects.

The Pope now caused the Capitoline palace, left in ruin since the time of Rienzo, to be not only restored but fortified. This excited murmurs; it was objected that that classic seat of municipal government in Rome should be appropriated as hitherto, not for any purposes of defence or attack. At these, and at the subsequently undertaken works for restoring the S. Angelo fortress, many poor priests laboured like common journeymen, carrying stones and mortar, hoping thus to deserve letters of "grace," without payment, from Boniface; which few obtained—" *Quod pauci eorum consecuti fuerunt*," says the Dutch Secretary.

Again, in 1397, were the tranquillity and safety of the Pope endangered; but this time the conspirators were soon discovered and punished. Thirteen citizens, in whose houses had been found the banners of Onorato Gaetani, as well as those of the Banderesi, were seized and put to death. The above-named Count and the Colonna brothers, after this last attempt, sought peace with the authorities at Rome. Gaetani promised to keep truce for one year; and the Colonnas, to whom the Chancellor of the Roman

* It is not quite clear whether two revolts or only one occurred at Rome, attended with such incidents, in the course of that year.

Church was sent for negotiation, bound themselves to submit to the Pontiff, and to make no alliance for hostilities against the Church (*i.e.* the Papacy) *during three years*—a singular testimony to the temper of the times and to the precarious condition of the Pontificate! Boniface, weary, as we may suppose, of his danger-beset life at the Vatican, left Rome soon afterwards, and settled first at Perugia, subsequently at Assisi. The former city had submitted to his sovereignty after the redoubted Biordo had been recognised by him as Vicar of the Church. Assisi had been treacherously entered with forces, and occupied by Biordo, 1394. About the same time Narni and Todì had been seized by Pandolfo Malatesta; the territories of Spoleto and Terni were laid waste by the same leader. In 1396 almost the whole of Umbria and the Patrimony (the Viterbo province) were lost by the Pontificate.

Before long, however, the enfeebled temporal power was signally revived through the efforts of a Pope, who, whatever his vices, did not want energy or courage. Whilst at Perugia, Boniface won over to his interest the long-alienated Ancona, an important place which had been under the influence of the Anjou party, and had declared for the Antipope. Bologna also was ingratiated by the large concessions Boniface had the prudence to make, all indeed that could be claimed, for that city's privileges. The towns of the Marches were ready to acknowledge his sovereignty so soon as he recognised the dominion of the petty Princes who already exercised lordship within their walls, and who did not refuse the annual tribute exacted for its ratification by pontific authority. Bertinoro was sold by the Pope to the formidable Malatesta for 22,000 gold florins. Viterbo was at last recovered by armed force, and the lawless Sciarra di Vico compelled to throw himself on the mercy of the sovereign he had rebelled against. Orvieto, Todi, Nocera,

Spello, Assisi were again subject to the tiara when Boniface made his second sojourn in Umbria. Whilst at Assisi the Pope was urged by a deputation to return to Rome. The Jubilee year, 1400, was approaching. His presence could not be spared in the ecclesiastical metropolis. He would not comply unless under his own conditions; the Senator, a post long vacant, should be appointed by himself; the Banderesi should be deprived of power; a large sum should be paid down for his immediate use. To all these terms the Roman magistrates consented; and Boniface re-entered the Vatican in the spring of 1398. Soon after his arrival he nominated as Senator Malasta de' Malatesti, lord of Cesena; and his next proceeding was solemnly to anathematize the Count of Fondi.

The Kings of France, England, Aragon and Castile exerted themselves to put a stop to the schism which had so long scandalized Europe, and to secure the recognition of the same Pope by the entire Latin Church. The Paris University proposed three methods for attaining this object: that both claimants should abdicate with consent of the Cardinals on each side; that a compromise should be accepted, both submitting to the decision of arbiters named by themselves, or by others; that a General Council should be convoked, and everything left to its supreme decisions. Charles VI. ordered the letters of the University to be translated into French and published. The Cardinals in "the obedience" (as the phrase was) of Clement VII. at Avignon, agreed to accept the project, and communicated their common resolution to that Antipope. It excited such rage and mortification that the shock proved fatal to his life. He died of apoplexy, 16th September, 1394, leaving 300,000 gold ducats in his coffers. Unfortunately for the interests and honour of the Church, the same Cardinals, twelve days afterwards, elected a suc-

cessor to perpetuate the schism,—Pedro de Luna, a native of Aragon, who took the name of Benedict XIII. In the conclave all pledged themselves by oath to make every effort for restoring unity and peace, also to resign the Pontificate, each Cardinal promising for himself, in case that step should best promote the desirable end. In 1396 the French King and Prelates, as well as the Parisian University, abandoned the cause of the Antipope; and Charles VI. went so far as to order one of his marshals to besiege the Pontific palace at Avignon, which Benedict had fortified and provisioned. During the whole winter of 1398 the siege was sustained, with unyielding courage, by the dauntless old man, who showed his determination never to let go the power, or semblance of power, he prized more than anything else. Several embassies sent to Boniface, with proposals for compromise or concession, failed to make any impression on him. He addressed his rival, Clement, as a “son of Belial;” but adopted milder terms in other letters conveyed by two Carthusian monks, whom the Antipope imprisoned. The proposal of a Council was most unacceptable to Boniface. “Some perverse and impious men (he wrote), trusting in the arm of flesh against the might of the Lord, confide in a Council for the suppression of the schism. O fatal and damnable impiety!”

Before the end of this century Boniface IX. found himself in a more favourable position, with regard to temporalities, than any of his predecessors had yet done. The influential *Banderesi* were suppressed; almost all the municipal privileges and rights of the Romans were absorbed into the Pontific attributes. No Pope had yet exercised the sovereign power so free from control in the metropolis and in the “Patrimony.”* As for more distant towns and

* “Nec fuit ante eum quisquam Romanorum Pontificum qui talem potestatem temporalem Romæ et patrimonio S. Petri exercuisse legitur.”—*Gobelinus*, p. 316.

provinces, the lightly-imposed burden of an annual census in return for independent rights of office, conceded to magistrates or magnates, proved an efficacious system for propping up the fabric of Papal Government, essentially feeble, though seemingly prosperous and splendid.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY : GENERAL RETROSPECT.

THE political history of Italy is not the subject undertaken in this volume ; but those acts of governments and authorities which serve to display the relations between the spiritual and temporal power, or the influence exercised by the Church upon rulers, may be suitably noticed here. As the progressive movements of Art enter also into my theme, the characteristics of the institutions under which art-schools flourished in this land may also be considered, with a view to the better appreciating of the phases through which they passed. The history of the Latin Church has its centre at Rome ; that of Italian Christianity, a subject demanding much research and various illustration, is what I desire to glance at, and to present, though but as a sketch, in these pages.

One Italian State, whose fortunes are intimately allied with those of the Papacy, the Neapolitan, or, as it was originally called, Sicilian Kingdom, has been frequently referred to in this and in a preceding volume. The claims of the Popes to a suzerainty over that kingdom date from the treaty between Innocent II. and Ruggero II., drawn up at Benevento, 1139, by which the former recognized the sovereign rights of the latter, and the Norman prince bound himself and his successors to an annual tribute in token of fidelity and gratitude towards the Holy See. In virtue of this stipulation, the Pontiffs were long considered, what

they claimed to be, lords paramount over both the continental and insular States; and the severance of Sicily, after its revolt against the Anjou government, made no difference in either the theory, or exercise, of spiritual supremacy at Rome. The tribute of the *chinea*, or white palfrey, with a certain sum of money, continued for many centuries to be offered by an embassy of the Neapolitan crown to his Holiness on the vigil of S. Peter's day, till it was for the first time withheld, in 1788, by the reforming ministers of Ferdinand IV., on which occasion Pius VI. made the protest thenceforth annually renewed against this failure of obligations towards the supreme Pontificate, up to our own time, when at last, not many years ago, Pius IX. had the good sense to leave both tribute and protest in oblivion.* The XIVth century was tragically eventful in the Neapolitan kingdom. In 1343 the beautiful Joanna, when scarcely sixteen years old, succeeded to her grandfather Robert, called "the Wise," she being already married to her cousin, somewhat younger than herself, Andrea, son of Canrobert, King of Hungary—the unfortunate Prince who was mur-

* "In 1788 the presentation of the *chinea* to the Pontific throne, which used annually to be made on the 28th June, in the name of the King of Naples, did not take place, to the great astonishment of the Court of Rome and the Roman people. The suppression of such homage gave occasion to a discourse by the Pope in the basilica of S. Peter, after the first Vespers for that Apostle's festival. On the next day the Treasurer-General read in public, before the Pope, the Cardinals, and Court, a formal protest, which the Pontiff declared he must confirm in every point. The King of Naples, though suppressing the offering of the *chinea*, had sent nevertheless the sum of 7155 gold scudi; which it was customary to present at the same time to the Apostolic Camera. This was refused: the King protested against the refusal, and against the motive which had incited it; declaring that the sum annually sent in his name was an offering of piety and devotion towards the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, but not a tribute."—*Art. de Vérifier les Dates*.

dered at the threshold of the Queen's chamber in the palace at Aversa, on the night of the 20th August, 1345; a crime the complicity in which was generally imputed to Joanna, who took no steps to bring the guilty to justice.* The Pope alone, acting as suzerain of the realm, charged the Grand Justiciary to investigate; and hence the punishment of several, among them a woman who was the confidant of the Queen, by death in the flames after dreadful tortures. With the avowed object of avenging his brother's death, King Louis of Hungary invaded the Neapolitan States in 1347. Pope Clement VI. endeavoured to induce the King to defer the cause to his own tribunal, instead of invading Joanna's States; and at Avignon, where the Queen pleaded in person before the Consistory, Clement, in concert with his Cardinals, declared her innocent. The Hungarian Louis, victorious almost without striking a blow, desired, when at Aversa, to be led to the spot of his brother's murder; arriving there, amidst the nobles of the realm who had honourably received him, he sternly reproached Duke Charles of Durazzo with the guilt of that crime, commanded him to be instantly put to death, and thrown from the balcony into the garden below, as had been the murdered Andrea. Joanna, already married to a second husband, Prince Louis of Taranto, fled before the invasion to her States in Provence, and in the same year sold Avignon for 80,000 gold florins to the Pope. Her Italian subjects soon desired to see her again on the throne, and sent envoys to hasten her return. She and the Prince Louis arrived at Naples with ten Genoese galleys (August, 1348), and were

* Cesare Cantu concludes that Joanna, if she did not consent to it, at least offered no opposition to the murder. Sismondi pronounces her guilty. Hallam acquits her of the charge of dissolute conduct, and has strong doubts as to her complicity in that assassination.

received with pompous honours after they had landed near the Carinine Castle. The Hungarian king had remained only three months ; but had left a force of 12,000 to maintain his conquests, and a garrison, commanded by his brother, in the Castello Nuovo at Naples. That strong fortress was soon surrendered after being invested by sea and land, and 30,000 florins were paid down by the foreign commander. The Hungarians still occupied the immense castle built by Frederick II. at Lucera, which had been besieged by Prince Louis, but relieved by Conrad Lupus, a German general of the invading army, who fought his way into that stronghold, and repelled the assailants.* A battle near Aversa proved most disastrous to the Neapolitans, many of whom, among the highest nobility and wealthiest citizens, were made prisoners. Notwithstanding these advantages, the King of Hungary soon agreed to abandon his conquests, and accept the terms of a treaty proposed by a Papal Legate. The payment of 120,000 ducats to the German officers of the Hungarian army sufficed to free the States from those invaders.

The ruin of Joanna was brought about (as we have seen) through the hostile intrigues of Urban VI., provoked by her adherence to the cause of the Antipope. After she had been forced to surrender the Castello Nuovo to her nephew Charles of Durazzo,† she was assassinated by his order in the Castle of Muro, which stands amidst wild and mournful scenery above the town of that name, between Naples and Melfi. Charles had at first treated her respectfully and humanely ; but the cruel counsels of King Louis in-

* Now imposing in ruin, that castle occupies a wide plateau near the city of Lucera.

† Nephew to the Duke of Durazzo, who was put to death by King Louis, and great-grandson of Charles II. of Naples.

duced him thus to sacrifice her, 1382.* Charles III., first the favourite and afterwards the excommunicated foe of Urban IV., was himself assassinated (1386) in Hungary, whither he had gone to claim the throne, three years after Louis's death, and in which country he had been actually crowned as King, though Maria, the late King's daughter, had been already recognised as Queen. The treacherous murder of this Prince, who for a short time united the Neapolitan and Hungarian crowns, was contrived by the mother of that Queen. Louis, Duke of Anjou, the nominal heir to Joanna, endeavoured to make good his right of succession by armed force. After a crushing defeat of his army near Barletta, he fled, wounded, to Bari, and died (1384) either from loss of blood, or grief, or both causes combined, at Bisceglie, a pleasant little town on the same Adriatic coast, whither he had been carried from the picturesque old castle, still conspicuous at Bari. The inheritance of his claims, and of his contest with more fortunate rivals, passed to his youthful son, who was crowned by the Antipope as Louis II. of Jerusalem and Sicily. A Crusade published against the latter by Urban VI. had no effect; but he met with resistance gallantly maintained by Otho of Brunswick, the fourth husband of Joanna, and by the Count di Sanseverino. Naples was the first city in the States to receive Louis II. with royal honours; and soon after his arrival there, a Parliament was held in the church of S. Chiara, where a contingent of 1000 armed men and ten galleys were voted for him by the Barons. The widow of Charles III., meantime, asserted the rights of her son

* "Charles treated her at first with honour, but, hearing the report that she regarded him as a robber, and was continually soliciting Louis of Anjou to arm against him, he caused her to be strangled." (Cesare Cantu, *Storia degli Italiani*.) Giannone does not hesitate to call her "the wisest Queen who ever sat on a royal throne!" Her remains were brought to Naples unhonoured, and obscurely interred at S. Chiara without a stone or epitaph to record her fate.

Ladislaus, and took refuge with her two young children in the castle of Gaeta, the only strong place in the kingdom where she found support. Boniface IX. from the first recognised the title of Ladislaus, and deputed a Cardinal, Acciaiuolo, to crown the boy-king at Gaeta, 1389. The struggle between the sons of Charles III. and Louis I. continued till the year 1410.

We may now consider the ecclesiastical affairs of this kingdom, or at least, of its capital. The See of Naples, said to have been founded by S. Peter, A.D. 44, obtained its first Archbishop (as Ughelli states) from Constantinople, a Greek named Nicetas being appointed to that rank by the Byzantine Patriarch, A.D. 962. According to Baronius this See became metropolitan in 968; and some writers deny that it was ever attached to, or dependent on, the Greek Church. Giannone (a very learned writer) states positively that Naples was for a certain time an archiepiscopal, though not metropolitan, See, under the Byzantine Patriarchate. Archbishops without suffragans, and with the mere honorary title of "Metropolitans," were at one time numerous in this kingdom—such anomaly in the Church being of Greek origin. In chronologic order Capua comes first, Bevenuto next among Neapolitan Archbishoprics; and the Prelate of the latter See was among all the most distinguished; he wore a mitre with a golden diadem, like the original form of the Papal crown; when he made his visitations he was preceded by the consecrated Host, borne before him with the same pomp as in the journeys of the Roman Pontiffs; and he used a leaden seal like that of the Papacy. It is certain that the Greek rite, whether introduced before or after the schism of Photius in the IX. century, continued long prominent in public worship at Naples; and till the XIII. century this city contained six parochial churches for Greeks, the clergy of which used on cer-

tain high days to officiate at the cathedral, chanting in choir and walking in processions with the capitular clergy, each of the two bodies singing or reciting hymns and psalms in their own languages. Pius IV. imposed on all the clergy of the kingdom the duty of obedience to the Latin Episcopate exclusively, whilst sanctioning the difference of rites (v. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, t. VI.) About the middle of the XIV. century, this metropolitan See was occupied by Giovanni Orsini, an able prelate, who drew up sixty-four "constitutions," ratified by Pope Clement VI., for the reform of discipline, &c., among his clergy; and who first caused all the usages, ceremonies, and privileges of the Neapolitan Church to be recorded in a compilation of documents. The prelate appointed to this See by Urban V. was deposed by Urban VI. because he had taken the part of the Antipope; and his successor, named by the latter Pope Urban, was thrown into prison under Queen Joanna. After he had been reinstated, under another government, this same prelate's title was disputed by a nominee of the Antipope who sat at Avignon; and thus did the schism in the Papacy extend its evil effects, more or less, over the general conditions of the hierarchic body in the Latin world.

The moral aspects of Naples are depicted in dark colours by the writers of this century. Petrarch describes what he had witnessed—public amusements as cruel, with sacrifice of human life as wantonly remorseless as those of the gladiatorial arena in Pagan Rome, were exhibited before the fair young Queen, who, with her still younger husband, could attend and take pleasure in such anti-christian spectacles! The great Poet seems to have repaired to the spot, near the place called Carbonaria. outside the city-gates, without knowing what the entertainment was to be which attracted thither Joanna, the Prince Andrea, all the

Neapolitan army, and a multitude of citizens. Combatants appeared in the lists, and presently a handsome young man (*formosissimus adolescens*) fell, pierced by a sword with his death wound; there was a burst of applause at this sight; but the indignant Petrarch rode away at full speed rather than wait for the rest; this homicidal display being, as evident from his report, in the open air.* The Swedish Saint, Brigida, appealed to the Archbishop of Naples against evils she had found prevailing in that city: the purchase of Pagan and Moslem slaves, the neglect by their masters to have those slaves converted, or to have them, if already baptized, instructed in the faith; the infamy to which many of those unfortunates were consigned, being sold, or exposed, for public prostitution, or kept for such purposes in the houses of masters who traded upon their dishonour; while other Neapolitan owners treated their slaves with such cruelty as to drive them to despair or suicide. Theodore de Niem gives a description on the whole favourable of the brilliant Parthenope, dwelling on the splendours of the scene, the agreeable aspect and sociable habits of the people, the luxurious fertility of the soil, &c. But he adds the gloomiest particulars of crime and outrage; telling that at night thieves and bandits went about the streets in troops, broke into houses for robbery with violence, attacked and despoiled passengers, and, not contented with plunder, slew their captives or threw them alive into wells, besides committing other horrid crimes.†

At the close of this century a sovereign power was seated,

* "*Tartareum spectaculum effugi—spectatorum saevitiam et lusorum infaniam identidem accusans.*" Famil. Epist. l. v, Ep. 6.

† "*Multi intrinsecus raptores et fures, qui nocturno tempore per turmas congregati, domorum ostia vi frangunt, et bona surripiunt, et obviantes eis casu capiunt et spoliunt, et aliquando interficiunt, aut vivos ad puteos projiciunt, et alia multa horrenda committunt; et isti Mal-rasini à vulgaribus nuncupantur.*" Hist. l. II, xxii.

apparently on firm foundations, at Milan, with prospects that flattered the highest hopes of an ambition aiming at nothing less than royal dominion over all Italy. The principedom of the Visconti was first vested in the person of an Archbishop of that see, Ottone, who became both temporal and spiritual lord of Milan in 1277, when he solemnly took possession of the power conferred upon him after he had defeated the adverse faction of the Della Torre (or Torriani) family, previously dominant here; the Prelate having placed himself at the head of a force of exiled citizens, and gallantly won the field against his opponents. He was succeeded by his nephew Matteo Visconti, who had been his representative in temporal government, and had been appointed Vicar of the Empire in Lombardy by the Emperor Wenceslaus. Galeazzo Visconti, the son of Matteo, who succeeded his father in 1322, was compelled by a faction to quit Milan, but soon returned, to be proclaimed Captain and Lord of that city. A warlike Legate deprived him of the city of Piacenza, which now submitted to the Pope; and in 1323 Milan was besieged by an army sent by the Legate against it, but repulsed after a month of hostilities. The Emperor Louis bestowed on Galeazzo the Vicariate, or *Signoria*, of Milan, Lodi, Vercelli, and Pavia; but soon afterwards this Visconti fell into disgrace with Louis, who ordered him and his brothers, Luchino and Giovanni, to be thrown into a dungeon at Monza. Their liberation was obtained, after long confinement, through the intercession of Castruccio Castracane, and other Ghibelline magnates, who threatened to abandon that excommunicated Emperor, unless the Visconti were set free. Azzone, the son of Galeazzo, obtained from that Emperor the title of "Vicar of the Empire at Milan," by payment of 25,000 gold florins, and from his own subjects, by unanimous votes, the perpetual lordship over that city, in

which election the Milanese were soon imitated by Bergamo, Piacenza, Cremona and Brescia. About the same time, ambassadors from Pavia, Vercelli, and Novara bore to him the announcement of the voluntary submission of all those cities; and Parma elected him as its lord in the municipal council. His uncle Marco, and his cousin Lodrisio conspired against this most prosperous (hitherto) of the Visconti house, and obtained money from Mastino della Scala to carry on an unnatural war against Galeazzo. They hired the German soldiery left by Louis at Vicenza, and led them into the Lombardic plains to devastate and despoil. Milan itself was threatened. The citizens rose in a mass, seized whatever arms were at hand, and led by Azzone and Luchino, marched against the half-barbarous foes, whom they encountered at Parabiagio. There ensued a battle (21st February, 1339), the most sanguinary known in mediæval Italy before the invasion by Charles VIII. Luchino was taken prisoner; the Milanese were almost defeated, when a reserve of Savoyards rushed upon the Germans, now only bent on plunder, and turned the tide of victory against them. The battle of Parabiagio was long remembered in popular tradition, and placed on a par with those of Legnano and Alessandria. It was said that S. Ambrose had been seen in air on a phantom steed, chastising the invaders with a scourge; and hence that Saint used to be depicted, also represented on coins, in such action. A mass was introduced into the Ambrosian liturgy commemorative of this victory, and ascribing it to that celestial patron.*

* The "Preface" thus alludes to the event with thanksgiving: *O felix victoria, o beata victoria, quomodo fuisti pro Mediolanensibus valde bona, magis gratia quam viribus acquisita. Nam qui predum pernitentemque minabantur, facti sunt mortui, preda victoriæ triumphalis. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, etc.*

After the beneficent domination of Azzone, great indeed was the contrast in the character and acts of his uncle and successor, Luchino (1339), against whom was formed the conspiracy, headed by Francesco di Posterla, and so nearly successful that he could only save himself and his family by flight to Avignon. After his return, not only Posterla and his accomplices, but his innocent wife and young children, also perished on the scaffold.* Luchino was thenceforth guarded by two enormous mastiffs, trained to seize and throw down, to worry or rend every person who gave the slightest offence or umbrage to their scarcely less savage master. There is, however, a brighter side in the character and doings even of this hated Prince. He protected the poor, and dispensed them from military service. During a famine he maintained 40,000 sufferers by his daily charities. He gave facile audience to all; appointed a Podesta expressly for clearing the streets of robbers, and forbade the Vandalic practice of demolishing the houses of those struck by sentence of law as rebels. He raised many sumptuous buildings; wrote (or attempted) verses, and won the too liberally bestowed praises of Petrarch. His death is

* "Two or three infants," as Cesare Cantù describes, were put to death on the scaffold, besides the virtuous wife of Francesco, Margarita (of the Fieschi family), whom Luchino hated because she had refused to listen to his licentious passion—see the interesting, but painful historic romance, "*Margherita Posterla*," by Cantù. The Posterla family disappear after this tragedy. They had possessed thirty-five estates, and almost the whole district of Milan called "*Quartiere di Porta Ticinese*." On a certain day they used to prepare a pageant, which passed through several streets to the cathedral: a wooden horse, drawn by porters, and filled with men, who issued forth when this enchanted steed was made to open its flanks, before the metropolitan church, to which these envoys bore the rich offerings of the Posterla family. The day's entertainment closed with good cheer provided for all the numerous clients and dependents of that house; a plentiful banquet being served in the various halls and courts of the patron's palace.

said to have been caused by poison administered by his wife, whose licentious conduct he had been one of the last to discover, and who thus anticipated that vengeance, dire and sanguinary, which she had reason to apprehend. Luchino and his brother Giovanni, after adhering to the Emperor Louis for a time, renounced his cause, and became reconciled to the Pope. They conjointly promised 50,000 gold florins to Benedict XII. as indemnity for injuries offered to Legates and Nuncios. They owned—remarkable avowal from these haughty Princes!—that they held their States in dependence on the Holy See, and that the Pontiff had a right to administer the Empire during the vacancy of the German throne. It was enjoined on them as penance, to found two chapels for daily masses by two salaried priests, and on the festival of S. Benedict to give bread to 12,000 poor persons.

The above-named Giovanni, an illustrious personage, succeeded his brother, 1349, in the lordship over Milan, and again united the temporal with the spiritual—at Novara first, where, being Bishop of that See, he treacherously usurped the civil government, 1333, and finally at Milan, of which he became Archbishop in 1342. His dominion was submitted to with good will; and many other cities, either from policy or preference, elected him as their lord. This Prelate-Prince boldly maintained his rights against the Pope, and refused, with sword and crozier in his hands before the altar, to make the required cession of either power represented by those symbols.* He was the friend of Petrarch; he patronized learning, and loved literature. Four professors of liberal arts and sciences, with two theologians, were commissioned by him to draw up a comment on Dante. After his death, 1354, the States

* See preceding volume, p. 513.

were divided into three equal portions under his nephews, Matteo, Bernabo, and Galeazzo, the first of whom died in 1355, leaving the two others to rule conjointly. Milan and Genoa were the capitals possessed alike by both. Bologna was also held by them in defiance of the Pope, who had ceded it to the Archbishop Giovanni for tribute during the limited period of ten years,* and Pavia, after being twice besieged, was compelled by famine and pestilence to surrender to the Visconti. That city became the portion of Galeazzo, who built its strong fortress, and founded here the University, also a valuable library, he being influenced for the bestowal of such intellectual benefits, it is said, by Petrarch, who was his honoured guest, and who extols the magnificence of the palace, amidst a park fifteen miles in circuit, built by him at the same city. Yet it was this Galeazzo who invented the horrors of the *quaresima*, or torture of forty days, as punishment for those suspected of treason against him during the war of the League, 1362-3; the victim being allowed to repose every other day after a day of agonies, and at last broken on the wheel, after his flesh had been torn by hooks, one eye plucked out, and both hands and both feet cut off. On the other hand we see in this tyrant an example of ascetic devoteeism and open-handed alms-giving, side by side with inhuman atrocities—one of those contradictions which potent Catholicism could force from the most cruel or inspire the most hard-hearted of men to display, as it were, in evidence against their own darker nature. Galeazzo would fast during a third part of the year; he supported ten chapels, and annually distributed in alms 2531 sequins, 212 bushels of grain and 12 large measures of wine.

Bernabo Visconti was one of those monsters who seem

* In 1355 Bologna was seized, and detached from their dominion, by Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio.

raised up as a warning against the evils of irresponsible power, and the withering effects of despotism, alike on those who exercise and those who suffer it. He prohibited all citizens to go out at night, for whatever object, under pain of the amputation of one foot; ordered that whoever named a Guelf or Ghibelline, should have his tongue cut out; punished with death by torture the offence of killing any animal reserved for his own pleasures of the chase; and created a court of justice for prosecuting all who during five years had slain, or at any table eaten of, a wild boar; the offenders, who could not pay an exorbitant fine, to be strangled by the executioner—which death more than a hundred suffered for this fictitious crime under Bernabo's reign. He allowed no judge to receive his salary till he had sent to the headsman's block at least one victim for the offence of killing a partridge. Some of his atrocities are too sickening to be narrated. On one occasion he obliged the Podesta to tear out the tongue of a delinquent with his own hand. Meeting a funeral, and hearing that the priest demurred to perform the ceremony before receiving an undue fee, he ordered that priest to be buried alive with the dead. He extorted more than 300,000 gold florins from the clergy in taxation for the costs of the war against Bologna. Well known is the story of his meeting the Papal Legate on a bridge over the Lambro, and offering to the two ecclesiastics (that Legate and a companion), who were charged with a bull of excommunication to be published against him, their choice whether to eat or drink; the terrified priests choosing the former, well understanding what was implied in the latter alternative; and on this Bernabo compelled them to eat up the parchment and leaden seals of the Papal document! That Legate, who brought the bull of Innocent VI., afterwards became Pope, as Urban V., and (as one may infer) did not forget the

tyrannies or dangerously defiant power of Bernabo Visconti. Another Papal emissary, who published the bull of a Crusade against Forli, was roasted to death in an iron vessel; and two friars, who had the courage to reproach Bernabo for this atrocity, were burned alive; as were also certain nuns, together with a Vicar-General who had refused to punish them at the tyrant's bidding. The Archbishop of Milan was summoned before him for having declined to ordain a monk at his desire, and was forced to kneel, whilst Bernabo howled into his ear: "Dost thou not know, wretch, that I am pope and emperor and lord in all my dominions, and that God Himself could do nothing here contrary to my will?" Yet, with another of the contradictions frequently exemplified in these times, the tyrant of Milan could be devout and charitable; fasted strictly, founded churches, monasteries, and benefices. When a holy Carmelite, the Beato Pierre Thomas (who became Archbishop of Candia) appeared before him as envoy of the Pope, together with ambassadors from the Kings of France and Cyprus, sent to propose terms of peace, the eloquence of the Carmelite so affected him that he said, with a deep sigh: "I am resolved; I desire peace with the Church, and will henceforth be submissive and faithful to her"—this, after the other spokesmen had failed to make any impression on him.

Gian Galeazzo, son of Galeazzo, lord of Pavia, succeeded to the dominions of his father, and purchased from the Emperor Wenceslaus the title of Imperial Vicar in Lombardy. Bernabo considered him a harmless devotee, and as he had no children, formed (according to some historians) a design against his life for the sake of his inheritance. The nephew anticipated the uncle's treachery. Feigning the intent of a pious pilgrimage to the *sacro monte* of Varese, Galeazzo requested an interview with

Bernabo on his route to that sanctuary. They met near Milan, and the nephew had no sooner embraced his uncle than he ordered him, with his two sons and the others of his suite, to be arrested and led to the castle of Trezzo, rebuilt with great strength by Bernabo himself. A prosecution, not for his notorious crimes, but for sorcery and incantations was instituted against him; and this tyrant died in his prison, supposed to have been poisoned, about eight months afterwards, 1385. "With great devotion and many tears," says Corio, the historian of Milan, "he received the Divine Sacraments, continually imploring his Creator to pardon his passed sins, and incessantly repeating, till his soul had quitted his body, the words (of the 51st Psalm) '*Cor meum contritum et humiliatum, Deus meus, non despicias!*'" After his death, in his sixty-sixth year, 700,000 gold florins in coin, and seven cars full of silver in ingots and vessels were found in his treasury.

Gian Galeazzo now became sole lord of the Milanese states. The most illustrious and the most munificent of the Visconti house was a liberal patron of arts and letters, and though not personally warlike, of vast ambition. In 1395 he obtained from the Emperor Wenceslaus, the title of Duke of Milan,—not, however, without payment,—100,000 florins, for such imperial favour; and in the next year another diploma from that monarch bestowed on him the sovereign power over almost all the Lombardic cities dependent on the German empire. Forty-six towns were subject to this Visconti, who purchased Pisa, 1399, from its former lord, Gherardo di Appiano, now contented to reserve to himself Piombino and the island of Elba. Shortly afterwards, Perugia voluntarily accepted the sway of the Visconti, rejecting that of the Pope; and still more fatal to the Pontific interests was the loss of Bologna, which submitted to the sovereign Duke after he had won a vic-

tory over the allied Florentines and Bolognese, the latter led by Giovanni Bentivoglio, who was put to death by his own soldiers after the defeat.

Gian Galeazzo was the first Italian Prince who thoroughly systematised the administration of his States ; the first to collect public documents and governmental acts in archives. He founded an Academy of Fine Arts, and another library attached to the University founded by his father, at Pavia, whither he invited the most celebrated men of the time to teach from professors' chairs. The other University at Piacenza was renovated by him. Among his numerous public works, for utilitarian as well as religious and intellectual interests, two especially claim notice in these pages, and were both of pre-eminent magnificence : the glorious Duomo of Milan, and the Certosa of Pavia.

The annals of the great archbishopric of Milan during this century display the gradual consolidation of the Papal dominion over that once independent see. In 1308 the Chapter elected a Canon of their metropolitan church, Gastone Torriani, to the vacant throne ; and it was this prelate who, after being imprisoned by his relative, Guido Torriani, crowned Henry VII. as King of Italy in 1311. Pope John XXII. transferred Gastone to the patriarchate of Aquileia, and the Chapter proceeded to elect Giovanni Visconti, reassuming on this occasion their right of independent election. But the Pope set this at naught, and of his own authority nominated another priest, a minor conventual, as Archbishop. Matteo Visconti opposed this election, and would not allow Fra Aicardo, the nominee of the Pope, to enter Milan ; hence the aggravated discords between the Papal and Visconti courts, during which John XXII. issued (1322) a brief for the reservation to the Holy See of all the archbishoprics and bishoprics within the patriarchate of Aquileia, the provinces of Milan and

Ravenna. Matteo died before the reconciliation with the Pontificate, which was effected in the time of Azzone Visconti, 1329. Giovanni, the nominee of the Chapter, was appointed, not Archbishop of Milan, but Bishop of Novara by the same Pope John. Fra Aicardo, though not yet able to take possession of the higher dignity, secured the administration of the Milanese archdiocese, with a pension of 1500 florins. In the Pontificate of Benedict XII. complete accord was established between the Holy See and the Visconti house; and Aicardo was allowed to make his solemn ingress into Milan as recognised Archbishop, 1339. After his death, in the same year, the Chapter again elected Giovanni Visconti, but the Pope again refused to confirm or recognise him. This state of antagonism between the Papacy and the Milanese clergy continued till 1342, when Clement VI. of his own authority, while ignoring the two previous elections, declared that Prelate, who played so conspicuous a part in his time, to be the legitimate successor of S. Ambrose.

The relations between Venice and the Papacy during this period afford proofs of the ascendancy of the spiritual power, even in temporal things, and while its seat was distant from the Italian shores. In this page of Italian history we also see the still vital, however enfeebled, spirit of crusading enterprise, and the efforts of the Pope to quicken it for renewed exertions. The taking of Ferrara by the Venetians (1309) has been mentioned in a preceding volume. Folco d'Este, a natural son of the late Marquis Azzone (ob. 1308), who had left the inheritance to him, was disturbed in his government by his two uncles, sole legitimate representatives of that house. Those brothers had recourse to the Papal protection for the furtherance of their cause, and Clement V. promised to befriend them on condition of their recognising the immediate dependence of Fer-

rara on the Holy See. Folco offered the cession of Ferrara to Venice—*his* expedient for safety. The Venetians disregarded alike the rights of the Esti and the claims of the Pope. After two successful engagements in arms, they compelled the Ferrarese to sue for peace and to receive the Podesta appointed by the Republic. Clement excommunicated all the Venetians with tremendous anathemas, declaring that their property might be confiscated, and their persons reduced to slavery in whatever country and by whomsoever, by all, in short, who could so act against them! Such was the purport of the bull which Muratori considers “the most terrible and unjust ever heard of.” A crusade was published against Venice, and with success. A formidable army was soon raised, and led by a Cardinal Legate against the occupants of Ferrara, who, after a defeat in a decisive battle fought on the 28th of August, 1307, were obliged to abandon their conquest. Pope Clement, acting as lord paramount, bestowed the vicariate of Ferrara on King Robert of Naples, regardless of all engagements made with Francesco, the elder of the brothers representing the Este house. The Venetian general, Giovanni Soranzo, who had commanded the Republican forces in that war, was elected Doge, 1312. In his time the “Signoria” sought absolution and reconciliation with the Pope. Not till the January of 1323 was a Venetian envoy admitted, after many entreaties and humiliations, to receive the implored forgiveness from John XXII. at Avignon. The Republic had paid 100,000 gold florins into the Papal treasury; and its envoy had to submit to degrading ceremonies, the endurance of which seems contrary to the genius of Italian Republicanism even at this age. He had a collar put round his neck, with a cord attached to it, and was thus led (dog-wise) by the Grand Penitentiary, who held one end of this

cord, into the Papal presence, humbly to beg for the pardon which Pope John at last deigned to grant.* Soon after the election of an illustrious Doge, Andrea Dandolo (1343), Venice, yielding to the solicitations of Clement VI., leagued with the King of Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes against the Turks, and in the November of that year a fleet of those allies appeared before the island of Negropont, then attacked by Turkish galleys, which precipitously retreated. In the September of 1344 the united fleets of Venice and the Pope—for at this period the Pontificate had naval forces at its disposal—sailed for Smyrna, and, on the 28th October, that city was victoriously occupied by these Italian crusaders. In the January of the next year, Morbassan, a Turkish general, marched by land to attack the Christians in their new possession, but was signally defeated in a sortie from the gates. The allies, however, sustained great loss, on this occasion, before the walls of Smyrna; for while they were bent on plundering the Turkish camp, Morbassan returned to the charge, made great slaughter, and compelled his opponents to retreat, with disorder, into the city. Among the slain were the Venetian and Pontific generals, and the Pope's Legate, whose body was found with sword and helm on the field. In the year following, the allies were obliged to make peace with the Turks, and abandon Smyrna to their power.

Again was a crusade against the Moslem attempted in this century, but with most disappointing results to the Christians. In 1386, Alexandria was taken by the united

* Considering what Venice then was, we might quote the indignant lines of Wordsworth, referring to the humiliations of English Kings before Papal envoys:—

“The spears that line
Baronial halls, the opprobrious insult feel,
And angry ocean roars a vain appeal!”

forces of the Venetians, the King of Cyprus, and the Grand Master of Rhodes. Urban VI. had induced Venice, whose main object was to promote commercial interests in the East, to join this ill-advised enterprise. The Egyptian fleet was burnt; but after Alexandria had been held by the conquerors only four days, they deemed it prudent to retreat before the arrival of the Sultan, who was approaching with a large armament. Without securing any advantage save the booty with which they were laden, these "crusaders" left hatred against the Christian name in Egypt. All of that faith in Alexandria were imprisoned; their merchandise was confiscated, their banks were broken up; and Venice, too late aware of the imprudence of this invasion, contrived to persuade, or rather, bribe the Sultan into regarding her Republic as an unconcerned party; and admitting her mediation for the arrangement of a treaty with the King of Cyprus. A sign of the times, still more remarkable than this inglorious decline of crusading heroism, is the change in the temper of the Supreme Pontiffs themselves with respect to such nominally religious warfare. We have seen John XXII. exert himself to *dissuade* the kings of France and England, Philip V. and Edward II., from the fulfilment of vows rashly taken for enterprises in no manner imposed by the duty or interests of either.

The ecclesiastical affairs of Venice may also be noticed here. The primitive See, on the island called Olivolo, changed its name into that of "Castellanus," after that islet itself, with the cathedral upon it, had become designated as "Castello," about the date A.D. 1074. Another title given to the Bishop of this See was "Rivoaltensis," or Bishop of Rialto; also known by the lugubrious epithet, "Bishop of the Dead," because his principal revenue was derived from a tithe on the property of those who died within his island-diocese. It was a Bishop of this See,

named Jacopo Albertini, who, with other mitred assistants, crowned the Bavarian Louis at Milan, 1327, and took part at Rome both in the ceremony of his second coronation, and in the futile election of a friar, who was his creature, to the vain honours of an Antipope. John XXII. excommunicated and degraded that offending prelate, the sentence against whom was published in his own cathedral. In 1329 Angelo Delfino, appointed to this see by the Pope, carried out some excellent reforms, and obliged the benefited clergy of Venice to observe the duties they had neglected—namely, residence on their cures, and attendance at office in their churches. After the dreadful visitation of pestilence in 1348-9, the question of the “mortuary tithes”, originally assigned on such a singular system to the episcopal mensa at Venice, was violently agitated between the State and the Clergy, who made themselves extremely unpopular by their exorbitant claims after such a crisis of public calamity, during which the frequency of deaths afforded them pretexts for exacting sometimes a tithe of the property of three persons in the same family. The government offered them compensation in the amount of 12,000 gold ducats for all retrospective claims, and 7000 gold ducats annually for the future. This compromise was accepted under sanction of the Pope; but a few months afterwards these Venetian priests bethought themselves that, the number of deaths having been so great during the plague, their gains ought to be calculated at a much higher amount. “Fishers of fish, and not of men,” as Mrs. Browning says, the shepherds of this Israel seemed bent on despoiling instead of feeding their flocks! They appealed to the senate and to the Pope: the compromise was eventually annulled, and instead of twelve thousand, 28,000 gold ducats were voted for them, with full recognition of all the rights they claimed for the future. It is

satisfactory to find that this unworthy litigation was at last terminated by the act of an estimable prelate, Giovanni Piacentini, who announced (1377), that he would not maintain the pretensions of his worldly-minded clergy, but would leave the question to the wisdom of government. In consequence, the "Signoria" assigned 5,500 ducats per annum to the Venetian Church, to be divided between the Bishop, the clergy, the poor, and the expenses of church repairs, &c. The above-named prelate, unfortunately for himself, sided with the Antipope against Urban VI., and was obliged to leave Venice, though he continued for at least a year to enjoy the revenues of the mensa. He was created Cardinal by the Antipope Clement. The first Cardinal seen (or, at least, resident) at Venice, was Luigi Donato, one of the five assassinated in the dungeon of S. Giovanni di Pré, at Genoa, by Pope Urban's order. A remarkable law was passed at Venice in 1347, which, citing an earlier statute, forbade the bequeathing of immovable property for the suffrage of souls (*i.e.* requiem masses), or other pious works, unless for a period limited to ten years; and which law provided that thenceforth no bequests should be made for the founding of churches or monasteries (already superabundant), save with consent of six councilors, of thirty-five members, and three chiefs of the *Quarantii*, and three-fourths of the Grand Council.

Turning to the Florentine Republic, we find little to notice in the ecclesiastical sphere amidst the stirring events and rapidly succeeding vicissitudes of this XIV. century, except the intrigues by which the Cardinal Legate of Bologna endeavoured to separate Prato from Florence, and induced the adventurer Hawkwood, with his dreaded "English Company" of mercenaries, to invade its territory, and attempt the occupation of that town; the retaliation of the Republic by instigating revolt in the Papal States,

imposing taxes on the clergy, and selling their property, and, on the other hand, the penalties inflicted by Gregory XI. in the interdict, 1375, which was not withdrawn till 1378, on condition of the payment, exacted by Urban VI., of 250,000 florins for the expenses of the war carried on by the Pontific troops in a league against Florence. After being for a time submitted to, that interdict was set at naught by the Florentines; and the local clergy were commanded to celebrate masses as usual. Similarly dauntless was the conduct of the "Signoria" in defying and rendering void the triple interdict published against Florence by a Legate sent thither by Benedict XI., in 1304. When, in 1306, the Cardinal-Legate, Orsino, was driven by popular revolt with bloodshed from Bologna, and intimated to the Florentines his wish to visit their city in order to free it from the weight of ecclesiastical censures, he was answered that Florence did not require his services, and that he need not trouble himself about the removal of the interdict.* The bishops (not yet archbishops) of this See obtained, 1364, the rank of princes of the Holy Roman Empire, conferred first on the Bishop Pietro Corsini by Charles IV. An ancient usage, the origin of which is referred to the XI. century, at the ceremonial of the installation of every new prelate, is said to have assumed a definite form about 1385—the symbolic espousals between the newly-consecrated pastor and the Benedictine abbess of S. Piero Maggiore. After the Bishop had made his public ingress into the city, received by the chief magistrates and all the clergy, entering with a long-drawn procession, and himself riding on a mule (or palfrey) under a canopy supported by four guardians, or *custodi*, of the cathedral-church, who appeared with leafy crowns on their heads—he passed

* Other ecclesiastical affairs in Florence, during this century, are noticed in the preceding volume, p. 552-4.

to the church of that monastery. On his arrival, being received by the prior and other priests with lights and incense, and having first prayed before the altar, he was led to an ornamented tribune, or raised platform, where the abbess was ready with all her nuns to welcome him. There he took his seat on a richly-draped throne, the abbess sitting opposite to him on a throne hung with green velvet, each under a canopy of cloth-of-gold. Presently the abbess rose, knelt before the bishop, who caused her to sit at his right hand, and placed on her finger a gold ring set with three gems, a diamond, a sapphire, and another precious stone—signifying the union of the new pastor with the Florentine Church—the abbess's hand being held the while either by her own relations or by the oldest man in the parish. The Reverend Mother then returned her thanks, warmly recommended the Florentine Church and her own monastery to the new pastor, kissed his hand, and received his benediction. All her nuns next went up to the throne successively, to kiss the hand and be blessed. The bishop finally gave benediction to the people present, granted an indulgence, and passed to a hall of the monastery, where he dined with the abbess, the other guests being four canons, the prior, the episcopal chaplains, and the cathedral-guardians. That night the bishop slept under the same roof, and the next morning proceeded first to the cathedral, thence to the baptistery, for two other solemn installations. Arrived at his palace, he received the present, now sent by the Benedictine abbess, of the gorgeous couch, hung with costly draperies, on which he had passed the night.*

* See Richa, "Chiese Fiorentine." The church and monastery here named no longer exist. That olden ceremony gradually vanished, even before the sacred building in which it had been held. First were abolished the banquet and the usage of the bishop's lodging for the night under the same roof with the nuns; the observances in the church being alone

Up to the year 1341 the election of the Bishops of Florence was, by immemorial privilege, the free act of the canonical chapter, hitherto undisturbed in such exercise of their rights. The tactics through which this appointment was usurped (can we use any milder term?) by the Papacy, are thus narrated by an uncompromising advocate of all Popes and all proceedings of the Curia:—

“The election of their own bishop was the immemorial privilege of the canons of the cathedral of Florence, with approbation of the elect dependent on the Popes, till the time of Clement VI. But in 1341 the canons, having elected in the sacristy of their cathedral the prior Filippo d’Antella as successor to the Bishop Silvestri, nominated afterwards two deputies to be sent to Benedict XII. for the pontific approval. They (the deputies) found that Pontiff dead, and Clement VI. created in his place, who now elected by bull Fra Angelo Acciaiuoli to the bishopric of Florence, declaring the election of Antella null, and for ever taking away from the chapter the privilege of electing their own pastor. In the sequel the Florentine Republic began the practice of supplicating the Pope, by means of its ambassadors at Rome, to appoint persons of the same country and in every respect worthy.”—(Moroni, *Dizion. di Erudizione Eccles.* vol. xxv. p. 45-6.)

In Sicily we find the Popes still persisting in traditionary hostilities against the freedom and dearly purchased rights of a gallant people, still endeavouring to force that people into subjection to a hated dynasty, and bring back the days of the Anjou rule over the island, which could not forget

retained. After a time these also fell into disuse, and were finally suppressed by Gregory XIII., the last such mystic espousals having been celebrated between the Archbishop Altoviti, appointed to this See in 1548, and the Abbess Suor Brigida Albizi. S. Piero Maggiore was reduced to ruin in 1783.

all it had suffered under, or all it had done to liberate itself from, that yoke. Boniface VIII. had so far succeeded in such policy, injurious indeed to the higher interests of the Pontificate, as to win the submission implied in an annual tribute of 15,000 gold florins, promised by the brave young king Frederick I. (or II.) to the Holy See, after the treaty with the Neapolitan crown by which it was stipulated that he should marry a daughter of Charles II., and retain the Sicilian kingdom for life, but leave it after his death to the Anjou Charles, and his descendants. Twelve years afterwards (1314), Frederick dropped the title of "King of Trinacria," which he had been required to assume, took that of "King of Sicily," and recommenced the war with the Neapolitans, who had besieged Trapani. The issues of that war were favourable, on the whole, to the Sicilians; and in 1321 Frederick caused his youthful son, Peter, to be crowned at Palermo. In that year John XII. laid the whole island under an interdict, which had, indeed, been provoked by the king, who, to meet the expenses of war, had confiscated the property of the Sicilian Church. Louis, who succeeded at the age of four years to his father, Peter II., under the regency of his uncle, 1342, was crowned at Palermo by a Greek bishop, no Sicilian prelate consenting to take part in the ceremonies on account of the interdict. After the death of King Robert of Naples, the Regent of Sicily and the Queen Mother deemed the opportunity had come for seeking reconciliation with the Pope. Their envoys were coldly received by Clement VI., who declared that Sicily could only hope for peace through submission to Queen Joanna. In proof of his displeasure that Pontiff reserved to himself, by bulls, the nomination during two years to all the bishoprics, abbacies, and other benefices, excepting those of revenue less than fifty florins, in that island. We need not comment upon this strange

manifestation of pontific indignation! The government of Naples was solicited by Clement to undertake another invasion of Sicily, and complied. But after an army had disembarked near Messina, and devastated the environs, the approach of forces, sent by the Regent, compelled the invaders to an inglorious retreat. When adversity came to Queen Joanna, and her states also were invaded, she sought the mediation of the Pope to obtain peace with the Sicilian crown, and at last accepted the terms of a treaty, concluded in 1347 without the consent of Clement, who, however, took no steps to oppose it. Louis was to retain the crown of Sicily undisturbed, and to pay annually, on S. Peter's day, the tribute to the Holy See of 3000 gold ounces,* deducted from the census which the Neapolitan sovereigns paid to the same pontific throne. The King of Sicily was bound, in case of attack against the continental kingdom, to supply aid with fifteen ships, and the Queen of Naples renounced all her claims on that island as well as on the isles adjacent. Under the reign of Frederick II. (or III.), brother and successor to Louis, Sicily was again agitated by rival claims of parties divided between the interests of the Anjou and Aragonese dynasties. Messina and the castle of Martagritone were ceded to Louis of Taranto, the husband of Joanna, and the Queen and Prince made their entry into that city as sovereigns (December 1356), promising to prefer Messina as future capital of the island-kingdom. That city, however, was retaken for the young king Frederick, principally through aid of the powerful Clermont family and of Artale d'Alagone, an experienced naval officer, who expelled the Neapolitans from the town and citadel.

Previous to the re-conquest of Messina and Palermo

* 15,000 gold florins.

(1365), the Neapolitans had been completely baffled in their attempt to terminate the war, by a decisive blow, with the capture of Catania, which they invested by sea and land. Artale d'Alagone dispersed their fleet, and the troops commanded by the Grand Seneschal at once raised the siege, but could not effect a retreat without being pursued by the garrison and resolute citizens of Catania; more than two thousand of the Seneschal's army being slain, many prisoners and all the baggage of the camp remaining in the hands of the Sicilians. The other cities of the island, after the taking of Messina, returned one by one under the dominion of King Frederick.

In 1372 both the Courts of Naples and Sicily desired peace. Two Franciscan friars were the appointed negotiators, and it was agreed that the King should recognise his tenure of Sicily as a fief under Queen Joanna, pledging himself to an annual census, 15,000 gold florins; and that he should be contented with the title, "King of Trinacria," leaving to the Neapolitan sovereign that of King of Sicily. This was fully approved by Gregory XI. It had been further stipulated that Frederick II. should repair to Rome and do homage in person to the Pope. His objections to absenting himself from his states were, however, admitted; the journey to Rome was dispensed with; and after the treaty had been ratified by the Bishop of Sarlat in the name of the Pontiff, Frederick did homage to the Pope for his kingdom at Messina (1374) in the hands of the same prelate. On the same day he wedded a niece of Prince Louis of Taranto, and in 1375 was crowned by the Bishop of Sarlat with permission of the Pope.*

* Muratori, *Annali*, gives different date for the death of Frederick II. and succession of his daughter Maria, as A.D. 1372. I have followed the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, which gives for those events the year 1377; for the death of Maria, who was succeeded by her husband and cousin-german, Martin of Aragon, 1402.

The sense of sin and misery, compunction for the first and pity for the second of those universal ills, may be said to have predominated throughout the Middle Ages. It was not till comparatively modern times that the dignity and self-responsibility of Man began to possess his thoughts. In the last year of this century the feeling of profound sorrow for sin found vent in a movement which aroused the attention of the Christian world, and extended over almost the whole of western Europe. The "White Penitents" commenced their doleful pilgrimage from land to land, from city to city, joined by multitudes of both sexes and all classes, clad in long white habits with hoods covering the face so as to leave the eyes only visible; the women distinguished by a red cross; all, as they advanced, reciting or singing orisons and hymns, the *Stabat Mater*, the *Miserere*-psalm, &c. According to some writers, this movement originated in Ireland; thence passed to England; thence through France, crossing Alps and Apennines, and spreading with mournful enthusiasm over northern and central Italy. At Genoa 5000 arrived in such guise, and were led by the aged Archbishop, himself on horseback, to visit churches, cemeteries, shrines, during nine days. From Lucca 3000 set out, notwithstanding the *veto* of the magistrates, for Pistoja, where they were joined by 4000 more, and thence passed on through Prato to Florence. There the devout multitude swelled to 40,000; and as many as 20,000 were led, in one long-drawn procession, by the Bishop of Fiesole to visit the holy places. At Parma the pilgrims on foot were followed by forty cars containing the infirm and feeble, women and children. From thence 7000 set out, preceded by pious confraternities with their standards and led by the bishop of that diocese. At Venice the authorities refused to admit them; but at Ferrara the Marquis d'Este treated them with honour.

Whatever the fanaticism of this "revival," it is certain that the fruits of good works, alms to the poor, reconciliation of enemies, restitution of what had been unlawfully taken, were abundantly borne by it. Platina gives the following account of it, received from his father, an eye-witness :—

"The year before the jubilee, there came from the Alps into Italy a certain priest with a great company of men after him. This priest went about clad in white, and showed so much modesty in his countenance and words that all men held him as a saint. Having reached Italy, he soon attracted an immense number of men and women by this new superstitious observance. All, without distinction, whether rustic or civil, masters or servants, vested in white, followed him like flocks of sheep; and wherever they came to pass the night they slept on the bare ground. They eat together publicly in the cities, where the people vied with each other in bringing them food, as if offering sacrifice. The priest went in front with a crucifix in his hand, which, it was said, frequently shed tears for the sins of men; and every time that this" (the weeping of the crucifix) "occurred, all cried *Misericordia!* As they proceeded, pursuing their journey, they sang the praises of Our Lady, and other hymns such as were suitable for them; and this also they did whenever they stopped at any place. That priest led them through Lombardy, Romagna, by the Marshes and through Tuscany, everywhere gaining such repute for sanctity, that not only the rude and credulous populace, but princes also, and the Visconti in the cities were easily persuaded to do as he said and desired.* At Viterbo, arriving with the great multitude after him, he

* In this somewhat obscure passage, the "Visconti" might be understood as the family so named, or as different magnates of the rank so designated.

stopt, weary of the journey, before going on, as he said they ought, to Rome for pilgrimage to the holy places. Boniface IX., who suspected that there was fraud in this, and that the priest hoped to be made Pope through favour of the people who followed him, and by means of this superstition, sent soldiers to Viterbo, who arrested and brought him to the Pope. Some write that the priest was tortured, and confessed his deceptions, and that for this he was punished in the flames, being burnt alive. Others say no fraud whatever was found in this poor priest, but that the Pope caused such report to be circulated in order to suppress the other report that he had ordered him to be put to death out of envy.* Victorelli (annotator of Ciaconius) states plainly that the unfortunate priest "suffered the punishment he deserved, being burnt in the fire."

Heresies, or what were condemned as such, and boldly novel speculations, another sign of agitation and excitement in the public mind, rose up, a plentiful crop, during this perturbed century. A set of vagabond and idle

* Compare this with the account by Corio of the movement in Lombardy:—"An immense number of persons, of all classes, high and low, women, youths, and maidens, came bare-footed, and covered from head to foot with white sheets, which left scarcely more than the forehead visible. All the inhabitants of the towns and villages assembled around them, and continued for eight days to visit three churches in each town, causing many masses to be celebrated in one or other church. Wherever they came to a cross on the wayside, they fell prostrate, crying three times *Misericordia*!—chanting also the Pater Noster and Ave, besides other canticles composed by S. Bernard. The people, after returning to their native places, dispersed, and arriving home, exhorted the other inhabitants to assume the same habit—so that sometimes 1000, sometimes 1500 assembled in one place. An infinite number of reconciliations (*infinite concordie*), and distributing of alms occurred, and many were led to true repentance." Corio, the historian of Milan, flourished at a period (1459-1519) not far remote from the events he thus describes.

friars, whom the simple-minded Pope Celestine V. had permitted to lead the life of independent hermits, without following a rule or obeying a superior, but whom Boniface VIII. had wisely disapproved of, formed themselves into communities in Sicily, where they began to declaim against the Church and her rulers. A Franciscan of Beziers, named Jean Olive, who had joined them, proclaimed the Roman Church to be the mystic Babylon foretold in the Apocalypse, and prophesied her ruin, with the birth of another, a new and holier Institution, to succeed to her—this Church of the Future being destined to develop into glorious life under the celestial auspices of S. Francis. A book produced by him in support of these theories and dreamy hopes was received by the Franciscan “Fratricelli,” as a fifth gospel. Those hermits at last elected a Father General, and proposed even to raise up another Antipope. They went so far as to declare that all the Sacraments of the Church were invalid, because administered by priests without true jurisdiction or lawful authority! Similar notions were maintained by a sect which sprung up in Germany favoured by the Emperor Louis, and who eventually merged into the communities of Begards and Beguines, condemned by the Council of Vienne. The Lollards, who took their name from Walther Lollard, a teacher appearing first about A.D. 1315, rejected all the Sacraments as well as ceremonies of Catholicism, condemned the belief in the intercession of saints, and admitted the indulgent notion that even the devils might eventually be saved. It is said that in Austria and Bohemia these votaries numbered more than 80,000. In the time of Gregory XI. two Franciscans were commanded to retract, or bury in silence, under pain of excommunication, the theory they had advanced that the Real Presence might be withdrawn from the holy Eucharist in case the conse-

crated species should fall into any foul place, or be devoured by a brute. The Pope deputed a cardinal to examine this doctrine—and such was the condemnatory decision. In 1357 Richard Fitz Ralph, Chancellor of Oxford and Archbishop of Armagh, travelled to Avignon to maintain the charges brought forward in his writings against the mendicant friars, whose dependence on alms, or religious mendicancy, he considered to be founded on an erroneous principle, neither conformable with the teaching of Christ nor with the true sense of the rule of S. Francis. He complained before the Pope of the encroachments of those friars in the sphere of jurisdiction proper to bishops and parish priests.

In northern Italy the progress of the Valdese sect, which at this period began to extend ramifications from the subalpine valleys, alarmed the Church, and called forth denunciations from the Popes. The name of these mediæval Protestants is derived (by some writers) from Peter Waldo (or Vaud) of Lyons, who began in the XII. century to teach doctrines that were condemned by the Council of Verona, 1184, and by the fourth General Council of Lateran, 1215. Others derive the name from “vallée” or “Vaudois”—inhabitants of valleys. In 1316 Clement V. complained of the progress of these heretics in Italy, and principally among the Alpine regions, where they held public assemblies attended by numbers, rebellious against the authority of the Church, put to death the chief priest of a parish, and threatened the life of an Inquisitor. Gregory XI. published a brief against them, and ordered the burning of heretical books, which, it appears from that document, were now frequently produced in the vulgar tongue.* Rinaldi (*Annali Ecclesiastici*) derives the Valdese sect from the Albigenses of southern France; and some

* “Ut faciant comburi quosdam libros sermonum hæreticorum, pro majori parte in vulgari scriptos.”

writers suppose that, after the exterminating crusades against those dissidents (1209-30), a residue of them fled into Aragon, Savoy, and Piedmont.* In Spain they found no toleration. Seeking refuge, about the middle of the XIV. century, in Calabria and Apulia, they were suppressed or expelled thence. But in the Alpine valleys of western Piedmont they found home and shelter; there majestic Nature might be expected to extend over them her mantle of protection; and there eventually they developed into a Church in communion with their co-religionists of other lands, and were finally recognised by the State—not indeed till after many persecutions and perfidious violations of promises and guarantees held out to them, from time to time, by the vacillating Court of Turin.†

In 1385 a jurisconsult, named Bartolini, brought out at Piacenza a series of questions, or theses, as to the duties of the clergy in case the Roman Pontiff should prove stubborn against the counsels of the Cardinals, regardless of the true interests of the Church, and therefore unfit to govern; concluding that, in such case, curators might be appointed, to whose advice the Pope should be obliged to

* “Then followed the Waldensian bands, whom Hate
In vain endeavours to exterminate,
Whom Obloquy pursues with hideous bark :
But they desist not ;—and the sacred fire,
Rekindled thus, from dens and savage woods
Moves, handed on with never-ceasing care,
Through courts, through camps, o’er limitary floods ;
Nor lacks this sea-girt Isle a timely share
Of the new flame, not suffered to expire.”—*Wordsworth*.

† See Milton’s Sonnet, “On the late Massacre in Piedmont, 1655.”
“Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold ;
Even them who kept the truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not,” &c.

conform in all matters of ecclesiastical administration, &c. This evidently alludes to the situation of the Papacy under Urban VI., and the evil results of the obstinate temper displayed by him.

Though my object is to consider the state of Religion and Art in Italy alone, I may notice coincidences of opinion manifested about the same time in different countries. In Germany were raised complaints against the ambition, avarice, and worldliness of Popes and Cardinals; and some hazarded the assertion that the Roman Church had forfeited the keys of S. Peter since she had acquired temporal power, for which a Dominican inquisitor, named Schadland, condemned many to death at the stake, as he himself reports (Dupin, "*Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*"). In 1368 an Archbishop of Canterbury deemed it necessary to denounce forty theses which had been maintained by different persons within his province—among others, that the Blessed Virgin and other saints might have fallen into sin; that none are eternally lost for original sin alone; that even demons may eventually, through mercy and repentance, be saved—the frequent appearance of which benevolent doctrine is remarkable. Wickliffe was one of an embassy sent by Edward III. to negotiate with the Pope in 1376, and after his return to England put forth his most boldly-defended propositions against Papal prerogatives, &c. A council at London condemned twenty-four of those propositions in 1382.

A feeling of sorrow for the general corruption of the time—sorrow profoundly felt and indignant, yet softened and illumined by religious hope—speaks in the writings, both prose and verse, of Petrarch, who considers that no historic epoch was ever so darkened by crime and depravity as that in which he lived.* He invokes the Saviour of the

* *Quicquid historicorum labor, quicquid tragœdiarum gemitus in nostram pertulit notitiam, minus fuit quam quod oculis videmus. Quod*

world to interpose for the rescue of lost Humanity. In his poems he mourns over the intellectual sloth and eclipse of mental light which were the result of licentious manners.* In the Latin letters of Coluccio Salutati† the conduct of the Popes is as severely blamed as in the verse of Dante. Salutati protests against the relentless spirit with which Gregory XI. prosecuted war against the Florentines after they had desired reconciliation and the removal of the interdict. Addressing the magistrates of Rome (21st September, 1377), he brands with reprobation the anti-national character and aims of Papal policy at this time, and arrives at the conclusion, so often expressed by later writers, that the temporal power of the Holy See and the expedients adopted for its support, had been the ruin of Italy.‡ He deems that the war car-

apud illos cothurno dignum scelus erat, apud nos jam veniale peccatum est. Iratus est mundo Deus, nec immerito; patientiam potius tantam miror. . . . De hinc crebró ad Eum, quem in deliciis crucifixum habeo, versus mœsta voce, atque oculis humanibus exclamo, Jesu bone, et nimium mansuete, quid hoc est? Exurge, quare obdormis? Exurge, et ne repellas in finem; quare faciem tuam avertis? Protector noster aspice. Deus, vide quid patimur et unde—vide et vindica! (Epist. sine titulo, V., VI.)

* La gola e 'l sonno, e l' oziose piume
Hanno del mondo ogni virtù sbandita,
Ond' é dal corso suo quasi smarrita
Nostra natura, vinta dal costume, &c.

See also the celebrated Canzone, "Spirto gentil," &c. and that beginning—

Italia mia, benché 'l parlar sia indarno.

† Lived from 1330 to 1406; Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, 1375.

‡ Benedict XII., in the first Consistory held by him (1334), declared that, at least during his Pontificate, neither the Roman Church nor any

ried on against Christians under the standard of the Keys, and for the defence of the temporal interests of the supreme priesthood, had proved the greatest of all scandals to the Church.*

The "Mystery Play," founded on sacred subjects, and usually performed in churches, had made its appearance in Italian cities at least as early as the XII. century. In Rome all literature was at the lowest ebb during the epoch here in question ; but it was in the second half of the XIV. century that such form of the acted Drama was introduced here also, and that the "Passion and Resurrection" began to be represented on a stage in the classical arena of the Colosseum, every Good Friday. The most ancient of the pious confraternities in this city, called that of the Gonfalone (or Standard), from their religious symbol, a banner with a blue and red cross upon it, and which had origin in 1264, dedicated its cares to the object of redeeming Christians from slavery. By this sodality was introduced the "Mystery" performance above-named. On the evening of

other should defend its rights by the sword, or make war against any one; and this he decreed (*decrevit et statuit*) as a question of principle.

* "Videtis dispositionem summi Pontificis, qui totis conatibus, omnique modo procurat desolationem Italiæ, ipsamque magis vult bellorum turbine conquassari, quam pacis, et concordiæ desideratissimo munere reformari; et pacem ore prædicans, solum bellicas vastationes animo meditatur. O nefas, nullis temporibus subticendum ! Regis pacifici Vicarius, coeli Claviger, Petrique successor . . . bellum ardentissimè contra fideles, et devotos Ecclesiæ gerit, nec veretur contra Jesu Christi instituta pacem toties petitam humiliter, in duritia mirabili, denegare." (Ep. lvii.) See also his very valuable letter to the Marquis of Brandenburg (Ep. li.) on the schism of the Antipopes, its fatal consequences, and the best means recommendable for suppressing it. He advises that the Cardinals of both sides should meet to confer together ; that, with their consent, and in obedience to their injunctions, both Popes should abdicate, and another be elected by the Cardinals. This writer's style is dignified ; his temper serious and religious.

that solemn day, shortly before sunset, they went in procession, with chant of litanies, &c., to the ancient amphitheatre; there they sung hymns, chanted psalms, and gave themselves the *discipline*, or scourging; finally entertained, or edified, the public with that tragedy on the most awful of subjects; the brethren themselves acting on a stage fitted up at the platform-summit of a chapel within one of the arcades on the southern side. As developed into its final form, this Mystery Play was in rhyming octaves with lyric chorus, probably sung to instrumental music. That singular celebration on Good Friday was kept up, and no doubt very popular, in the capital of the Church till 1540; and then only abolished, it is said, on account of the progress of decay, by which the spot appropriated had become encumbered. The chapel vanished in 1815, although rebuilt in 1622.* At last arose the poetic Drama, distinct from the "Mysteries" and "Moralities" of the mediæval stage; and this emancipation from the immediate control of the all-influencing Church nearly coincides with the period when art also began to withdraw from the strictly devotional sphere. The first historic tragedies supplied by an Italian pen were those of Albertino Mussato, a native of Padua (1260—1330), who was the author of various Latin prose works, also historical: the *Historia Augusta*, comprising the life and period of the Emperor Henry VII., and the *Historia de gestis Italicorum*, besides elegies and epistles. He composed two tragedies in Latin verse and prose, both with chorus, and intended to be on the model of Seneca: *Achilleis*, in which the chief characters are Paris, Helen, and Hecuba; and *Eccerinis*, founded on the history of the ferocious tyrant, Ezzelino Romano, lord of Verona and Padua. The last-

* Called *S. Maria de Metrio*, but prior to the XIV. century known by another name (v. Von Reumont, *Geschichte d. Stadt Rom.*)

named, by far the most powerful, is distinguished by ingenious unravelling of the tragic plot, some contrast of character, and management of situations—though remote indeed from all modern standards of dramatic excellence. It opens with a scene of ghastly confidences—not limited by any delicacy—between Adheleita, the Countess di Romano, and her two sons, Ezzelinus and Albericus, the import of her disclosures leading them to exult with horrid joy on learning that they are the offspring of a being greater than the God who was father to Romulus and Remus. A thrillingly awful soliloquy is reported, not declaimed, in a dark chamber of the Romano castle, where Ezzelinus avows his denial of Christ, his hatred of the Cross, and invokes Lucifer, his father, together with Proserpine, the Furies, and all infernal spirits, to fill his soul with wrath, hatred, and remorseless obduracy, that he may become a scourge to mankind, and prove the worthy son of his demon-sire :

“ Annue, Satan ! et filium talem proba ! ”

Contrast and effect of situation are well sustained in another scene, where a friar, Lucas, upbraids the tyrant for his enormous crimes, endeavours to waken the fear of God's wrath in his hardened soul, and to touch the springs of repentance. In curious conformity with the theological piety of the times, Ezzelino baffles all these good efforts, and silences the courageous admonitor by accepting at once that good friar's conclusions ; admitting a *religious* view of his own deserts and destinies ; and declaring himself to be the chosen of Heaven, like Saul, Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh, and Nero, for the punishment of the human race ! How could any father-confessor deal with such a penitent ? In parts of this grim tragedy the author lays aside the dramatic, interrupts his dialogue, and at once passes from the scene with interlocutors to the plain narrative in blank verse. The *Achilleis*, less remarkable than the other piece,

concludes with a profession of absolutely fatalistic principles, put into the mouth of Helen's lover :

“ Non ipse Deus mutare potest
Quidquid fatis nectitur altis.”

(“ Not even Deity can alter that which has been decreed by the supreme Fates.”)

I have noticed the intellectual sterility in the Papal metropolis, where Petrarch found only one person, Giovanni Colonna, learned in regard to the local antiquities. Almost total eclipse may be predicated as the state of literature at that centre during this period. The studies of Canon and Civil Law followed the Curia to Avignon. Some attention was paid by the French Pontiffs there to the interests of the University founded by Boniface VIII. at Rome. Clement V. ordered that the Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee languages should be taught at Rome, Paris, Oxford, Salamanca, and Bologna. John XXII. authorized his Vicar at Rome to appoint professors and doctors at that University; and in presence of the same Vicar the candidates for degrees had to be examined by members of the faculty, whose science they had pursued. None could receive the doctor's degree at that Roman institution, called the “Sapienza,” until after four years' study of Canon, three of Civil Law, and two years, one at Rome, of public teaching in those sciences. The Sapienza University had become totally extinct before the restoration of the Holy See by Gregory XI., as proved from the terms of the bull of Eugenius IV. ordering it to be resuscitated, 1432—“totally suppressed, owing to the evil of the times, and the schism in the Church”—as that Pontiff says of it. Even in the class of literature aiming at the historic, or something more than the mere chronicle, the sole work produced at Rome during the years near the middle of this century,

was the *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, written first in Latin, and translated into Italian—"that the common people might find it useful," by an author who had studied at Bologna, and who intended to write the life of Dante also. He was engaged on his extant work in 1358. A short treatise, "*Of certain remarkable things in the City of Rome*," extant in MS., probably dates from the earlier period of the schism, and seems to aim at teaching their political rights to the citizens, for whose benefit the author laboured.*

In a provincial town of the Papal States, Foligno, appeared a writer whose poetic works won him distinction. Federigo Frezzi, a Dominican, who became bishop of that diocese, and died at Constance, 1416, after taking part in the discussions of the Council, composed, probably between 1380 and 1400, his "*Quadriregio*," or the "*Four Realms*," the first epic poem in the language produced since the "*Divina Commedia*." This now almost forgotten work went through six editions between 1481 and 1511; the first having been printed at Perugia. It displays the increasing tendency to ally classical with Christian imagery, and bring the thought of Paganism into harmony with that of Catholicism. The poet is privileged, like Dante, to visit the realms of the invisible world; but, instead of being accompanied by a Virgil or a Beatrice, is at the outset of his mysterious journey led by no more respectable guide than the Pagan Cupid! The first region into which he is introduced is that of Diana, his first experiences of spirit-life being thus strangely remote from all that is believed and anticipated by the orthodox Church! From the kingdom of Temperance he is led by personified Humility to the paradise of Fortitude, the loveliest spot under Heaven, where he finds a singularly

* Von Reumont, *Geschichte*, v. II. ; Gregorovius, *Stadt. Rom im Mittelalter*.

assorted company, Christians and Heathens, mythological and historic personages: Mars (a great giant), Hector, Æneas, Romulus, Alexander, Cato, King Arthur, (*il Re Artus*), Charlemagne, Godfrey de Bouillon—herein being manifest the gradually enlarged indulgence of religious thought, which refused to admit the absolutely lost state of Pagan Heroes in the invisible life. Next, the poet proceeds to the realms of Minerva and Venus; thence to that of Satan, where instead of finding the realities of those monstrous imaginings made popular by mediæval art, he sees at first a King of Terrors transcendently beautiful, though of formidably colossal proportions, being in height no less than three miles! The illusion is dispelled by Minerva, who enables him to behold through her crystal shield the real semblance, hidden beneath that deceitful mask—hideous and appalling, a giant with serpent hair and scorpion-tail, dragons coiled round his head instead of the three crowns, which the archfiend seemed to wear. The spell is broken; but the idea of the possibility of beauty being assumed by the Evil One is singularly opposed to earlier notions. Our Poet next visits the Limbo of unbaptized infants, and the Elysian Fields, where virtuous Pagans enjoy an immortality of negative happiness, or at least a sunshine of calm content—though actually within the limits of the infernal region. The terrestrial Paradise is approached under the guidance of Minerva; but not found accessible, for its gates are still guarded by the Angel with the fiery sword—and this idea of an outside view of that Eden, attainable under the auspices of personified Wisdom (the goddess of antiquity), is in marked contrast to the feeling and thought of earlier Christian times. Here, at the threshold of Paradise, the Poet is met by a more venerable guide, no other than S. Paul, who conducts him from those lower regions, the mytho-

logical, shadowy, and infernal, to the true Heaven of bliss and glory, passing successively through its different spheres, till they reach the highest empyrean, at the radiant limit of which Heaven of Heavens the Apostle consigns him to the care of Angels, who guide him to an aerial height whence a distant glimpse of the beatific vision is attained; and here, very properly, the poem ends; the privileged wanderer is conducted back to earth. Various allusions to the public characters, the manners and morals of the age, are interspersed over these pages. On entering the infernal realm, the Poet appeals to God against the iniquities and vices then prevalent. Led before the throne of Fortune, he beholds a matron, beautiful and richly clad as seen in front, but bald, unattractive, and in weeds of widowhood as seen from behind. She is turning seven wheels, on the spokes of which are the great and powerful of the time, human beings destined to prove the inevitable gyrations: Bernabo Visconti, and his more favoured successor Galeazzo; Cola di Rienzo, Joanna of Naples, and the Scaligeri of Verona, not too severely designated as "Novelli Caini"—new Cains. The punishment of the damned is described conformably with gross mediæval notions. The Temple of the Church is beheld in its resplendence: built up with the glorified bodies of saints, whose hair is of gold, their cheeks being of coral.* On the walls of this edifice is inscribed the Apostles' Creed, a metrical paraphrase of which is given with an additional clause professing belief in transubstantiation. The perfection of the Christian character is declared to consist in the reference of all to, and centering of all in, the Supreme Being, "from

* Mai Policleto né musaico arte,
Ne anco Giotto fi cotal lavoro,
Qual era quel di quelle membre sparte—

almost the sole allusion to art or artists in this poem.

whom sacred Scripture derives authority." The *terza rima* of this poem is generally vigorous, and flows with pleasing cadence.

It would be beyond my limits even to glance over the range of literary activities, so luxuriantly productive and vigorous, in the Italy of this age. One work of the devotional class, a standard and model of its kind, which I may mention, is the "Specchio della vera Penitenza"—*Mirror of true Repentance*, by Jacopo Passavanti. Its author was of a noble Florentine family; entered the Dominican Order at the age of thirteen; was sent by his superiors to study at Paris; taught theology at Rome, Pisa, and Siena; held successively the office of prior at different Dominican convents; was appointed diocesan Vicar by the Bishop of Florence; and died in that city, at his convent of S. Maria Novella, aged about fifty-five, 1357. His "Specchio" is indeed a "mirror" of the religious feeling of his time, and exercises a mysterious fascination. Reading this book, we seem to wander through moonlit forests or the dim aisles of Gothic cathedrals, communing with the sainted dead, and also with the lost and guilty—hearing voices of solemn consolation or awful warning from the "undiscovered country." All limits between the visible and invisible disappear; the intense realities of immortal life cast into shade the transient things of the material and present. Among the many stories of the supernatural, told with simplicity which enhances their effect, in these pages, is one that may be here translated:

"It is read that at Matiscona (Macon), there lived a certain Count, who was rebellious in pride against God, and pitiless towards his neighbour; and being in high estate with lordship and much wealth, strong and of sound body, he thought not of death, nor remembered that the things of this world would ever fail him. One day, whilst he sat in

his own palace, surrounded by many cavaliers, pages, and many honourable citizens who were feasting with him at Easter, there suddenly appeared an unknown man on a tall steed, who entered the gates of the palace without saying a word to any one, and riding up to where the Count sat, said to him, 'Rise, and follow me!' He, terrified and trembling, got up, and followed that stranger, to whom none had dared to speak. When they came to the gate of the palace, that rider commanded the Count to mount a horse, which there stood ready, saddled and bridled; and taking the reins, and drawing him after his own horse, galloped away at speed, leading the Count through the air, all in the city beholding, 'whilst he (the Count) shrieked, and cried out mournfully, 'Help me, good people!' And thus bewailing and crying out, he vanished from the sight of men, and went to take his place for ever and ever with the demons in Hell." More consoling is the story of the student at Paris, who desired to confess his sins, but was so overcome with shame and horror that he could not speak: his father-confessor bade him write out the dread catalogue; having done this, he tried to read it in the confessional, but neither could he utter that list. The father, who was Prior of S. Victor, took the writing from him, "and reading of those great and shameful sins, not knowing of himself what penance he ought to impose, demanded permission from the student to speak about them with his Abbot, who was a learned man. This was granted; he gave the paper on which were written all those sins to the Abbot, but he, when opening it, found blank paper on which was nothing written. And the Abbot said to the Prior, 'What am I to read? for as to this paper which you have given me, there is not one letter traced upon it.' The Prior, seeing that it was really so, answered, 'Of a truth, father, the sins of the student were all written, and I did read them, on this paper;

but in what I now behold it is evident that the merciful God has pleased to make manifest the virtue of contrition, and how He has accepted that of this young man, remitting to him all his sins.' ”

Boccaccio's Latin work, *De Casibus Virorum illustr.*—on the fate of illustrious persons, shows the tendency, prevalent at this time, to dwell for moral or religious edification on extraordinary examples of calamity, or startling reverses of fortune, and those chastisements of guilt which thoughtful minds regarded as signal proofs of a Providence on earth. His narration of the tragic fate of the Templars may be deemed historic and trustworthy, because set down from the report of his father, who had been an eye-witness to those scenes of horror at Paris.

Boccaccio's famous story of the conversion of the Jew at Rome, in spite of all the evil realities he finds there, contains not only malicious sarcasm and severe protest against corruption, but also the testimony to the manifestation of a Providence in the Church : “ I have seen (says this singular proselyte) that at Rome there is no piety, no devotion, no good work practised among the priestly class ; that avarice, gluttony, fraud, envy, profligacy, and things if possible still worse, were all in favour there ; and that this place is rather the workshop of the Devil than the temple of God. It seemed to me that the sovereign Pastor and those who surround him were doing all they could to destroy Christianity. Yet I saw that, notwithstanding all this, Christianity is prosperous and increasing ; that it is daily rising and developing. I have therefore concluded that your religion is true, seeing that the Court of Rome and the Cardinals are unable to destroy it ; and I have been brought to the conviction that, instead of those men who ought to be its chief support, but in reality are authors of the greatest injury thereto, it must be the Holy Spirit Himself,

the very hand of God which maintains Christianity. Let us go therefore to the church, and there, according to the usage of your holy faith, let me be baptized as soon as possible."

Among curiosities of literature belonging to this period is one that might be deemed blasphemous but for the internal evidences of grave good faith and orthodox intent, among the legal writings of Bartolo, a celebrated jurisconsult, who reports, as an event of the law courts, a trial in which Satan appears before the Saviour of the world as accuser of the Human race, and demanding his right to rule over and dispose of all mortal beings; but is finally defeated by the subtle arguments and moving appeals of the Virgin Mary! The date of this procedure is Good Friday, 1311. After listening to plaintiff and defendant, the Saviour commands Gabriel to sound his golden trumpet and cite both Mary, "the Advocate of the Human Race," and Satan, "the Procurator of Iniquity," to hear judgment on the ensuing Easter Sunday. On that festival they appear before the Divine throne, and the Judge, after long preamble, declares that He absolves mankind, rejects the plea of the Demon Procurator, and condemns him to eternal penalties. The minutes of the trial are drawn up by "John the Evangelist, notary of our Lord Jesus Christ, and secretary of the Curia." Finally, all the angels render thanks and praise to the blessed Mother, invoking her with the anthem, *Salve Regina, Mater misericordiæ! vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve!* * In these times of popular credulity the voice of

* *Tractatus quæstionis ventitatæ coram Domino nostro J. C. inter Virginem Mariam ex una parte, et Diabolem ex altra parte.* The theological idea pervading this curious composition ascribes an absolute celestial queenhood to Mary, who makes her appearance before the throne escorted by a multitude of Angels, singing with loud voices: *Ave Regina cælorum!* Its author was a native of Sassoferrato, born in 1313, became professor of law at Padua, and obtained from the Emperor

the pulpit was sometimes raised to condemn the superstitious reliance on things external and material. An energetic friar, Giordano di Rivalta, whose preaching at Florence, in 1309, drew crowds to the Dominican church of S. Maria Novella, reminded his hearers that pilgrimages were of no avail, and even mischievous, unless accompanied by the practice of a virtuous life. "Such roaming about," he said, "I deem of no use, and should recommend to few persons—to those few, but seldom; for on those journeys men fall into sin and are exposed to many perils. Diverse scandals occur, and patience fails. People often quarrel, and are angered against each other, or with the host at the inns; and sometimes homicides, frauds, immoralities are committed—the last very often; and thus do they (the pilgrims) fall into mortal sin." * Almost all evils that ever desolated the Church, or discredited the ecclesiastical order, rose to a climax in this century. In many places the clergy were addicted to drunkenness; wine-shops and gambling-tables were set up in the sacred buildings, or on their premises; the sacraments, pardons, dispensations, were publicly sold. The spirit of the world had crept into the cloister. Nuns went about in public, to the peril of their reputation if not of their virtue. At Monte Cassino the monks retained and enjoyed private fortunes; or, securing rich benefices from their Abbot, deserted their Benedictine retreat to live, like the secular clergy, on the revenues of such lucrative posts.

Charles IV. various privileges for the nascent University of Pisa. His extant works fill a folio volume, and comprise, besides judicial orations, treatises on the Guelphs and Ghibellines, on the Republic and Tyranny.

* "Fanno micidio ed inganni e fornicazioni; e di questo si fa assai, e caggiono in peccato mortale."—Cantu, *Storia degli Italiani*, v. ii.

Benedict 'XII., laudably bent on eradicating abuses, offered to the Cardinals at Avignon an aggregate income of 100,000 gold florins, and also one half of the revenues of the Papal States, on condition of their renouncing pluralities for ever. They refused, preferring to hold fast the emoluments which were the fruit of that system so often reprobated.

The prosecutions against sorcery were now rising into portentous prominence, with aggravated severities. In an evil hour for humanity, Pope John XXII. put forth a bull (1322) commanding that all who meddled with the black art should be punished as heretics, though not with confiscation of property. The above-named jurist, Bartolo, decided, about the year 1350, that death by fire was the suitable punishment for such offenders. "This," says the author of the "Pope and the Council," "inaugurated the regular burning of witches." In that fatal document, so fraught with tragic results to suffering and feeble beings, the Pope laments that, "many persons, to our great affliction, desert the light of truth, and, being Christians only in name, are so far enveloped in the mists of error as to make alliance with Death and compact with Hell; adoring and offering sacrifice to demons, manufacturing images, rings, vials, mirrors, and other objects in which to confine, or circumscribe, Devils; demanding and obtaining answers from such, imploring from them the gratification of their depraved desires, and in return for infamous favours, offering to them (the Demons) infamous servitude. Oh, grief to narrate! This pestilence is spreading beyond limits, and infecting all the flock of Christ!" In 1363, a native of Piedmont was fined forty florins for having caused a shower of hail by incantations from a conjuring book! In 1386, two inhabitants of an Italian valley had to pay one hundred and twenty gold solidi for merely confiding in

a charm to cure their flocks of disease. This onset against imaginary evils had already commenced in distant countries. In 1330, a Council at Lambeth ordered that sorcerers, perjured persons, and incendiaries should be publicly excommunicated four times every year in the English churches. The only complete emancipation of mind from the follies of belief in witchcraft, and the only efficient suppression of the dreadful cruelties inflicted on those accused of it, were secured by the slowly-attained conviction that such a crime is impossible.*

The belief in astrology was kept alive not only through ignorance and imposture, but by erudite speculation and academic pedantry—evidently favoured by deep-rooted tendencies or propensities of the imaginative cast. Cecco d'Ascoli professed that science publicly at Bologna; but was finally burnt at the stake in Florence (1327) for propositions savouring of heresy, *e.g.* that there existed in the upper spheres generations of malignant spirits, who could be constrained to perform marvellous things through irresistible spells; that men might be born under such constellations as would compel them to commit sin, &c. Whilst Petrarch was reciting in the cathedral of Milan an inaugural oration for the nephews and successors of the Prince Archbishop, Giovanni Visconti, the court-astronomer interrupted that speech, because he had calculated that the moment of the most benign conjunction of the planets had just arrived. The very first sentence in the “Decamerone” implies, and seems to justify, astrologic theories. The still popular superstitions of darker character, the notion of the direct interference of evil spirits through the

* See Lecky's “History of Rationalism” for a masterly treatment of this subject—the growth, results, and gradual decline of the belief in sorcery.

phenomena of nature, and their share in the punishment of man by such agency, is illustrated in the following wild legend reported, with apparent faith, by Villani (*Storie Fiorentine*, c. 33), after mentioning an extraordinary and disastrous inundation of the Arno:—"The night in which the said deluge commenced, a holy recluse, whilst at prayer in his solitary hermitage above the abbey of Vallombrosa, heard a terrible tumult, and beheld the visible forms of demons in the semblance of a troop of armed knights, who galloped furiously along. Hearing and seeing this, the hermit made the holy sign of the cross, went to the little door of his cell, and then saw that the multitude of horsemen were dreadful and black in visage; and conjuring one of them in the name of God to tell him what this portent signified, was answered: *We are going to submerge the city of Florence on account of its sins, if God will permit us so to do.* And this I, who write, had from the Abbot of Vallombrosa, a religious man worthy to be trusted, who learnt it by inquiry from the said hermit."

It is well to turn from the darker to the brighter aspects, and to consider those evidences of noble life and vital energies in which the spirit of Catholicism asserted its divine origin, proclaiming its mission to sanctify, its power to strengthen and console. That plant, destined for perpetual growth, ceased not to bear fruit wherever its majestic branches cast their refreshing shade. The principles and passions of the world, and the weakness of humanity are found, it is true, there as elsewhere. We discover no sign of infallibility, no inerrable body or individual, but heart-consoling proofs are before us of an indefectible loyalty to the essential and universal in the truths and morals of Christian origin. The abuse of excommunications was checked by the prohibition to pass any such sentences where pecuniary interests alone were con-

cerned. The evils which had invaded the cloister were provided against by the requirement of the age of fifteen for monastic profession, and of a novitiate of at least a year before the final vows ; also by the prohibition to exact any payment from the novice or postulant. The same immunities claimed for the clergy and their property were extended to the most miserable among sufferers from disease, the lepers in the lazaret-house. The power of the Church to subdue the proud and humiliate aristocratic sinners, for the benefit of their guilt-stained souls, is strikingly exemplified in the penance imposed by the Pope (1339) on Alberto and Mastino della Scala for the murder of their cousin, the Bishop of Verona, whose blood both brothers were accused of being alike responsible for shedding. Eight days after the absolution bestowed by the Pope's representative, the brothers were to walk bare-headed, and clad in nothing but their shirts, each holding a wax taper weighing six pounds, from the city gate to the cathedral, a hundred other tapers of like weight being borne before them ; in the cathedral they were to attend High Mass, and afterwards beg pardon of all the Canons. In the course of the following six months they were to present to that cathedral a silver image, weight 30 marcs, of the Blessed Virgin, and ten silver lamps, each three marcs in weight. In the course of the year they were to found in the same church six chaplaincies, each endowed with twenty gold florins per annum. On the anniversary of the day that murder was committed each brother was to feed and clothe twenty poor persons. If a general crusade should be undertaken during their lifetime, they were to send twenty mounted warriors to Palestine, and maintain them there for one year. If they should not live to see such wars for the rescue of the Holy Land, they were

to charge their heirs to fulfil that obligation when the said crusade should occur.*

In public worship the increasing regards for the Virgin Mother appear in the regulations of Gregory XI., that a vigil with fasting should precede the festival of her nativity. The Invention (*i. e.* discovery) and Exaltation of the Cross were celebrated with increased solemnity by that Pope's order. Urban VI. instituted a festival of the "Visitation" of the Madonna; decreed that the Corpus Domini festival should be celebrated, notwithstanding interdicts, in all countries, and accorded a hundred days' indulgence to all who accompanied the Viaticum from the church to the house of the sick communicant and back again.

The Ritual of the Latin Church has been no more distinguished by immutability than her doctrines and discipline. A grand expression of the devotional feeling deeply rooted in the human heart, those majestic rites were the growth of ages, the product of enthusiasm, sentiment, and art. If the Reformation could have been accomplished without any change in that fair and stately fabric of external worship, save the excision of unbecoming adjuncts or superstitious and puerile superfluities, the results would perhaps have been happier for the religious

* Rohrbacher, "Ecclesiastical History."—Muratori (*Annali*) narrates the circumstances of the murder so as to represent Mastino alone as the immediate author of it, not mentioning even the presence of Alberto. "Such was the furious spirit of Mastino at this time," (namely, in 1338, after many disasters to his political interests), "that whilst he was riding through Verona on the 27th April, with Azzo da Coreggio, chancing to meet Bartolomeo della Scala, Bishop of that city, and urged by mere suspicion that he had been conspiring against him, as the Bishop of Vicenza had actually done, he (Mastino) drew his sword, and with his own hand slew him. For this crime Benedict XII. proceeded against him with the most rigorous censures."

interests and concord of Christendom. In some respects, however, this worship, beautiful and deeply significant as it still is, has degenerated from its own highest standard. Reviewing it, as shown by liturgical writers to have once been, we perceive a gradual departure from the patriarchal dignity and venerable graciousness which characterized it of old. On the one hand, it is a development, unlike indeed, yet still true to, the norma of the primitive Church ; on the other, an offspring and expression of the temporal power and grandeur of the Holy See. Influences whose effect is to unspiritualize, have not exalted but degraded ; and the introduction of the pomp and etiquette of the Papal Court into the sanctuary, is the profanation of Catholic worship. No religious ceremonies can have their desirable effect on the mind, unless they correspond to a sense of the infinite and celestial ; failing in this, they are but a mask for earthly vanities.*

The manner in which the Roman Pontiffs presented themselves to their people in former times was more paternal and familiar, therefore more apostolic, than the ostentatious reserve and environment of half-military, half-prelatic state into which they have since withdrawn. We cannot suppose the Papal High Mass in the XIV. century to have been, as at the present day, the least devotional, with respect to the comportment of those attending—we cannot say *worshipping*—among all great ecclesiastical celebrations at Rome.

* “ Il n'est pas vrai (says Madame de Stael) que la religion protestante soit dépourvue de poésie, parceque les pratiques du culte y ont moins d'éclat que dans la religion catholique. Des cérémonies plus ou moins bien exécutées, selon la richesse des villes et la magnificence des édifices, ne sauraient être la cause principale de l'impression que produit le service divin ; ce sont ses rapports avec nos sentiments intérieurs qui nous émeuvent, rapports qui peuvent exister dans la simplicité comme dans la pompe.”

What, we may ask, were formerly the observances of the season pre-eminent for ritual splendour and attractions at this centre? The Holy Week and Easter were, in many particulars, very different from the present norma of their celebration in S. Peter's and the Sistine chapel. On Palm Sunday the Pope himself sung the High Mass, instead of merely "assisting," as he does now; and in the palm-bearing procession he was not carried on a portative throne, but walked under a canopy, supported by four noblemen, to a window or arch of the portico, from which he threw down the blessed palms, or olive branches, among the people. On Holy Thursday he washed the feet of twelve subdeacons, and gave to each two solidi. If, however, a Patriarch had to officiate instead of the Pope, that dignitary would wash the feet of twelve veritably poor men in the appointed chapel. The Pontiff himself preached, among his other duties, on that Thursday; and besides the blessing of the sacramental oils, a singular observance took place at the Lateran, manifesting the intent to appropriate something of the ancient Jewish together with the Christian ritual. During the sermon certain Cardinal Deacons removed the *mensa* and front of the high altar, so as to allow ingress into an ancient sanctuary, where was deposited a glass vessel containing a small golden vase, the latter containing a precious gem, within which was set a relic believed to be the real Blood of the Redeemer. This *ampolla* was taken from its place and exhibited to the people by the Pope, who, on this sole occasion annually, entered into the thrice-sacred penetralia, there completed the ceremonies of the Mass, and incensed the Eucharistic species—"according (says one writer) to the rite of the Ancient Testament, which permitted to the High Priest alone, and but once a year, the ingress into the *Sancta Sanctorum*." The affecting and impressive usage of

publicly reconciling penitents to the Church, after long penances publicly performed, on this day, was kept up at least during the first half of this century. Three (in some churches four, in others five) masses were performed by the same celebrant, the first adapted to the occasion of reconciling those who had not been allowed even to attend sacred rites, but been required to do penance outside of the church, since the previous Ash Wednesday. They now made their appearance clad in sackcloth, bare-footed, their heads strewn with ashes; a deacon presented them to the Pope; an archdeacon prayed him to accept and obtain for them, through his prayers, restitution to the Divine favour. (*Redintegra in eis, apostolice Pontifex, quicquid, Diabolo suadente, corruptum est, et orationum tuarum patrocinantibus meritis per divinæ reconciliationis gratiam fac hominem proximum Deo, &c.*) At the gates of the church the Pontiff absolved them with various prayers and antiphons; all the bells were rung for the last time till the ensuing Saturday; and the penitents thenceforth took their place among worshippers, admitted to the same spiritual privileges. (Maringola, *Antiquit. Christian. Institutiones*; and the *Ordo* of Gaetani in Mabillon.) On that Thursday in Holy Week the Pontiff gave largess, in the chapel of S. Sylvester at the Lateran, to the Cardinals and Prelates, who, kneeling before him, severally received a sum of money in the mitre held in the hand, the money being first presented to the Pope by a chamberlain in a silver spoon. After this, his Holiness entertained the Cardinals and any sovereign Prince who might be in Rome, at a grand banquet, he himself being seated at a table higher than the rest, with large vessels of silver and gold before him. The first noblemen present in the Curia served the Pope to the first dish, and afterwards served the Cardinals alike, acting as carvers, waiters, cupbearers, during the whole time of this banquet,

at which the ecclesiastical dignitaries sat in their sacred vestments, and with mitres on ; the Pope sat vested in crimson (*mantum rubeum*.) If a King were present, he served the Pope to the first dish, before taking his seat at table between the two senior Cardinal Deacons. All the Court Chaplains were entertained splendidly that day by the Chief Chamberlain. No woman, not even an Empress or Queen, could dine with the Pope. On the Friday, Saturday, and Easter Sunday, the Papal benediction was twice given to the assembled people from a window or loggia. On the first of those days, Good Friday, the procession with lights and incense, in which the Pontiff walked to the illuminated shrine, where the Host had been reserved since the previous day, was developed into the form in which it has been since retained, after the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross, in this century, and by John XXII. ; though the origin of that usage,—the reservation of the holy Eucharist in one kind for the “Mass of the Presanctified,” in which there is no consecration, on Good Friday,—is known to be far more ancient.* On Holy Saturday the Pope frequently ordained the candidates for major and minor Orders, or consecrated new Cardinals, instead of leaving those long offices, as at present, to the Cardinal Vicar.† On Easter Sunday, he rode

* It is mentioned in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory, though without the accompanying solemnities later introduced ; as is also that pathetic observance called the Adoration of the Cross. In ancient times the Pope and all the Clergy walked bare-footed, and reciting the seven penitential psalms, to the S. Croce basilica on this day ; and multitudes of pious people used to visit the principal churches, walking through Rome’s streets bare-footed. The communion, now withheld, used to be given to all who desired on that most solemn anniversary, which is no longer even honoured by the suspense of ordinary business in Rome—kept as a day of devotion, but not of *precept*.

† The striking of the new fire from flint on this day and the blessing of that element afterwards, used to take place every day in several churches ; in others, every Saturday. The beautiful formula for the

in procession, vested pontifically, and wearing the tiara, to S. Maria Maggiore, and on the way was met by a cleric (the *Scriniarius*, which we may translate, "Master of the Rolls"), who, after asking for his blessing, informed his Holiness that on the Saturday previous so many persons, males and females, had been baptized at S. Maria Maggiore—the Pope answering, "Deo gratias." Approaching the high altar of the basilica with processional pomp, in which his Holiness walked under a canopy, he received a reed with a lighted taper at the end, and set fire to flax placed on the capitals of certain columns in the chancel—probably an intended *memento* of the transitoriness of all earthly state and splendours, like the similar usage still kept up at the Papal Coronation with the thrice-chanted formula, "Sic transit gloria mundi." At the Pontific rites, on this supreme festival, all of whatever degree, clerics and laics, high and low, rich and poor, might receive communion, *and in both kinds*, from the hands of the Pope, assisted by a Cardinal Deacon.* The butlers of the Papal palace were ordered to supply three or four quarts of the choicest wine (*vini puri et optimi*) for this general Communion, without the mutilation of that holiest of Sacraments by which the Roman

blessing of the Paschal candle has been attributed to Pope Zosimus (417-418), by some writers to still earlier origin. Martene (*De Antiq. Ecclesiæ Disciplina*) considers that, in all probability, S. Augustine composed the *Exultet*—that formula of benediction which, though not in metre, has characteristics of the noblest poetry.

* "Omnis homo cujuscumque conditionis et status existat, qui sit vere confessus et vere pœnitus corde contritus, plebani vel alterius majoris—hodie potest recipere Corpus Christi de manibus Papæ.—Diaconus remanet in altare tenendo cum manu sinistra calicem et cum manu dextra fistulum, cum qua dat ad bibendum omnibus qui communicaverint de manu Papæ de Christi Sanguine, dicendo cuilibet, *Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c.*" (P. Amelius, *Ordo Roman.*) It appears from this that the consecrated Host was given by the Pope, the sacramental wine by the assistant Cardinal Deacon, to all communicants—probably to save fatigue to his Holiness.

Church has since so compromised herself in the eyes of myriads of Christians. Finally, the Pontiff passed with a splendid procession to the portico or loggia for the benediction,—described with full details, though nothing is said by writers of this period about the portative throne or *flabella*—those fans of ostrich feathers with peacocks' eyes, the use of which for the natural purpose of chasing flies from the chalice, and cooling the air around the altar, was discontinued, it seems, in this century.* On Easter Sunday the Clerics of "Camera," the Penitentiaries of the Vatican, and even the Acolytes, all dined with the Pope. Hospitalities on a smaller scale were offered before the vespers of that sacred day. All who had eminent places in the sanctuary went from S. Peter's to the neighbouring church of *S. Andrea ad Crucem* (no longer extant), where, after singing certain antiphons, they were invited by a lay official to an adjacent chamber, and there helped three times to wine of three different kinds—the first Greek, the second called *pactisis*, the third *procoma* or *procovia*. (Galletti, *Del Primicerio della Santa Sede*.) Other manifestations of the bountiful spirit of the mediæval Church were interwoven with the complicated rites of the installation of new Popes at the Lateran. His Holiness was seated successively on two antique porphyry chairs, and girt with a zone of red silk, from which hung a purple silk purse, containing musk and twelve precious stones cut like seals (*cum sigillis*.) Three times he threw silver coins (*denarii*) among the people, reciting the text: *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus; justitia ejus manet in sæculum sæculi*.

* "L'usage du *flabellum* subsiste encore chez les Grecs et les Arméniens; il a disparu de l'Eglise Romaine dès le quatorzième siècle, c'est-à-dire depuis l'époque de la suppression de la communion sous les deux espèces, et n'a été conservé que par le souverain pontife qui fait porter devant lui deux grands éventails en plumes de paon dans les solennités."—Martigny, *Diction. des Antiq. Chrétiennes*.

Turning now to the penitential season—and penances were in these times a reality, in which pontiffs and paupers alike performed their part—we shall see the successor of S. Peter walking barefooted on Ash Wednesday from S. Anastasia (below the north-west angle of the Palatine), where he had received and given the ashes strewn on the head, first to S. Maria in Cosmedin, under the Aventine, and thence to S. Sabina on the steep summit of that mount, at both which churches the “Stations” were held (as they are still) on the first day of Lent. On the fourth Sunday of that fasting-season, the Pope blessed in the sacristy of his chapel the Golden Rose (a usage still kept up); and, carrying that symbol in his hand, rode from the Lateran Palace to S. Croce, where he celebrated mass and preached, still holding the precious Rose in his hand, and usually descanting on its mystic significance in his sermon.* Returning on horseback to his palace, he immediately bestowed the Rose either on the noblest person present or on any other individual as he might please; first saying a few words on the religious value of the symbol, and after its bestowal receiving homage from the favoured person, who knelt and kissed his foot—as even royalty would be required to do after being honoured by that gift of the Rose (*osculatur pedem Papæ, dato etiam quod esset rex*).

Most curious among the observances of Holy Thursday was one which has been expunged from the rubrics for that day: the public and general excommunication of heretics and heinous offenders—the *processus*, as it was called, which took place three times in the year—namely, in the Holy Week, on Ascension Day, and on the Feast of the Dedic-

* Precious, according to liturgical writers, for three properties,—“Quæ habet colorem gaudiosum, odorem confortativum, aspectum lætificum.” For the origin of the Golden Rose and its symbolism, see preceding volume, p. 130.

cation of S. Peter's. The Pope, all the Cardinals and Prelates, assembled in S. Peter's or the Lateran, where His Holiness, in crimson vestments, and wearing a mitre studded with pearls, ascended a platform, and after receiving homage, as usual, from all those dignitaries, said some words in the vulgar tongue (*in vulgari*) on the subject of the anathemas about to be passed. The *processus* was read aloud in Latin by a Chaplain; afterwards was translated, either in its totality or substance, by a Cardinal Deacon in white vestments, and with mitred head. The Pope usually preached, after this, from a pulpit, where a Bishop and two Deacons attended him, and in this longer discourse declared that he approved and ratified those anathemas. At the end of his sermon he threw down several burning torches to be extinguished on the pavement; the Cardinals each threw down a single torch; all this passing in silence, to which succeeded a discordant peal of bells rung without harmony or order. The ministering Deacon then took off his mitre and chanted the "confiteor;" the Pope again addressed the people in a few words, setting forth the clemency of the Church to the obedient and her just severity to the incredulous and obdurate, after which he closed the rites with his benediction and the granting of an indulgence. The common *processus*, never omitted, was launched against heretics, pirates, the forgers of bulls, those who held forbidden traffic with Saracens, rulers who imposed new taxes, and those who impeded travellers on their way to Rome. The famous bull, *In Cæna Domini*, was produced, to be read on this Thursday, as drawn up in its broader outlines and general bearings, by Gregory XI., 1372; afterwards renewed by Gregory XII., 1411, and amplified by Pius V., 1568. It was finally suppressed by Clement XIV., not long after its publication had been prohibited (1768) in France, Spain, the Neapolitan States,

and Parma, in consequence of the dissensions between those Governments and that Pope's predecessor, Clement XIII.

The association of charities with devotions is one of the general characteristics of the Roman Church, and among the best results that spring from her ritualistic practice. After the Requiem High Mass annually celebrated by the Pope for the souls of his predecessors and of all Cardinals, he used to feed two hundred poor persons, and each Cardinal to extend the same charity to twenty-five paupers. Alexander IV. ordered that, after the death of the Pope, each Cardinal should celebrate a Requiem Mass, and feed fifty poor persons; that after the death of every Cardinal, the Pope, and all others of the sacred college, should perform the same rites for the departed soul; the Pontiff feed two hundred, the Cardinals each twenty-five paupers. Oblations, of various kinds, were still offered at the altar, or at the Papal throne, during this century; and those gifts brought by pious persons on festivals were a perquisite of the Chaplains of "Camera," excepting the bread and wine so offered, which pertained to the acolytes.

Not only the hospitalities of the table, but the edifications of the pulpit, have been, the latter to great extent, the former totally, dropped by the modern practice of the Curia—except, indeed, the symbolic banquet to the thirteen deacons, who are waited on by the Pope on Holy Thursday. Popes used to preach on several occasions in old times; Cardinals very often in the Papal and the popular presence. Gradually that task was assigned to abbots and prelates rather than to others still higher; but the sermon before the Pontiff, his Court, and the assembled people, seems to have been at least tenfold more frequent in the XIV. than it is in the XIX. century. Alike has the disinte-

grating process been manifest in the range of other religious duties discharged by the crowned High Priests. For one High Mass celebrated by them in modern times, there were about twelve occasions when they so officiated in public formerly. They familiarly showed themselves as fathers and chief pastors among their people, without being required to undergo those fatigues of cumbrous ceremonial, on account of which, and in consideration for infirmities or old age, it has been deemed necessary to limit such public solemnities at the altar to but *three* Papal High Masses in the year!* The Avignon exile, among its other sinister consequences, led to the withdrawal of pontific rites and Papal personality into the narrow limits of palace-chapels, instead of the stately basilica or cathedral. The castellated palace at Avignon, commenced by Benedict XII., and finished by Urban V., was the first scene of those restricted celebrations before court-circles; and Urban V., during his sojourn of three years in Italy, is supposed to have been the first Pope to introduce at Rome the “Cappella Papale” at the Vatican, instead of the ceremonial on a grander scale and in a more spacious arena.†

Apart from the solemnities of the sanctuary, there were the genial and pleasant festivities of popular origin and observance, common to every old city and almost every village of this land, in which the religious sentiment also expressed itself, and the happy facility with which Catholicism unites and harmonises devotion with innocent amusement, was most picturesquely displayed. At Milan,

* For the ritual of the XIV. century, see the *Ordo Romanus* compiled by Cardinal Jacopo Gaetani, nephew to Boniface VIII.; and another *Ordo* ascribed to Peter Amelius, the Bishop of Senigallia, whose Latin poem on the journey of Gregory XI. is above referred to; both edited by Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*.

† Moroni, *Dizionario*, v. iii., “Origine delle Cappelle Papali.”

all the dependant *comuni** were required to send their representatives, with the local standard, on the festival of the birth of Mary (8th September); and on the festival of S. Ambrose (7th December) was presented at the altar of that Saint, in his venerable basilica, an enormous offering of flowers, herbs, ripe grapes, and vine-branches, all in wax-work. The statutes of Modena prescribed that on the festival of S. Geminiano one member of every family in the State should repair to that city with a wax-torch for offering, and remain there till the next morning; and that every *comune* governed by its own magistrates should send its banner, followed by the men of the town or village, for the same anniversary, to the capital. At Ferrara, every subject of the State with a fortune above one hundred *lire* was required to offer a wax-taper on the morning of the vigil of S. George's day. At Monte Catino, near Pistoja, the church-bells were rung by the women during the whole of S. Mark's day, in commemoration of the recovery of the civic liberties on the same festival, whilst the clergy went in procession, chanting litanies, to the parish-church of Nievole, in the valley below that little town high on the romantic Apennines. In the same town prevailed the usage of blessing the flesh of lambs and baskets full of bread, by the celebrating priest, on the morning of Easter, and of generously distributing those viands to all who desired a share in them during the same sacred day.† The splendid and various celebrations and amusements for S. John's day at Florence are well known, having been maintained, at least in many of their attractive forms, till our own time, nor finally suppressed till after the fall of the

* "Commonwealth" is, I believe, the best rendering of this term, as adopted by Mr. Trollope in his admirable and most interesting History of Florence.

† Cantu, *Storia degli Italiani*, c. cxxiii.

grand-ducal government.* S. Peter at Rome, S. Januarius at Naples, S. Rosalia at Palermo, are still honoured with almost undiminished splendours of olden usage. The gay and gorgeous festivities of Venice, associated with, even if not emanating from, religious observances, were kept up in all their genial and glowing liveliness till the fall of that Republic. During the last century, at least, those brilliant scenes used to be enacted according to ancient precedents in the fair Adriatic city. On Ascension Day, the Doge, with all the pomp and attendance of his office, threw the ring, for the espousals of the sea, from the gilded bucentaur into the waters off the Lido; and on the same day went with the whole *personnel* of State for the magnificent celebrations, to the church of S. Sebastian. A fair in the S. Mark's piazza, continued for fifteen days after that festival, was made the occasion of a second Carnival with the masquerading gaieties of a pleasure-loving people. For the picture of Venice, its public and private life in the XVIII. century, the writings of Gasparo Gozzi (1713-86) supply all we can desire.

In worship and ritual we learn the sentiment of Catholicism; in the lives of saints, the effects of its teaching. The purifying and consoling influences of an all-dominant religion are apparent in many passages of Italian Hagiography; but in some instances we perceive the signs of perverted notions and misguided piety—

Pain, mixed with pity, in our bosoms rise—

as we consider some of these extraordinary histories of individual life.

Conspicuous in ecclesiastical and political history is the young girl, daughter of a dyer at Siena, and without any

* These I have described in a former volume—"Catholic Italy," v. 11.

the Dominican church at Siena.* Instead of quietly attending to home duties, she would rush into the street whenever she saw a Dominican friar pass, and kiss the ground trod by his footsteps. In her eighteenth year she joined the Order of Dominican Tertiaries, called "Sisters of Penitence," but still continued under her parents' roof, as those sisters were not bound by perpetual vows, nor strictly cloistered. Hence does S. Catherine always appear in art as a Dominican nun. For three years after taking that step she never spoke except to confess. She scrupled not to deceive her mother when that good woman endeavoured to check her suicidal austerities. She undertook to do all the work of the meanest servant; but fell into extasies when her duty was to attend to the kitchen, and thus left the dinner to spoil. How refreshing to turn to the opposite view of Christian duties, uttered by a poet who was no superficial theologian :

" The trivial round, the common task
Will furnish all we ought to ask :
Room to deny ourselves ; a road
To bring us daily nearer God !"

Yet, on the other hand, there were energies of good and an enthusiasm of self-devotedness that form the glory and beauty of Catherine's life. Her attendance at the sick bed and in hospitals was unwearied; her gentle eloquence was exerted for the conversion of the most obdurate sin-

* The vision was nothing but the reflection of such pictures as were common in this century : " Christ seated on an imperial throne, pontifically vested, and with the (Papal) tiara on His head.—He graciously smiled, and blessed her with the sign of the cross"—precisely the costume and attitude of many such representations. Raimondo tells us that she saw this when *six* years old, and made the vow of perpetual virginity in her *seventh* year !

ners. Two malefactors, sentenced to dreadful death on the scaffold, were led by her to heart felt repentance. The Pope at Avignon, hearing of her extraordinary influences, appointed three Dominicans expressly to act as confessors, at Siena, to those whom she had led into the ways of piety and virtue. The most interesting event in her life is her mission to the Papal Court, and her appearance at Avignon as accredited ambassadress of the Florentine Republic—she a woman who had not learnt to read or write till about her twenty-fifth year! The Florentine magistrates invited her from Siena, and received her in their city as a public benefactress. They desired to send her to the Papal Court for the object of pacifying Gregory XI., after the interdict had been fulminated by him against their state; and it seems that these grave officials confided for a time in enthusiasm and piety, as more efficient for acting on the spirit of the age, than diplomatic sagacity or Italian astuteness. She undertook the mission with fearless simplicity; and arrived at Avignon in June, 1376, preceded by her father confessor, who acted as interpreter, rendering her Italian into Latin, in Consistory and before the Pope. Gregory XI. treated her with much honour; consigned her to the hospitable care of his sister, a noble lady, and listened to her with the greatest attention. “That thou mayest clearly see (he said) how much I desire peace, I will confide it solely to thy hands, so that thou seest the honour of the Church is committed to thee.” The Florentines did not keep their promise by sending envoys to ratify all that Catherine had proposed or counselled. The representatives whom they did depute arrived at Avignon without any mandate, as they declared, to listen to, or be guided by, Catherine. Her mission was a failure in its political character; not so with respect to another object she had still more at heart—the restoration of the Pon-

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tificate to Rome. Froissart says, "Nothing so much moved Urban," (a mistake for Gregory XI.) "to settle in Rome, as the arguments of S. Catherine." Her letters to the Pope bear on the same topic, and fearlessly appeal to his conscience against that prolonged desertion of their See by the chief Pastors. From Avignon she returned to Florence, where she found another party and other views, unfavourable to peace with the Pontiff, prevalent in that centre of political vicissitudes. Her life was in danger; for all those who counselled the now unpopular peace had been banished. The people threatened to burn the house where she lodged. After she had been driven to seek refuge elsewhere, they came with swords and clubs to kill her. She presented herself, kneeling calmly before them, and said to an assassin who advanced from the throng to strike her: "I am Catherine. Do what the Lord may permit you; but in the name of the Omnipotent I command you to do no harm to these with me. I am ready to suffer for Christ and His Church. Should I fly after finding what I have most of all desired? I offer myself a victim to my eternal Spouse!" The assassin shrunk back abashed and awe-struck; the crowd dispersed without doing injury to Catherine. Her further stay at Florence was dangerous, but she would not leave till the peace had been brought about. She finally settled at Rome on the invitation of Gregory XI., after his arrival. There she found herself during the troubles that ensued after the election of Urban VI. Her biographer tells us that Urban was induced by her advice to go barefooted in procession to S. Peter's, after the faction of the Antipope had been so far suppressed as to leave that basilica under legal power; also, that the castle of S. Angelo was recovered for Urban VI., and the schismatic defendants, who held it for Clement VII., defeated and slain on the day of Catherine's death - which victory he seems to ascribe to

her prayers. S. Catherine has left 364 extant letters; three addressed to Gregory XI., nine to Urban VI., others to Joanna of Naples, Charles V. of France, Cardinals, prelates, monks, laymen. Her other extant writings consist of four treatises (in old editions, divided into six) on Discretion, Prayer, Divine Providence, Obedience—all dictated, we are told, while she was in ecstasy, and generally in the form of dialogue between the Deity and the Saint. These throw some light on ecclesiastical manners, and still more on abuses. It is incredible that such infamies as we here read of could have occurred to a mind of stainless purity, unless glaringly and frequently forced on its attention. There is not, that I am aware, any document of accusations so crushing, any picture of the corruptions of the Church at this time so appalling, as the testimony thus supplied by a gentle and pure-minded young woman.—(See her *Life and Works*, edited by Girolamo Gigli, Siena, 1707.) Shortly before her last illness, she thought she saw, whilst praying at S. Peter's, the bark of the Church placed *entirely* upon her shoulders, and crushing her to earth with its mysterious weight; hence she had the presentiment that she was to die for the Church (*pro Ecclesia mori deberet*); but this vision illustrates nothing so much as her own morbidly-exalted idea of her sacred vocation.

Another woman of fervent piety and great energies, who contributed by her influence to the restoration of the Papal residence at Rome, was Brigida (1302-'73) the Swedish saint, daughter of a prince of royal blood and descendant of the Gothic Kings, who, after she had become a widow, and had founded a monastery for nuns in Sweden, travelled to Rome, where, arriving in 1346, she passed fifteen years. From the period of her widowhood, she had devoted herself entirely to religious practices and charities, renouncing all the advantages of wealth and station. From Rome

she made a pilgrimage to Palestine ; thence returned to the same city, where she died, and was buried at S. Lorenzo *in Panisperna*, a church of the Clarisse nuns. Her remains were afterwards transferred to her monastery, Wartzsten, in Sweden, by the care of her pious daughter, Catherine, who had joined her in Rome. Her extant "Revelations" were written by order of her confessor, a Prior who accompanied her to Jerusalem, and who, together with a Doctor of Theology, translated them into Latin, in eight books. The Bishop of Jaen, a friend of Brigida, who himself had some share in the compiling of this work, was commissioned by the Pope to examine her writings ; as was also, in the next century, the famous Cardinal Torquemada, who was deputed to this task by the Council of Basle, and pronounced the "Revelations" to be genuine. These writings, for which such high authority is claimed, and which are fully approved by Benedict XIV. in his "De Canonizatione" (l. 11, c. xxxii), maintain the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and the fact of the bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The reflections on the depraved state of Rome, and the Saint's denunciations on that subject, exposed her to the popular fury during her residence there. She was called a witch and an impostor, threatened with death in the flames, insulted and mocked at when she went abroad. Her daughter Catherine, who was also the widow of a Swedish nobleman, and accompanied her mother to Palestine, became a nun, and finally abbess, in the monastery to which she had borne that parent's remains. She too was canonized (ob. 1381). Among the visions believed to have been vouchsafed from Divine sources to Brigida was one she thus narrated, desiring it should be made known to Gregory XI. through the Count di Nola, whom that Pope had sent to consult her :—She beheld the Saviour on a radiant throne, amidst a multitude of saints and angels, and at

the foot of the throne, but distant, one vested as a bishop, to whom the Lord of lords thus spoke—"Listen, Pope Gregory XI., to the words I utter. Why dost thou so hate me? Why is thy audacity so great, and thy presumption against me so insupportable? Why does thy worldly court ruin my court which is in Heaven? Thou, in thy pride, despoilest me of my flocks; thou dost rob, extort, and unjustly seize the property of the Church, which by right is mine, to bestow it upon thy temporal favourites. Thou also takest unjustly to thyself the portion of the poor, to distribute it shamelessly among thy friends, who are already rich. Why dost thou permit such pride, such insatiable cupidity and execrable luxury to prevail at thy court, as well as the foulest abyss of detestable simony? Almost all who go to thy court are sent, through thy means, to the Gehenna of fire, because thou considerest not what belongs to this my court, though thou art prelate and pastor of all my sheep. All this is thy fault, because thou dost not deliberate or discern what should be done and corrected for the spiritual good of all. Although I might justly condemn, I warn thee in mercy; and for the welfare of thy soul admonish thee to hasten to Rome, thy proper place, so soon as thou shalt be able. Delay no longer, but go thither!"

The canonization of S. Brigida, 1391, was the first celebrated (by Boniface IX.) in the chapel of the Vatican palace, which for this occasion was decorated with myrtle-boughs and draperies, and illuminated by 86 wax-torches. The Pope, the Cardinals, prelates, and Roman nobles, passed in procession along the principal chapel to another, returning in the same order. Among the observances was the offering at the Papal throne of not merely wax-tapers, birds in gilt cages, barrels of wine and loaves of bread, the donations of mystic meaning still made at such solemnities,

but, conformably with the scale of ecclesiastical hospitalities at this time, a heifer, 24 capons, 24 doves, and 24 fowls, also a golden pitcher of the value of 10 ducats.

Another beatified person, Pietro Petronio, a Carthusian monk, of Siena (ob. 1361), had also "Revelations," in which he believed that the realities of the invisible, Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, had been displayed to him. Nothing that he wrote is, I believe, extant; but his example is noticeable from its association with the history of Boccaccio's career, and the change wrought in him "who formed the Tuscan's Syren tongue," through his posthumous influence. He (the Beato Pietro) claimed a preternatural knowledge of the inner life of souls; and communications were made by his desire, after his death, to Boccaccio, through another Carthusian monk, which convinced the great writer that the holy man had known the secrets of his soul, and which wrought that effect, resulting in change of life and correspondent amelioration in the tone of his writings, such as called for the congratulations of Petrarch, but also his well-argued remonstrances against the excess of unreasoning zeal, and the unwise purpose of abandoning literature because literary talents had been misused.*

The Beato Giovanni Colombini (ob. 1367) had been a wealthy merchant of Siena, and held high office among the magistrates of that city. The account of his conversion from a worldly to a religious life is interesting. One day he came home impatient for his dinner, and scolded his wife because it was not ready. She begged him to be patient and serene, handing to him a book which she advised him to read whilst she ordered things in the kitchen. He threw down the book in a passion, but soon became molli-

* See the letter, a model for good advice to literary men, l. I, *ep. v. Senili*; and the Sonnets: "Amor piangeva, ed io con lui talvolta," &c. "Più di me lieta non si vede a terra," &c.

fied, found that second thoughts were best, and began to read the "Lives of Saints," his good wife's favourite study. The life of S. Mary of Egypt, that great sinner who became a model of eremite penance in the desert, so impressed him that he did not want to lay aside the book when dinner at last came.* Thenceforth he showed himself a changed man, gave most of his fortune to the poor, dedicated himself to the care of the sick and pilgrims, collected followers who practised the same degree of self-denying charities; and finally went so far as to divest himself of all he possessed, leading thenceforth a life of actual mendicancy. There is a legend of his having brought home a leper, and laid him on his wife's bed, out of which it was found, next morning, that the miserable sufferer had vanished, — and all were convinced that Christ Himself had appeared thus to test His servant's charity! The pious mendicant was banished from Siena as a nuisance, but soon recalled by the magistrates to resume his course of devoted care for the sick and other laborious duties. On the arrival of Urban V. at Corneto, Giovanni and sixty of his followers went to pay homage to that Pope, and obtain his approval of the religious order they wished to constitute. They presented themselves before Urban, all with garlands of olive leaves on their heads, and followed him from Corneto to Viterbo, where the Pope stayed before proceeding to Rome. He approved of the new fraternity, and the brethren adopted the rules of S. Augustine under the patronage of S. Jerome, their costume being a white habit and cowl, with a chestnut-coloured mantle. They were first called, perhaps from popular rather than from their own choice, "Jesuati," because they

* This scene, which might happen any day in an Italian *bourgeois* family, provided that a pious woman were the mistress, is vividly described in the life of the Beato, written about a century later by Fea Belcari.

had the Holy Name constantly on their lips. For about two centuries the members of this Order were occupied principally in their pharmacies, distributing medicines gratuitous to the poor, or in hospitals, nursing the sick. It was not till 1606 that they were authorized, through act of Paul V., to receive ordination; and from that time they began to be called Apostolic Clerics. In the course of that century their credit declined, their observance proved lax; and at last, in 1668, Clement IX. yielded to the solicitations of Venice, and suppressed an institution no longer true to its high calling. Its confiscated property was used for the necessities of a war against the Turks in Candia.

Other holy men and women, of whose private life very little is known, flourished during this period; and several illustrious Saints appeared in Italy in the XIV.—though it is rather to the XV. century that their careers belong. One, who met with a violent death in the middle of this century, was the Patriarch of Aquileja (born 1280) known as the Beato Bertrando—a model of devotedness to episcopal duties, like those venerable prelates who illumine the history of the primitive Church. He is said to have taken S. Thomas à Becket as his model—and his fate proved similar to that of the English Prelate. He daily fed and waited on twelve poor men; and in time of famine daily maintained 2000, thus rescued from starving. Travelling through his patriarchate, to discharge ecclesiastical duties in the several churches, during Lent, he would journey all day and all night for the sake of arriving in time to reconcile public penitents on the days appointed—a circumstance which illustrates the history and character of Ritual during this age. That virtuous Pastor was calumniated, persecuted, attacked, and at last murdered by some soldiers serving the Count di Goritz, in Friuli, on his return from Padua, 1350. (Rohrbacher, “Ecclesiastical History.”)

CHAPTER IV.

MONUMENTS OF THE XIV. CENTURY.

ROME.

IN the Lateran Basilica, that primordial cathedral of Rome, styled "the Mother and Head of all the churches on earth," and which, in olden times, had the distinction of being ever open, day and night—one cannot call to mind the high memories of the scene—the acts and legends of Constantine and S. Sylvester, the five Œcumenical Councils, the solemn installations of S. Peter's successors—without a sense of indignation at the modern disguise of frigid magnificence and meaningless architecture by which sacred antiquity is here concealed. It is now alike difficult to discern any vestige, save in the superb canopy over the high altar, the semicircular aisle behind the tribune, and the mosaics on the apsidal vault, either of the church of Constantine, rebuilt in the X. century, or of that twice restored after destructive fires in the XIV. But in one of the modernized aisles is fortunately preserved a relic of art, from among the many lost, one with which we might suitably begin our study of the Christian monuments belonging to the period here considered, in Rome :—the portrait, namely, by Giotto, of Boniface VIII. in act of blessing the people whilst a young cleric reads the bull of the Jubilee appointed for the year 1300 ; the site represented being either a loggia, used for the Papal benediction, above the portico added to the Lateran buildings by the same Pope, or, as Padre Tosti infers (see his valuable work on the "Life and Times" of Boniface VIII.), the interior of S. Peter's, on the occasion when, after preaching to a great congregation, that energetic

Pontiff caused the bull to be read from the richly draped ambon, whence he had delivered his sermon. I have already noticed this picture, the only one preserved from the several frescoes with which the same artist adorned that Gothic portico; but I am induced again to mention it here.* A note of preparation, a signal for the opening of the historic drama, in which the Papacy and other European powers acted their part, whether friendly or hostile towards each other, during this eventful age, all this seems implied in Giotto's portrait of the Pope, so cruelly persecuted by Philip le Bel, so sternly denounced by Dante!

After considering the perpetual troubles and general demoralization of Rome in the XIV. century, we cannot be surprised to find that little was accomplished here in the walks of art and public monuments. The creative power which works in those spheres requires a pure and serene atmosphere—though able indeed to assert itself amidst the most untoward circumstances. Elsewhere in Italy were founded, or rising to completeness, during this period, the most majestic temples of worship, or other stately edifices for civic use: the Cathedrals of Florence, Milan, Siena, Orvieto, S. Petronio at Bologna, the Certosa at Pavia. But in the ecclesiastical metropolis little remains to attest energies or inspirations during the time that French Popes sat at Avignon, or their Italian successors, Urban and Boniface, exercised an uneasy sway at this centre.

* Vide preceding Vol. p. 533.—The picture was placed in the cloisters after the destruction of the loggia, and finally removed to the aisle where we now see it, by order of the Gaetani family, in 1786. It is supposed to have suffered by retouching, if not alteration. The German critics regard the two attendants on the Pope as Cardinals—for which dignity they seem too young. The background, now painted blue, must have been entirely changed, if the locality be a church-interior, and not the loggia exterior to the Lateran.

There is a scene that suggests meditation on the great lessons of Christian and Ecclesiastical History : the so-called *Grotte Vaticane*, or crypt of S. Peter's, where we tread the pavement of the ancient church, and are surrounded by almost all the relics, still extant, of ages anterior to the XVI. century, within the walls of this great basilica. For the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, these subterranean aisles are opened to the public, and illuminated ; and when we traverse them by dim taper-light in silence interrupted at intervals by the exulting strains of solemn vespers from the choir of the gorgeous modern church above—sounds that descend with subdued effect into these monumental retreats—the contrasted objects and memories, here present to eye and mind, acquire an absorbing interest. The bright and dark aspects of the great historic Pontificate are here engraved in the records of the Dead. We are reminded of all the exaggerations of sacerdotal claims and abuses of spiritual power ; but also of the evidences to a high vocation for the benefit of mankind and for the promoting of Christian civilization, manifest in the lives and acts, in the personal sanctity and heroic exertions of so many among the crowned successors of S. Peter.

The objects in this crypt of date within the first half of the XIV. century, have been elsewhere noticed.* The

* The monument of Boniface VIII., ascribed to Arnolfo del Cambio, formerly adorned with a mosaic of the Virgin and Child, and the Pope kneeling before them, thus presented by SS. Peter and Paul ; the half-length statues of Boniface VIII. and Benedict XII., the former by Andrea Pisano, the latter (originally painted red) by Paolo di Siena ; the mosaic of an angel, ascribed to Giotto ; the panel pictures of SS. Peter and Paul, over the shrine or "confessional" under the high altar,—school of Giotto ; the Madonna, called "della boccie," by Simone di Martino, an altar-piece so designated from the legend that, whilst it hung in the portico of the ancient church, it was accidentally struck by a ball some youths were playing with, and shed blood, which flowed in

first among the Papal monuments here seen, which enters within my present limits, is that of Urban VI., a sarcophagus with recumbent effigy and a small relief of S. Peter bestowing the keys on the kneeling Pope; the life-size effigy wearing the tiara of a single diadem, the figure in relief having the triple crown, which also appears, over the Pontiff's device and motto, on the basement of the flanking columns. Seeing that the statue is somewhat longer than the urn on which it lies, and that its countenance has no likeness to that of the smaller figure, critics infer that the former does not belong to this tomb, and that the latter alone is the genuine portrait of the hard-souled Urban, who (as Rinaldi states) was first interred under the chapel of S. Andrew, afterwards removed to a more stately tomb in S. Peter's. That monument was mutilated on occasion of its removal during the works for the new building in the XVI. century, and thus lost its Gothic ornamentations, lions and twisted colonnettes, which now stand behind a seated statue of S. Peter in another part of this crypt. Curiously compounded of the classical and mediæval is that same sculpture; the figure of the apostle, which resembles the Roman consular statues, being antique, the head of the XIII. century, the hands more modern. Its original place was in the portico of the ancient church. With the mosaics of John VII. and those from the tomb of Otho II. it serves to connect the present and the past in this subterranean sanctuary.* In all the funereal

five drops from the pictured face on certain slabs of marble, still preserved and said to bear traces of that miraculous bleeding!—"Mediæval Christianity, &c.," v. 535; Barbier de Montault, "Les Souterrains de S. Pierre."

* The mosaics now before us are but a fragment of those, eleven subjects in all, ordered by John VII., A.D. 706; another remnant of the series being now in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin. Those formerly

sculptures here before us we see the same general treatment, most suitable indeed to the solemnity of the tomb: the deceased being represented in a recumbent effigy, as in profound repose which partakes both of death and sleep, with a few sculptured accessories, sacred groups or symbols, subordinate to the principal figure. A monument to a Polish bishop, Maffiolus, (ob. 1396), is a good example of this style. That of the Cardinal Francesco Tebaldeschi, one of those of the sacred college who proved faithful to Urban VI., is the latest monument, of date within this century, in any Roman church. Nothing could be worse than the arrangement, or rather the pellmell confusion, in which the monuments and art-relics of the ancient church are thrown together in this crypt. One curious record, kept here as documentary accusation against those who built the new S. Peter's, is a tablet with its epigraph, informing us that, in 1543, Niccolo Acciaiuolo rescued a picture of the Madonna by Giotto from being thrown away among the rubbish of the demolished buildings—*instinctu pietatis—ex hujus templi ruinis disjectum!**

above the tomb of Otho II. (ob. 983) are now set into a wall distinct from the imperial sarcophagus, which still remains in another part of this crypt. We may form some faint idea, from a copy painted on these walls, of the mosaic placed by Innocent III. on the apse of the ancient S. Peter's with that Pope's portrait introduced in a sacred group comprising the Saviour in benediction, SS. Peter and Paul, the Church personified as a crowned matron, and the Lamb of God.

* The celebrated mosaic of the "Navicella," or Christ walking the waters in the tempest, from Giotto's design, now in the atrium of S. Peter's, does not enter into my present limits, having been ordered by Cardinal Stefaneschi, nephew to Boniface VIII., in 1298. I may add to the notice of it previously supplied, that it has been so frequently retouched, as well as moved from place to place, that it can scarcely be deemed the composition of Giotto in its present state; and Lanza considers that, altered as it is, it can no longer be classed among his genuine

On the night of the 5th May, 1308, the Lateran basilica was almost destroyed by fire. The restoration, ordered by Clement V., was carried out with zeal and munificence; large sums were sent from Avignon and other cities; and in Rome persons of every class gave their labours gratuitously, not indeed without the reward of Papal indulgences for the meritorious task. Another conflagration in 1360 proved almost equally fatal. The entire roofing fell in, and overthrew the granite columns between the nave and aisles, but the smaller *verde antico* columns of those four aisles were saved. The *patriarchium* (Papal palace) was also reduced to ruins; and in this state, roofless and desolate, did Rome's primordial basilica remain, as seen by Petrarch, for about four years. Urban V. ordered in 1364 the second restoration, which was commenced before that Pope's arrival in Rome, and with intent of preserving the ancient architectonic forms, though the style of that century naturally prevailed at last. An architect of Siena, Giovanni di Stefano, was general director of the works. Of his design is the splendid Gothic canopy with a tabernacle for relics, which rises above the high altar. In this tabernacle, completed 1369, did Urban V. with his own hands deposit the skulls of SS. Peter and Paul, transferred by him with much pomp, and a procession attended by all the Roman

works. The four Prophets who appear in air above the tempest-tossed bark, and the fisherman with rod and line, in the foreground, are entirely modern. The head of a mitred bishop just emerging from the waves, near the principal figure, is an absurd addition by some unknown hand. Giotto's work may be better appreciated from the coloured cartoon in the principal Capuchin Church at Rome, executed before the original was for the last time retouched and altered in the XVII. century. The nobly conceived figure of the Saviour is, fortunately, preserved with its grand characteristics; and the Demons blowing the tempest out of long trumpets are, at all events, of Giotto's imagining.

clergy, from the “*Sancta Sanctorum*” chapel in the adjacent palace. Those relics were set in *protomes* (half-length statues) of the two Apostles in silver, with gilt heads and figures adorned with enamel and gems of the value of 1200 marks, among the precious decorations being seen two lilies of pearls presented by Charles V. of France.* Forty-one lamps burnt perpetually before these relics, and the entire value of the jewelled settings was estimated as 50,000 scudi. Near the angles of the canopy stood the four magnificent columns of gilt bronze fluted, which now flank the altar of the Holy Sacrament.† The reliquaries disappeared during the occupation of Rome by the French in the last years of the last century; but were soon replaced by others of almost equal value, the offering of the Duchess di Villa Hermosa, a pious Italian lady; and in 1804 the Apostles’ skulls—I need not stop to consider the proofs of their authenticity—were restored to their tabernacle, in their new settings, by Pius VII. The high altar and its superb canopy alone remain, in the actual church, to remind us of the virtuous Urban V., of Petrarch’s eloquent

* The silver statues were wrought by a goldsmith named Giovanni Bartoli, of Siena.—See Agincourt, *Sculptures*, plate xxxvii. Under the bust of S. Paul were the lines :—

Cedit Apostolicus Princeps, tibi Paule, vocaris
Nam dextrae natus, vas, tuba clara Dei.

In that Apostle’s hands were held a sword and an open book. S. Peter wore the triple crown, held the keys in one hand, and raised the other to bless.

† According to one tradition, these were brought to Rome by Titus among the spoils from the Temple of Jerusalem; according to another, they were brought from that city by the Empress Helena, and are filled with earth from the Holy Land. The columns and the sacred vessels from the Temple are mentioned in an inscription with Gothic letters of mosaic, placed in the Lateran by Nicholas IV., and still seen here, informing us that *all* those relics are preserved in this basilica.

appeals to him, and of the temporary restoration of the Pontificate to Rome through his means. Rising almost to the coffered ceiling of the transepts, that lofty structure, with its rich Gothic details, seems strangely out of keeping with the modern architecture around. The profuse gilding was added probably in a restoration ordered for the Jubilee year 1650; and the whole was again restored by Pius IX., 1851. Along the arcade-tracery of the lowest storey we see, among various armorial shields, those of Urban V., of the French King Charles V., and of the arch-priest of this basilica who became Pope as Gregory XI. Above the supporting granite columns are several statuettes of saints under Gothic canopies; on the triangular tympana, at each side, is a half-length relief of the Saviour; which sculptures, as well as the reliefs of SS. Peter and Paul on the altar-front, are of inferior style, the forms stunted, and heads feeble. Along the upper storey are twelve panel-pictures by Berna di Siena, an artist who cannot be appreciated from his works here before us, all which have been re-touched.* Their subjects are, the Crucifixion, with four Apostles; Christ feeding His flock with ears of corn (a mystic and original conception), and the four Doctors of the Latin Church; the Annunciation and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, with SS. Catherine of Egypt, and Anthony the Hermit; the Madonna and Child attended by angels and a kneeling prelate (probably the Cardinal Archpriest, who became Pope Gregory XI.), with SS. John the Evangelist and Stephen, SS. John the Baptist and Laurence. The Coronation is treated according to earlier devotional art-traditions, the Divine Son, not the Eternal Father, being in act of crowning the glorified Mother;

* This Sienese artist died about 1381—see his life by Vasari, who does not even mention his paintings here. No Roman artist is known to have been engaged in the restorations of the ancient Lateran.

while in the Annunciation-picture we recognise ideas of later origin, the Father, with attributes of old age, being represented hovering above the group of Mary and the Angel. Other remnants of the ancient Lateran are preserved ; and it may please the imagination, though not the eye, to know (as we are assured is the fact), that much even of the buildings of the X. century is extant, immured in modern masonry, as are no doubt the columns of the XIV. century, set within the heavy pilasters of the present church. The small columns, twenty-four of *verde antico* (or rather *verde mischio*), from the ruined aisles, now flank the niches where colossal statues of the Apostles were placed by Clement XI. ; and as the shafts are not more than eleven feet high, we must infer that those aisles of the ancient church were comparatively low, under roofing that sloped from the attics of the nave. The earliest sculptures still seen here are : the monument of Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldeschi, who died at Lyons during the sessions of the General Council, 1274 ; that of a Milanese Count, Gustavo, also Cardinal, ob. 1289 ; the kneeling statue of a Pope, probably Nicholas IV., rude and almost grotesque in character, now in the semicircular corridor, sole remnant preserved entire of the X. century buildings, behind the tribune ; and the monument to Cardinal Gherardo Blancus, ob. 1302, with effigy incised on the flat surface, now placed vertically near the entrance to the southern aisle. The grandly-characterized mosaics of the apse (1290) I have elsewhere described. In the beautiful but neglected cloisters (XIII. century) are deposited several architectural and sculptured relics of the earlier, and also of the XV. century church : the ruinous episcopal throne and Paschal candelabrum, Gothic tympana with wheel windows, one bearing the name of a member of the well-known Cosmati family, *Mgr. Deodatus fecit hoc op.* Here, too, are other objects of

imaginary importance : a porphyry slab between two half-columns, said to be the stone on which the soldiers cast lots for the garments of Christ ; a species of ædícula, with marble columns, said to be the measure of His stature ; a marble puteal between granite columns, said to be the well where He conversed with the Samaritan woman—but evidently, from the crosses and other relief ornaments upon it, of Christian mediæval origin.

Urban V. was active and munificent in the restoring and embellishing of churches. The Ostian basilica, which he found roofless, alike with the Lateran, was repaired by his order ; and many other Roman churches, deprived of the requisites for worship during the desolate, and to Rome most disastrous period of the “Avignon Exile,” were supplied by him with sacramental vessels, office-books, ornaments, &c. He recovered from the Franciscan basilica of Assisi many sacred treasures, vessels and relics, deposited there for safety by Boniface VIII.

His successor, Gregory XI., did more for the advantage of Rome and the Italian Church, but is less known through monumental records save those of modern origin : the conventional wall-painting by Vasari, representing his arrival in this city, among the other pictured *fasti* of the Papacy on the walls of the Sala Regia at the Vatican, and the monument to this Pope, with indifferent sculptures by Olivieri, raised in 1584, by order of the Senate, over his tomb at S. Maria Nuova near the Forum. The only building we can associate with the memory of his eventful pontificate is the lofty Campanile with a spire—a rare object in Rome—which finely groups with the twin cupolas of S. Maria Maggiore, though somewhat injured by modern repairs. In 1372 he ordered a French Abbot to send to Rome a competent architect for the rebuilding of the now ruinous tower of that basilica ; and in the January of the next

year, authorized his Vicar in this city to obtain from his Nuncio 3000 gold florins for this and other public works at Rome. The spire which surmounts the S. Maria Maggiore campanile bears the date 1376—anterior therefore to the triumphal ingress of Gregory XI. in the January of the next year. It serves to remind us, however, of that event, so fraught with consequences to ecclesiastical and political interest; and now also of another, different indeed in its results as affecting the temporal power of the Pope—for it was from that conspicuous spire that the white flag announced the surrender of Rome to a besieging army on the morning of the 20th September, 1870.

A marble portal in Gothic style, with lions guarding the entrance, was erected by Gregory XI. before the Lateran. It has disappeared; but the marble lions are still extant, and now beside the fountain on the Piazza de' Termini, near the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. The sculptures of the XIV. century in Roman churches but feebly represent the power and luxuriance of Italian art at that period. At S. Maria in Trastevere, a grand old basilica, notwithstanding all the alterations of modern date, we see two examples among the best of the art-works produced here within this epoch: the sculptured chapel and tomb which perpetuate the memory of a French Cardinal of royal blood, Philip d' Alençon.* The chapel, dedicated by him

* Philip d'Alençon was Archbishop of Rouen when he incurred the displeasure of the French King, his cousin, and in consequence left France. He was well received at Rome by Urban VI., who made him Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, and also bestowed on him *in commenda* the Patriarchate of Aquileja. The Princes of Friuli and the citizens of Udine opposed that latter appointment, not desiring that so high an office should sink into a mere endowment for an absent Cardinal. A war of six years duration, which Urban VI. had the good sense to disapprove, was carried on, but fruitlessly, for the claimant to the Patriarchate, by Charles VI. (now reconciled to his cousin), and by Francesco

to the apostles Philip and James, formerly stood isolated, but is now placed against the wall of a transept, with detriment, probably, to its effect. It is elaborately architectonic, with rich but heavy Gothic details, columns, acute-arched canopy, numerous statuettes, and a relief of the Assumption of the Virgin with five figures represented as spectators of the event, among whom one, who is kneeling, may be intended for Alençon, another for S. Philip, while a King and a mitred prelate may be recognised as S. Louis and S. Denis, the Protectors of France. A picture above the altar, more modern than the sculptures, but also mediæval, of the crucifixion of that Apostle, with the figure of the Cardinal in the foreground, is now so blackened by time as to be scarcely discernible. Near this chapel stands the monument of Alençon, which has no Gothic details, and cannot be ascribed to the same artist; some critics (Nibby, *Roma Antica e Moderna*) assuming it to be a work of Paolo Romano, and of date within the XV. century. It bears a recumbent effigy of the deceased, and a relief of the funeral of the Virgin, in which is mystically introduced the figure of the Saviour receiving the soul, as an infant, into His arms; the Apostles standing around the bier, together with Angels who hold large tapers and a censer. The quaint epitaph informs us, in the last two lines, why such subject was chosen for the sculptures on this tomb—namely, because Alençon died (1397) on the day of the “transit” of Mary:

Carrara, lord of Padua, who assisted Alençon in arms. At last, as that Cardinal deserted Urban to espouse the cause of the Antipope, he was deprived by the former both of his episcopal rank and of the Cardinal's hat. Boniface IX. restored him to all he had lost, and made him Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. He died at Rome, and, it is said, in esteem for sanctity: *Ex vita excessit Romæ magnæ sanctitatis opinione* (Ciaconius, *Vitæ et Regestæ Pontif. E.S.R.E. Cardinalium.*)

Anno milleno cum C quater, sed abde I. ter,
Occubuit qua luce Dei pia Virgoque mater.

In another Transtiberine church, S. Cecilia, where the festival of that Saint attracts so much by beautiful music and splendour, stands a monument interesting to the English visitor, that of Cardinal Adam Eston, administrator of the diocese of London, and one of the victims of the fierce suspicion of Urban VI., from whose implacable wrath he was, however, rescued by the intercession of his king, Richard II.* On a sarcophagus adorned with spiral colonnettes, foliate crosses and armorial shields, lies the effigy, in treatment somewhat hard, and in outlines heavy, but with countenance marked by a grave individuality that gives the idea of portrait truthfulness. Another monument to a conspicuous Cardinal, at Aracoeli on the Capitol, is so singular that, though of date external to my present limits, I may mention it here—that, namely, of Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta (ob. 1302) at the end of a transept in the principal Franciscan church. It has a recumbent effigy on a lofty basement adorned with mosaic (now lost), a high Gothic canopy, and a wall-painting of the Virgin and Child with two Saints, one of whom (S. Francis?) presents the kneel-

* “Adam Anglo, tt. (tituli) S. Cecilie, Presbyter, Episcopatus Londinensis perpetuo administratori, integritate, doctrina et religione praestante,”—so runs his epitaph. He was a Benedictine and professor of Theology at Oxford; also taught Greek and Hebrew, of which languages he was thoroughly master. Ciaconius gives a list of 22 works produced by him, some serving for the study of Hebrew, and one written in Greek. He also composed the Office for the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, a festival instituted by Urban VI., as intercession for the Divine protection against the schism of the Antipapacy. “Almost all English authors (says Ciaconius) who have mentioned Adam, report that Urban, when near the hour of death, attested his innocence, and felt violent remorse for the wrong done to him.” He was restored to all his honours by Boniface IX. and died at Rome, absent from the See where he was not, apparently, a frequent resident.

ing Cardinal; but not a word, by way of epitaph, tells us the history of the deceased. This Cardinal, a Franciscan and Father-General of that Order, 1287, was sent on various legations by Boniface VIII., and finally to Florence with the mission of reconciling the violent Bianchi and Neri factions. He totally failed in this, was threatened with death by seditious conspirators, and fulminated against Florence the excommunication, with the interdict, before his departure. Dante (*Paradiso*, Canto XII.) puts into the mouth of S. Bonaventura the following allusion to him:—

Ma non fia da Casal, nè d'Aquasparta,
Là onde vegnon tali alla Scrittura,
Ch' uno la fugge, e l'altro la coarta—

meaning that the truly *good* Franciscans could not be like those from Casale (an ancient city of Piedmont), and Acquasparta (in the diocese of Todi), of whom one evaded the rigour of S. Francis's rule, and the other (Cardinal Matteo) exceeded it by his severities. Leandro Alberti (*Descrizione d'Italia*), commends, however, another aspect of Matteo's character, styling him as "*uomo letterato, come dai commentarii da lui fatti sopra le sentenze* (i. e. of Peter Lombardus) *conoscere si puo.*"

In Mosaic, this period was more productive at Rome than in other forms of art, and what remains is distinguished by a better character than are other contemporary works here extant. The mosaics from Cavallini's designs have beauty and vigour of conception. Before particularizing them, I may notice another specimen of this art, as to which little is known: the remnant, namely, of a great composition on the apse of S. Crisogono, representing the Virgin and Child on a gorgeous throne, with S. James the elder and S. Chrysogonus attired as a youthful warrior of antiquity, that saint having been a Roman patrician, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, A.D. 303. In 1128, his church, first men-

tioned in the acts of a Council held by Pope Symmachus, A.D. 499, was rebuilt by the Cardinal Titular, De Crema; but the mutilated mosaic now seen there cannot be of so early a date, for it displays the influences of the Giotto school, and a freedom far from attained in the XII. century.

The only Roman artist of the period here in question who has left an enduring reputation, was Pietro Cavallini, deceased about 1364, and at the age of eighty-five according to Vasari. That biographer speaks highly both of his moral and artistic qualities, his habitual piety and charities, attested as is his industry by the tradition which assures us that he left 1300 finished pictures. He was the pupil of Giotto, and assisted him in the great mosaic of the "Navicella." Several Roman churches—Aracoeli, S. Cecilia, S. Maria in Trastevere, &c.—were adorned by his pencil; but few of his paintings on their walls have been preserved. For S. Paul's basilica, he designed the mosaics of the façade, ordered by the Abbot in the time of John XXII. and saved from the fire in 1823, but subsequently moved into the transepts. Vasari ascribes to him, and highly commends, the wall-paintings round the ancient chapter-house of the S. Paul's monastery, also left uninjured by the fire, but so retouched that, as we now see them, little can be considered the artist's original work:—subjects, the Crucifixion with several figures and angels mourning around the cross, the twelve Apostles with scrolls, and other saints ranged in formal rows, as in old mosaics; the four Evangelic emblems above. The type of the Crucified is almost feminine, and the feet are fastened by two nails, conformably to the older treatment. Vasari says that the artist, "engaged on certain works in fresco in the chapter-house of the first cloister (at S. Paul's), so much exerted himself therein, that he obtained from persons of good judgment the repute of a most excellent master; and was therefore so much favoured

by the prelates that they secured to him the order for (painting) the façade of S. Peter's, on the inner side between the windows." In the S. Paolo basilica is a life-size wooden Crucifix ascribed to him, the same before which S. Brigida and S. Francesca Romana used to pray, and which is said to have bowed its head, or spoken, in answer to the prayers of the latter.* In the above-named Transtiberine church of S. Maria, is a fine series of mosaics on the apse designed by Cavallini, besides the portrait of the donator, Bertoldo Stefaneschi, in a violet mantle, on his knees before the Virgin and Child, with SS. Peter and Paul standing near, the former apostle presenting him to the sacred group, whose figures are placed within a medallion.† The mosaic series on the ancient apse, beneath the larger composition in the same form of art (XII. century), which occupies the vault above, illustrates the history of Mary—her birth, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration by the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the transit, or rather funeral, in which last scene the Saviour appears in an elliptic nimbus, between two bright-winged angels, receiving the soul, in form of a new-born infant—the same mystic idea as is embodied in the relief on the tomb of Cardinal Alençon,

* A statue by Carlo Maderno of that saintly matron, on her knees, commemorates her devotions in the chapel where that crucifix hangs over the altar.

† The date 1290 has been assigned to these mosaics, or to the order for their execution by the artist. But, according to Vasari, Cavallini would then have been only eleven years old. Stefaneschi was major-domo to Nicholas IV., who died in 1292; but he may have survived that Pope for many years before he commissioned the works at this church. Under the mosaic of his presentation to the Virgin and Child is the name *Bertold. Filius Pet.* with the metrical lines :—

Virgo Deum complexa sinu servando pudorem
 Virginum, matris fundans per sæcula nomen,
 Respice compunctos animos miserata tuorum.

but with more imagination and grace by Cavallini. The architecture accessorially introduced in this series, is semi-Gothic. The type of Mary's figure is distinguished by matron-dignity, without that queenly grandeur given to her by later art, as also in the great mosaics of the XII. century before us on this apsidal vault, where she is seated on the same throne with the Divine Son. Of the many wall-paintings by Cavallini in this church, only two remain, now placed in the portico, and, I am sorry to see, for at least the second time retouched during the recent works of restoration and embellishment carried out, with much expense and splendour, at this Trasteverine basilica. Both those pictures represent the Annunciation; and in one instance the Divine Infant appears with a cross in His hand, and preceded by the Dove descending from the bosom of the visible Almighty Father towards the person of Mary. An accessorial figure, in the other picture of the same subject, stands crowned as a King, holding a sword and banner with a cross. This is described in the "*Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*," as "a bishop seated near Mary with a banner in his hand, probably representing (Pope) S. Calixtus as founder of this church"—from which particulars we must infer that the figure has been totally changed since the German *savans* compiled their admirable work on Rome. Other figures of devotees are introduced in both pictures. All Cavallini's paintings at Ara Coeli have disappeared, as have also those by Giotto in the same church on the Capitol.*

* In the apse, Cavallini painted the well-known subject of the vision of the Virgin and Child displayed and interpreted to Augustus by the Tiburtine Sibyl on the site, according to legend, of this church. A picture of S. Louis (of Anjou?) on a pilaster of the choir, by the same hand, was extant till the XVI. century. On one of the columns of the nave is still seen a large figure of a Saint, that might be referred to the XIV. This great Franciscan church, though modernized, still retains a grand and olden character.

The only valuable collection of mediæval paintings in any public gallery at Rome, is that which fills the glazed cabinets of a hall of the Vatican library, and was finally completed, as we see it, in 1837. Of all art collections in this city, it is the worst arranged, and the most inconveniently exhibited; the visitor being habitually sacrificed to the whims or indolence of the custodi, so that one may frequent this gallery ever so often without ever thoroughly seeing its contents. Among them are twenty-five panel-pictures of dates within the XIV. century, mostly of the Florentine and Sienese schools. In the first cabinet: the Betrayal of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus, the Crucifixion with the Eternal Father enthroned above the cross, and in act of showing the Son to those Saints who have most meditated upon His Passion. The legend of S. Stephen, and of the translation of his relics to Rome, is united with that of less known Saints, and of the Nicodemus mentioned in the Gospels; and the last picture of this series (2nd cabinet) shows us the faithful praying at the tomb where SS. Stephen and Laurence repose together at the S. Lorenzo basilica. We must refer to the "*Legenda Aurea*" for the explanation of one mystical subject here treated: S. Gamaliel (we there read) appeared to the priest S. Lucian, touched him with a golden wand, and showed to him three vases of gold with one of silver. "One of the gold vases was filled with red roses; the two others with white roses; the silver vase was full of saffron. And Gamaliel said, These vases are our tombs, and these flowers are our relics. The vase of red roses indicates Stephen, the only one of us who has merited the crown of martyrdom. The two full of white roses indicate Nicodemus and myself, who have persevered in sincerity of heart and in the worship of Christ Jesus. The vase of silver filled with saffron is the emblem of my son Abibas, who ever preserved his virginal purity,

and quitted this world without stain." The life of S. John the Evangelist is represented in three pictures : one of his assumption, received into Paradise by the Saviour — a legend perhaps quite as popular at one period as that which, in defiance of history, ascribed the same preternatural privilege to Mary. A series, illustrating the Passion, comprises the figure of the Deity in benediction, and the Evangelists with the heads of their mystic emblems, three of them having consequently the animal blended with the human form. A triptych (7th cabinet) of the Madonna and Child, S. Michael and the Dragon, S. Ursula with palm and banner, bears the inscribed name and date, *Alegritus Nutii me pinxit A. MCCCLXV*. The Assumption of the Virgin (referred to the latter years of this century) is an early example of the treatment of that favourite subject, in which the Saviour is introduced, with four crimson wings, descending from Heaven and raising from the tomb, by the hand, His Mother about to be glorified ; S. Thomas, among the other Apostles, holding the girdle received as pledge of her ascent.

One might desire to see some record of that extraordinary woman, S. Catherine of Siena, in this city where her influence was beneficially exerted, and where the Papal residence was restored through means to which her eloquence and sanctity contributed. Her remains lie at the chief Dominican church, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, under the high altar, where is a recumbent coloured statue of her, visible by the light of ever-burning lamps through the arcades at that Gothic altar's front. In a hall entered from the sacristy stands, isolated, the chamber in which she died, which was transferred *in toto*, 1637, by order of a Cardinal Barberini, from the not-distant house where she resided during her stay in Rome. More interesting would it be if this chamber, instead of being metamorphosed into

a splendid chapel of XVII. century style, were preserved in the rude simplicity which we may believe must have surrounded its saintly inmate when living and dying, 1380, within its walls. The body of S. Catherine received extraordinary honours when *S. Maria sopra Minerva* was reopened, 4th August, 1855, after a restoration to the original Gothic type carried out with much splendour, and commenced in 1848, but long suspended owing to political troubles. The new high altar having been consecrated, and the first Mass celebrated on it by His Holiness the Pope, those relics were transferred from the chapel of the Rosary and borne through the streets in a silver urn on a bier hung with crimson velvet, supported by four bishops, under a canopy garlanded with flowers, all the Regular Clergy, collegiate chapters, theological students, and ladies in white, the sisterhood of Dominican Tertiaries, walking in the long procession—pomps that affectingly contrast with the lowly station and austere life of Her for whose honour they were intended!

I have elsewhere noticed the wall-paintings, probably late works of the XIV. century, on the ancient apse of another Dominican church, S. Sisto on the Appian Way; their subjects from the Gospel, with figures of S. Paul, S. John Baptist, S. Dominic, &c. They had been long forgotten and out of sight, till discovered and made visible in works ordered by the estimable Father Prior (Mullooly) of S. Clemente, to which Dominican convent S. Sisto, whose cloisters have long been deserted on account of *malaria*, belongs.

The broad staircase of 124 steps which leads up to the façade of Aracoeli, and which used to be ascended by the devout on their knees, is a record of that terrible visitation of plague in 1348, which, while raging at Florence, suggested to Boccaccio the descriptive passages and local

features introduced in a never-to-be-forgotten work of fiction. That staircase was built in the same year with marble from the temple of Quirinus, and at a cost defrayed by offerings to the shrine of the Madonna, after her picture ascribed to S. Luke, and still over the high altar of this church, had been carried in procession during the extraordinary devotions ordered for prayer to deliver Rome from the common calamity. A contemporary inscription in Gothic letters, near the chief door of the church, tells us that this staircase was commenced 25th October, 1348, by the "Magister" Lorenzo Simeone Andreozzi. In the same year '48, was rebuilt the Lateran hospital, one marble gate of which, with reliefs of the head of the Saviour between candelabra and the Lamb with a banner, remains to remind us, both by its sculptured ornaments and epigraph, of that date.

One regrets not to be able to associate the memory of Cola di Rienzo with any edifice still erect on the site of his installation, his official residence, and his tragic death. The fortifications raised by Boniface IX., 1394, when he restored the Capitoline palace desolated by fire on the last day of the Tribune's life, still in part remain, and are conspicuous on the eastern side, with that Pontiff's armorial shield in different places: but the actual palace is, for the rest, modern, and utterly without architectural dignity, except in those stupendous structures of the Tabularium, sole monument of Republican Rome in sight from the Forum, above which the later buildings rise. Some years after Boniface's restorations, it was stipulated in a Convention between Innocent VIII. and the Roman people, that the buildings should be reduced to the uses and character, not of a castle but a tribunal of justice;* and other works, instituted for this object early in the XV. century, were completed under

* "*Capitolium reducatur et reduci debeat ad formam palatii et loci communis judicii.*"

the pontificate of Martin V. The staircase, like an inclining plane, by which we ascend from the northern side, was made from a design by Buonarrotti in the time of Paul III. for the occasion of the state ingress of Charles V., 1536; and the two Egyptian lions of black granite, which flank that ascent, were not placed where we see them till later in the same century, 1560. The colossal statues of Castor and Pollux, with their steeds, the sculptured trophies misnamed "trofei di Mario" (after Marius), the statues of the two Constantines, and the far more celebrated equestrian bronze of Marcus Aurelius, all found their way to their present places on the Capitoline summit in comparatively modern times. The dusky towers of Boniface IX. with their plain cornice-work of marble brackets, common to mediæval Italian architecture, still conspicuous on the east, and traceable on the western side, alone remind us of that Capitoline palace, which was the scene of a great and brilliant, but tragically frustrated effort to revive the genius and powers of Republican Rome.

Though I propose to limit myself to the monuments and art which are of Christian origin, it seems not altogether foreign to my theme to refer to the relics of the Religion and Civilization that have passed away, while Rome, her antiquities and public works, are dwelt upon in these pages; and the manner in which the proceedings of the Papacy, or the social conditions produced under its immediate influence affected the fate, accelerating or arresting the decay, of those local monuments, pertains to the collateral walks of the History I am considering. A terrible earthquake, felt at Rome on the 10th September, 1349, is described in impressive language by Petrarch,* and mentioned by all

* *Ecce Roma ipsa insolito tremore concussa est, tam graviter, ut ab eadem urbe condita supra duo annorum millia tale nihil acciderit. Ceci-*

writers on Roman antiquity as having greatly injured some of the most memorable among classic ruins at this centre. It also overthrew the columns of the portico, and damaged the campanile of the Ostian basilica; it commenced the work of ruin, completed by the fire, at the Lateran, and destroyed the upper part of the Conti fortress built for his relations by Innocent III., and now represented only by a huge truncate tower in grim decay. The immense arcades of the Constantinian basilica, between the Forum and the Colosseum, were shattered, though they could hardly have been destroyed, by those shocks of nature.

In this century the Circus Maximus, after being for a time held by the Frangipani family, was abandoned and left to sink into decay, its material being appropriated like the stones of a common quarry by the baronial or other families. The theatre of Pompey, fortified about the end of the XI. century by the Pierleoni family, and inherited from them by the Savelli, was now the principal residence of the latter; and their buildings, as in the masonry filling the ancient arcades, may be recognised on the dusky exterior. The Orsini built a castle among the ruins of the theatre of Pompey, where Petrarch saw in his time but one arch still erect! And I am sorry to add that the entire aggregate of splendid edifices founded by Pompey,—temples, theatre, portico, and that curia where “great Cæsar fell” beneath the

. . . dread statue yet existent, in
The austerest form of naked majesty,—

dit ædificiorum veterum neglecta civibus stupenda peregrinis moles. Turris illa toto orbe unica, quæ Comitum dicebatur, ingentibus rimis laxata dissiluit. Denique ut iræ cœlestis argumenta non desint multorum species templorum atque in primis Paolo Apostolo dicatæ ædis bona pars humi collapsa, et Lateranensis ecclesiæ dejectus apex jubilæi ardorem gelido horrore contristant. Cum Petro mitius est actum, &c.—(l. x, *Epist. II.*)

are now alike reduced not only to ruin, but, in obscure decay, buried underground and invisible!

It is with a feeling of melancholy that we conclude our studies of the period here considered at Rome; for the foot-prints left by its life betray retrogression rather than progress at this supreme centre. More encouraging signs, and worthier fruits of civilization and energies will meet us, however, elsewhere; and the extended knowledge of Italian monuments will correct the impression received at a city where the classically antique was continually exposed to vicissitudes which deepen the gloom of the social picture. Still increasing proofs of unthinking neglect, and more inexcusable examples of wanton injury or deliberate spoliation meet us as we descend the historic stream: and so long as the attention is fixed upon the Capital of the Seven Hills a mournful sentiment is awakened by much that strikes the eye and mind here. Yet on those Hills we perceive also the working of a spirit which, though antagonistic to the magnificent Past, has yet a certain stamp of nobleness; for its aim was to appropriate and consecrate the relics of Heathenism, that all might be subservient to the triumphs of the Cross. Of this we have the most significant example in the obelisks surmounted by that sign of Redemption, the most striking expression in the lines inscribed by Sixtus V. beneath one of those restored emblems of mysterious Egypt, on the basement, namely, of the obelisk before the Vatican: *Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat. Christus ab omni malo plebem suam defendat. Ecce Crux Domini. Fugite partes adversæ. Vicit Leo de Tribu Juda.*

NAPLES AND SOUTHERN ITALY.

From Rome we may turn to Naples. The first Bishop of that see is said to have been Asprenus, who was converted

and consecrated by S. Peter ; but the first permanent cathedral is ascribed to Constantine. In the house of a matron named Candida, said to have been a convert of the Apostle at the same time as S. Asprenus, that primitive pastor is supposed to have consecrated the first oratory for Neapolitan Christians, and which is still seen, being now a crypt, narrow, dark, and vaulted, below the Franciscan church of *S. Pietro ad Aram*. Under its altar lies the body of S. Candida, and on one side is the mouth of a deep well, whose waters are believed to possess preternaturally healing virtues. From this crypt opens a small chamber said to pertain to the same house of the Christian matron, and evidently antique, as its construction shows. Modern paintings and ornaments have made the oratory look as modern as possible ; and in this (supposed) earliest sanctuary of the true worship at Naples we are greeted by examples of the characteristically bad Neapolitan taste. In the basilica of S. Restituta, which adjoins the actual cathedral, is a mosaic of the Madonna, with jewelled crown and cruciform sceptre, the Child, who is blessing, on her knees, and beside her two saints, Januarius with the model of a church, and Restituta with an open book in her hand—an art-work restored in the XIV. century, and said to have been placed by S. Asprenus in that primitive chapel founded by him ; but we may conclude it to be a copy, probably from an original painting, not a mosaic, of less early date. Conformably with the legend, this is still called the “Madonna del Principio ;” and the high antiquity claimed for Madonna-worship at Naples, is amusingly attested by the name given to three places (narrow streets, &c.) in that city—“*Di Maria ante sæcula*.” The Constantinian basilica, or first cathedral, was renewed (or rebuilt) by S. Severus, bishop of Naples, A.D. 367 ; and again by S. Stephen, bishop, A.D. 498 ; after which, though dedicated to the Saviour, it be-

came commonly called "Stephania." A bishop John (536-556) restored its apse after a fire; and the whole church is said to have been rebuilt, after another more disastrous conflagration, in 790. The same bishop John built a church, S. Lorenzo, entirely of marble. His predecessor, S. Pomponius, built another, as desired by the Virgin in a dream, and dedicated to her as S. Maria Major, on the spot which had been haunted by a demon in the form of a swine; the remedy of course proving efficacious, the purified spot being thenceforth delivered from the obnoxious fiend. Hence the annual usage of throwing down a pig from the tower of the cathedral, but which some sensible prelate of this See had abolished before the time of Ughelli,—see his "*Italia Sacra*," t. iv., where is mentioned a monument of the legend and practice in the form of sculptured swine on one side of the same cathedral tower. Many particulars lead us to infer that, in early ages, wealth and splendour pertained to the clergy and characterized the worship of Naples. We read of an altar, its canopy and the supporting columns all plated with silver, in the church of S. John Baptist, built in the VI. century; of golden and jewelled sacramental vessels, and altar-fronts encrusted with gold and gems, presented to the cathedral and other churches by the Bishop Stephen, who, having been Duke and Consul of Naples, was raised to the See by popular election, A.D. 764. The front of the church of S. Peter, built by him, was adorned with paintings of the first six General Councils. Paschal, his immediate successor, who had also been a layman up to the time of his election (alike popular), followed his example in munificence. The first sovereign who embellished the city with public works, and who built the church of S. Augustin, was William II. styled "the Good," 1166-1189.

Naples, says Ughelli, might well be called "Mariana

Civitas," seeing that she had no fewer than 120 churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, besides 200 others at the time that author wrote. The number of patron saints, elected from age to age, was then (1659) upwards of twenty-five;* the number of monasteries and convents for men, one hundred; for women, twenty-eight, besides twenty-one *piæ domus*, religious and charitable retreats for that sex; the pious confraternities being upwards of a hundred.†

Neapolitan art has had comparatively little influence or repute in modern times. The different phases through which it has passed may, however, be followed with interest; for they convey a moral meaning in their proof of the deteriorating effects to the character of art from such forms and principles of government as have prevailed in this kingdom. The sumptuous, the elaborate, the splendid are preferred to noble simplicity and chastened dignity. Even the solemnity of Death is disturbed by the glare of Courts; and palace pomps, with trains of obsequious courtiers, still attend the royal personages in effigy over the tomb. In one instance even a prince who never reigned, Duke Charles of Calabria, son of King Robert, is attended, in the relief on his sarcophagus, by satellites who all kneel to him! The characteristic composition of the funereal monuments at Naples (and almost all art-works here, of the XIV. century, belong to that class) may be described in

* S. Thomas Aquinas, elected (so to say) in the XVII. century; and later, SS. Andrea di Avellino, Dominic, Francesco di Paola, Gaetano, Francis Xavier, &c.

† "In Naples the religious establishments for both sexes, which in 1786 amounted to two hundred, are now (1848) reduced to thirty-eight convents of monks, and twenty-two monasteries of nuns, besides several conservatories."—Moroni, *Dizionario*, Article "Napoli."

Sixty-six monastic and other communities in this city have been suppressed since the recent change of government.

few words : the elevation is of three, sometimes four stories ; the effigy of the deceased lies on a sarcophagus supported by statuettes of personified Virtues ; at the *fondo* above, and often on the sarcophagus-front are reliefs of saints, scriptural subjects, or others (such as I have alluded to) referring to the deceased, his actions or honours ; above rises a marble canopy with acute or round-arched apex ; and sometimes we see angels drawing aside curtains, as if to display the dead on the funeral couch. In not a few instances the effigy is in low relief, and placed vertically against the wall ; sometimes we see two effigies, one a statue, one a relief so placed, of the same person. Such disposal of sculptured figures, seemingly intended for the horizontal position, is unpleasing. Colour and gilding are profusely used, though now generally faded ; and this preference for gorgeous decoration increases, with advancing time, to the detriment of purity in Neapolitan monumental art—which does not fail, however, to be historically important, and in many examples imposing, even beautiful.

The Hohenstaufen dynasty, from the Emperor Henry VI., crowned at Palermo A.D. 1194, to Manfred, the last there crowned as King of Sicily in 1258, and slain at Benevento in 1266, left more traces of their sway, in the artistic and monumental range, in their insular than their continental states. But a rich efflorescence of genius and a generosity of royal encouragement light up the troubled vicissitudes of this kingdom under the Anjou Princes, whose power crushed out and succeeded to the Hohenstaufen. Charles I. (1266-'85) and Charles II. (1285-1309) founded churches and loved splendours. Robert and his Queen, Sancia of Aragon, were impelled by piety to do much for the increasing and adorning of sacred edifices ; and that King, by the advice of Boccaccio, summoned Giotto to Naples expressly for the task of painting the walls of S.

Chiara, a church with a convent for Franciscan nuns, consecrated with great pomp, 1340, and chosen as the place of royal sepulture.

Collenuccio gives a long list of the churches founded by that King, and in many instances by the desire of his Queen, not only at Naples, but in Provence, and one at Jerusalem.

Till the time of Robert, styled "The Wise" (1309-43), the Anjou rulers won little affection or loyalty from their Italian subjects. The grandson of Charles I., was pious, munificent, and, for his time, learned, being the friend and enthusiastic admirer of Petrarch. To the Anjou princes, who reigned between the latter years of the XIII. and middle of the next century, is due the introduction of the French Gothic architecture, and of much that tended to refine taste and promote artistic movement at Naples. Churches which still rank conspicuous were founded by them; and their monuments are still the most interesting objects within those sacred buildings. I may particularise the cathedral, commenced from the designs of the first Masuccio, under Charles I., in 1272; S. Lorenzo, founded by the same king to commemorate his victory over Manfred at Benevento, 1266; S. Domenico, founded by Charles II., 1285, and designed by the same Masuccio; also S. Chiara, the church of royal sepulture, founded by King Robert, 1310, with the architecture of the second Masuccio. The long reign of the beautiful and unfortunate Joanna I., (1343-82), and the short one of her successor, who caused her to be assassinated, Charles of Durazzo—himself cut off by violent death, 1386—left little in the artistic or monumental range except the Gothic church of S. Giovanni Carbonaro, the "Incoronata," or *capella regis*, of King Robert, amplified into a church to commemorate the second marriage of Joanna (?) within its walls; and also several sculptured tombs of royal personages. The stormy period

of King Ladislaus (1386-1414), is brought to mind only by the anomalous and complex, but magnificent, monument raised to him in the above-named S. Giovanni (a church which he restored or rebuilt in 1400), by his sister and successor, Joanna II. Besides this masterpiece of its artist, Andrea Ciccione, there is little else to remind us of that licentious queen except some examples of the florid Gothic, carried to its richest development at Naples in the XV. century: for instance, the portal of a small church adjoining a larger one, both dedicated to S. John, the work of the architect Antonio Baboccio, 1415; the same who designed the superb portal of the "Duomo" for the façade renewed in 1407. A tragic record of Joanna's reign is the monument at S. Giovanni Carbonaro of her long-potent favourite, the Grand Seneschal Sergianni Caracciolo, who was assassinated 1432; another work by Ciccione, who represents the Seneschal standing erect with a dagger in his hand.

Alfonso of Aragon, the successor of Joanna II., completed the sternly picturesque Castel Nuovo, begun by Charles I. in 1283. After his death (1458) was raised to his memory (1470) the triumphal arch unsuitably wedged in between two huge towers of that fortress; and, though as ill-placed as possible, a striking example of the Renaissance architecture and sculpture of that century. After the overthrow of the Aragonese dynasty in the person of the ill-used Frederick II. (1501) came the period of the Spanish Viceroy, marked, in the monumental sphere, by the worst possible taste and almost every outrage against just principles of art. The Aragonese period had been illustrated by the brightest stars of the Neapolitan school: in sculpture, Andrea Ciccione and Giovanni Merliano da Nola (1478-1559); in painting, Agnolo Franco (ob. 1445), Nicola del Fiore (1444), and Antonio Solario, called *lo Zingaro* (1455).

Even under the Spanish government, contemporaneous energies in this local school were attested by the finest works of the sculptor known as "Giovanni da Nola," also by the paintings of Andrea Sabbatini, a pupil of Raffaello, and only to be appreciated at Naples; and in the XVII. century by those of Corenzio, Ribera, Stanzione (called the Guido of this city), and Salvator Rosa. The vandalism of Spanish officials, dealing with mediæval art-monuments, was on a par with the frightful vulgarity of the works they ordered. One of them caused the frescoes by Giotto in S. Chiara—Scriptural subjects, and several from the Apocalypse, treated, it is said, according to suggestions of Dante—to be covered with whitewash, because they made that church-interior look gloomy! A faded group of the Pietà, and a Madonna head, over an altar, alone remain visible on those walls; and it would be well if means were taken to rescue the other paintings, still probably extant, however damaged, of the same valuable series. In the same church the splendid monument of King Robert, designed, while he yet lived, by Masuccio II., but not finished till 1350, is almost concealed behind the barocco ornaments of a high altar set up in the last century; and it is only by ascending a scaffold that one can obtain any idea of the character or elaboration of that extraordinary work. In a hall once belonging to the S. Chiara convent, but now used as a furniture shop, is an admirable fresco, ascribed to Giotto, of the Saviour in glory amidst saints, with another saintly group below, and baskets of loaves in the foreground—probably a mystic representation of the almsgiving of the Franciscan Order (to whom this convent still belongs), as pre-figured by the miracle of loaves and fishes. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle were, I believe, the first writers to make known the existence of this long-forgotten picture. In order to see it, I had to climb up a

ladder to a rickety scaffold, after the good man of the shop had swept away ever so much piled-up furniture for my benefit. S. Lorenzo, built from the Gothic designs of Maglione, a pupil of Nicola Pisano, has been wretchedly modernised. Its finest feature still preserved, and one rarely seen in Italian church-architecture, is a *chevet* consisting of seven chapels concentrically disposed beyond the tribune, five of which are cut off by partition-walls, left almost ruinous, and so dark that their contents can scarcely be seen, while one is encumbered with the mutilated statues of warriors, thrown on the floor from their outraged tombs! I cannot say much for another modernisation, intended to be in harmony with the original Gothic, at S. Domenico, a church of imposing aspect, and most rich in monumental sculptures of the XIV. and XV. centuries. It was re-decorated, in almost every part, 1850-3, with a profusion of colour and gilding detrimental to the severe majesty of the prevailing style.

There are few remains of primitive Christian art at Naples; none at present in satisfactory conditions. The circular baptistry adjoining S. Restituta (a separate basilica, entered from the cathedral, but much more ancient than that Anjou edifice) has a dome covered with mosaics, feebly restored in painting; some figures of saints in white robes, offering crowns, remind of the Roman and Ravenna mosaic works; others being apparently much later—perhaps XII. century. All are faded; and the building, no longer used, is left in woeful disorder and squalor. An inscription under its dome informs us that this baptistery was founded by Constantine, A.D. 343, and consecrated by S. Sylvester. That emperor died A.D. 337! It is possible that its origin may have been coeval with that of the ancient Neapolitan “Duomo,” called from its founder *Stephania*.

The catacombs of San Gennaro have not been explored

to their full extent, nor for many years worked with a view to discovery. They are said to have been re-opened in the XI. century (?), after being long forgotten, and are entered from an oratory in which the body of S. Januarius was laid in the III. century. That primitive chapel, excavated in the volcanic tufa, retains its ancient altar (hidden within a modern one), as well as the saint's episcopal chair, also cut out of the solid tufa. There are three stories of corridors; the lowest being filled with soil and with bones of victims of the plague which visited Naples 1656. On the highest story we enter a spacious church, with pilasters and flattened roof, all alike excavated. Few paintings are seen in any part of the hypogeum to which the visitor is guided: the most remarkable being a figure of the Saviour blessing (of youthful aspect, but not like the earliest type), the Madonna, a veiled matron, on the archivolt above, and the heads alone of SS. Peter and Paul, whose figures are lost. After reading published reports of these catacombs, one is disappointed with their realities; and I could recognise no indication of antiquity higher than the 7th or 8th century. The inscriptions, which are all Christian, have been placed in the epigraphic collection at the National Museum.

In the compartment of early Christian art at that Museum, are three frescoes from these catacombs, supposed of dates within the VI. century, and apparently belonging to a large composition, of the sacred Agape, or banquet united with sacramental rites.

The suppression of monasteries has led to the closing or secularising of several churches at Naples, and to the transfer of art-works from their walls to that great Museum, where they can be seen to more advantage. S. Martino, the gorgeous Carthusian church on the height of S. Elmo, is placed on the footing of a public museum, and no longer appro-

priated for any religious uses. Neither Mass nor Vespers send their incense any more from its marble altars and splendidly inlaid chapels. A soldier conducts visitors over the sacred premises; and the few monks, still allowed to inhabit here, are banished to a retreat where they celebrate their worship in a private oratory. The great monastery of S. Severino, suppressed by the French in 1797, and after the restoration inhabited, for some years anterior to 1860, by only eight or nine Benedictine monks—the principal part being then occupied as a marine college—is now converted into the Archivio of the State, a well classified collection open to students for three hours daily. Not one, indeed, of the 340 churches and chapels in Naples has, that I am aware, recently suffered through any alteration to be regretted from the æsthetic, if from the devotional, point of view. Many altar-pieces, &c. have been removed, but to be placed where they are much better seen, in the National Museum—as the finely truthful picture of S. Jerome in his Study, by Van Eyck, painted for the monks of S. Lorenzo; the beautiful group by Lo Zingaro, comprising his own portrait and that of the fair wife, to win whom he abandoned the trade of a tinker for the nobler career in which he excelled; a triptych by Luca Cranach (from S. Martino) of the Adoration of the Magi, comprising in its group portraits of Charles II., Robert the Wise, and his only son, Charles Duke of Calabria; also a very curious altar-piece presented by Joanna II. to S. Giovanni Carbonaro (removed from that church), with numerous figures in alabaster alto-relievo, divided into seven compartments, illustrating the Passion and Resurrection—many details gilt and some coloured; the general design clumsy, some parts grotesque, but the whole most valuable as a specimen of the phase of local art early in the XV. century. From the cloisters of S. Lorenzo has been removed (where to be re-erected, I am

not certain) the monument to the Admiral Ludovico Aldemoresco (ob. 1414), by Antonio Baboccio, an elaborate but over-crowded work, well exemplifying the imaginative powers and style of that sculptor and architect.

Neapolitan Art had its birth almost contemporaneously with that of central Italy, which so far surpassed it. At the origin, it was, like the Tuscan and Sieneese, earnestly religious, though less mystic and refined. The deterioration in its devotional character, which we perceive as centuries pass by, may proceed from moral causes, the inquiry into which leads us far along other walks, the range of social and ecclesiastical interests or influences. Observing the signs of superstition and vulgarized taste in Neapolitan churches, we are not surprised to find that high art has withered in such an atmosphere; and it is not unnatural that the nobler presentment of sacred subjects should be disregarded where the popular feeling demands, and priestly authorities permit, the profaning of the sanctuary by such painted dolls as would be scarcely admissible in a wax-work show at a village fair. In one much frequented church at Naples, *S. Maria della Sanità*, I have counted fourteen of these tawdry idols set up in glass cases, and surrounded with an accumulation of the usual ugly ex-votoes hung to walls and pilasters. The last degree of abuse involves the preference for what is low and trivial; and it is remarkable that the potent Church which has systematically adopted, and indeed worthily inspired, the agencies of Art, should on one hand have become responsible for its ruin!

Tommaso degli Stefani (1230-1310), a contemporary of Cimabue, is considered the founder of the local school at Naples; though national writers assert that the earliest art here known maintained its light burning even through darkest ages. They adduce, in proof, several archaic Ma-

donna-pictures still venerated in churches, and attributable to masters who flourished before the XIII. century. The above-named Stefani was much employed by Charles II, also by the principal families in this capital; and one writer tells a story in his honour similar to that of Cimabue's Madonna, and its triumphant transfer from his studio to S. Maria Novella at Florence—whence the name given to a street, "Borgo Allegrì." His best extant work is the fresco series, much faded, illustrating the Passion, in the Minutoli chapel at the cathedral. The most eminent pupil of Stefani was Filippo Tesauro (1260-1320), whose most admired paintings illustrated the life of S. Nicholas on the walls of the S. Restituta basilica,—mentioned by Lanzi as the artist's sole extant work in that writer's time, though a Virgin and Child with four Saints, now in the National Museum, is commonly attributed to him. When Giotto was invited to Naples by King Robert (about 1325), Maestro Simone (ob. 1346), became his friend and assistant in the works here undertaken by the Tuscan artist; and Simone imitated both him and Tesauro so well as to be considered by some the pupil of the former, by others that of the latter. After Giotto's departure from Naples, Simone rose into higher repute, being frequently engaged to adorn churches by King Robert or his Queen. His earliest extant work is believed to be the Madonna and Child in the chapel of S. Thomas Aquinas at S. Domenico Maggiore. Gennaro di Cola (1320-'70), studied under Maestro Simone, and is supposed to have executed the frescoes representing events in the life of Joanna I. on the walls of a chapel at the Incoronata church, which she founded; paintings which are now almost invisible, though others on the vault, scenes from the life of the Madonna, are better preserved. Maestro Stefanone (1320-'90) was another pupil of the same Simone, and in style much resembled his fellow-student

Gennaro. Both were frequently engaged together, as in the paintings illustrative of the life of the Anjou saint Louis, bishop of Toulouse, begun by Stefanone, and finished by the joint labours of the two *maestri*, at S. Lorenzo.* Simone's son, Francesco, was also among his pupils; and to him Lanzi attributes the Madonna in chiaroscuro, which he calls "lodatissima," at S. Chiara, among the few wall-paintings there saved from the whitewash preferred to art-adornments by the Spanish officials. Francesco had a scholar, Nicola Antonio, or Colantonio del Fiore (1350-1444), who surpassed him, and is said to have painted in oils so early as 1371; but little is known of him through any extant works, and one writer Di Dominici ("Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti Napolitani") doubts whether certain paintings ascribed to him may not be the works of Maestro Simone—thus tacitly confessing that Neapolitan painting had made but slight progress in the course of about a century. The fact, however, of the well directed abilities and merited fame of Del Fiore is not doubted. The greatest master of this school, up to his time, was Antonio Solario, called "Lo Zingaro" (1382-1455). I have mentioned the romantic story of his love for Colantonio's daughter, and his abandoning his first trade of itinerant tinker to study art and win its laurels, for the ulterior object of winning the fair bride, who made him happy in married life. The dates in his career determine his place among the masters of the XV. rather than the previous century. One is fully convinced of his rapid advance beyond competitors when one looks at the large picture removed from S. Antonio Abbate (a now-closed church) to the Museum; but,

* Lanzi observes, "the superior talent, resolution, and boldness of touch, giving a vivacity to his figures," in Stefanone, whom he sets much higher than Gennaro di Cola.

seeing that, among the other portraits there introduced, the Blessed Virgin on her throne is the likeness of Queen Joanna II., such departure from the high ideal, therein betrayed, is ominous for the future of sacred art at Naples.

Architecture and sculpture rose almost simultaneously, and in some instances through the energies of the same individual genius, at Naples. The first celebrated sculptor here engaged, was a contemporary of the earliest known painter of this local school. Masuccio, the first of that name, (1230-1306) built S. Giovanni Maggiore (reduced to its present form in 1685) and S. Domenico Maggiore, which still possesses grandeur, notwithstanding its modern ornamentation; also finished what Giovanni Pisano had begun, the church of S. Maria la Nuova, and the castle for royal residence called "Nuova,"—the great Pisan artist having been invited to Naples by Charles I. and begun the imposing towers of that royal castle, 1283. Masuccio had studied in Rome, and there made his first attempts as a sculptor of relievi, imitated from the antique, before being engaged on any public building at Naples, whither he returned soon after the throne had been mounted by the Anjou Charles I. Giovanni Pisano, before leaving Naples, assigned to him the completing of his own tasks; and the king was so much impressed by Masuccio's work, that he commissioned him to build the new cathedral, himself choosing one out of several designs prepared. Pietro degli Stefani, a sculptor who had been engaged together with Masuccio in exercising his art for the new cathedral, and some of whose designs—as a Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John—were executed by Masuccio himself for their place in that church, had a son known as Masuccio the second (1291-1388), from the artist who was his godfather, and became his master. He also studied at Rome, and returned to Naples, 1318, when requested by King Robert to complete the church of

S. Chiara, begun by a foreign artist, with whose performance the Neapolitan was so little pleased, that he almost swept it away, raising his own architecture on the site. The campanile which he built beside this church, is pronounced by Milizia ("Vite degli Architetti") to be his most admirable performance; it was designed with the five classic orders, but had only been carried up to the third (or second) when the building was interrupted, probably on account of the death of King Robert, nor has it ever been finished as the architect proposed. The now admired and successful Masuccio built also the monastery of S. Chiara, and another with its church, S. Croce, of the Doric order (so soon did he emancipate himself from the Gothic) by desire of the pious Queen Sancia, who there took the veil and spent the last years of her life as a Franciscan nun, after becoming a widow. The same artist executed many of the noblest monuments in Neapolitan churches, and built the original Certosa (S. Martino), *S. Giovanni a Carbonara*, and *S. Angelo a Nilo*, his last work, finished just before his death. He also completed S. Lorenzo, begun by the first Masuccio, and the S. Elmo Castle, entirely his own work, though as it now stands scarcely in any part more ancient than the XVI. century;—S. Martino, that forms so conspicuous an object near it, being a restoration of still later date. Andrea Ciccione, a scholar of the second Masuccio, united like him the genius and practice of sculpture and architecture; but as he lived till 1455, his career belongs rather to a later period than to that here considered. The Gothic style seems to have been gradually set aside in the latter years of the XIV. century; and the Roman studies of the two Masuccios may have created a predilection for the classicism which the second embodied in some of his latest undertaken buildings. Could we evoke before the mind's eye the Naples of this century, untouched

by the hands of modern restorers, uninjured by the tastes prevailing under Spanish and Bourbonic sway, we should, I believe, behold a spectacle far more ennobled than is the actual city, by the grandeur and opulence of Art under Catholic influences—undegraded by superstition and triviality.

I may ask the reader to accompany me to those churches only at Naples, where the dead repose beneath such monuments as throw solemnity even over the ecclesiastical architecture, disfigured or vulgarized by the most tasteless decoration, most conspicuous in this city. A splendid porch of florid Gothic arrests attention before we enter the cathedral (*episcopio*, as it is here called); but there could be no example of wider departure from the character or sentiment of the pointed style, though the acute arch be still retained, than the interior of this church, modernized, as we see it, first in 1788, and finally in 1837. Its adornments, its pomps, and its worship, are stamped with characteristics of modern Italian Catholicism. Among objects of XIV. century Art still recognisable, though not unaltered, are the architectural details of a few lateral chapels, and some monuments, especially that of Innocent IV., who died at Naples, 1254; this memorial having been erected, according to some writers, soon after that date, first in S. Restituta, afterwards removed from that contiguous church to the new cathedral of the Anjou Kings, 1313, and finally to its present place, after being damaged by earthquake, 1446; or else, as other writers state, erected in 1313, and from designs of the artist, Pietro Stefano, no longer living at that later date.* In the Gothic chapel of the Minutoli

* The epitaph gives this Pope the praise due to more virtues than History can fully credit him for; and winds up with an indecorous insult to the heroic and high-minded, however erring Prince, Frederick II., so often excommunicated by Innocent IV.:

Mœnia direxit, rite sibi credita rexit,
Stravit inimicum Christi, colubrem Fredericum.

family, we see the frescoes by Tommaso, brother to the same Pietro, illustrating the scenes of the Passion, now much injured by time or damp. In the nave, we must stop to admire the marble canopy of the archiepiscopal throne, graceful in design, majestic in effect, with torse columns supporting the Gothic arches—together, a work scarcely surpassed, if equalled, by any architectural example of its class in Italian churches. We must regret the destruction of the fresco-series commenced by Maestro Simone, and finished by Gennaro di Cola, illustrating the life of the Anjou Saint, Louis bishop of Toulouse, brother to King Robert, in a chapel where those paintings were undertaken by the King's order, and completed by order of Joanna; Louis having been canonized sixteen years after his death, during his royal brother's lifetime.

Nothing could more glaringly make manifest the depraved taste for ecclesiastical decoration at Naples than the manner in which the building of Masuccio has been sacrificed, and sacred antiquity travestied by modern ornament at S. Chiara, disguised, as we see it, to please the Clarisse nuns, and at the cost of 200,000 ducats, in 1752. The memory of the devout and learned King Robert, of his pious Queen, and of the sojourn of Petrarch and Boccaccio on the Parthenopeian shores, still haunts the sacred building, where so much has been done to efface the vestiges and character of that epoch. On each side of the majestic, but unfinished, campanile, is a Gothic epigraph in Latin verse,

Near this tomb is a plain pavement-slab, to the murdered Andrea, whose body was brought from Aversa, and interred here at the expense of a canon of this cathedral; and a more modern epitaph, placed by the Archbishop Pignatelli, in 1733, thus severely imputes to Joanna I. the guilt of more than complicity in the young King's death: *Andrea Caroli Marti Pannoniæ Regis F. Neapolitanor. Regi, Joannæ Uxoris dolo et lequeo necato.*

supplying comment to the annals of this church, founded 1310, and finished 1328: one inscription recording its foundation, by Robert and Sancia; another, the ample indulgences attached to this church by John XXII; another, the consecration (1340), by ten bishops and archbishops; another, the illustrious persons present at that rite.* Among other historic proceedings enacted within this church, is one that well displays the fierce antagonism between Pope and Antipope, while S. Peter's throne was disputed by the rival claims of Urban VI. and Clement VII. The Cardinal Legate, De Sangro, obliged two other Cardinals, the bishop of Teate, and a Benedictine Abbot, in presence of the King and barons assembled within these walls, to solemnly renounce the cause of Clement, declare Urban to be sole legitimate occupant of the Papal chair, and with their hands burn the red hats, the episcopal pallium, and abbatial cowl they had respectively received from Clement, whilst recognizing him as Pope. We have seen how that Cardinal Legate was rewarded with torture and strangulation in a dungeon by his tiara-crowned master! Entering S. Chiara, we obtain an imperfect view, behind a barocco high altar, of the monument of King Robert—one of the most lofty and imposing, though not most beautiful among mediæval tombs in Italy. After the architect and sculptor, Masuccio the second, had executed for this church the monument of the King's only son, Charles Duke of Calabria, the bereaved father was so much pleased with the artist's work that he ordered him to prepare a model for his,

- * Rex et Regina stant hic multis societi ;
 Ungariæ Regis generosa stirpe creatus,
 Conspicit Andreas, Calabrorum Dux veneratus ;
 Dux pia, Dux magna, Cansors huicq. Joanna,
 Neptis Regalis ; sociat soror et ipsa Maria, &c.—

in which Latinity the use of "dux," as *feminine*, is noticeable.

the King's own tomb, with design similar to the architec-
tonic altar of the Minutoli chapel, by the first Masuccio, in
the cathedral. When the model was shown to Robert, he
only objected that it was too splendid for a humble-minded
Christian Prince, as this Anjou monarch unquestionably
was. His grand-daughter Joanna, having succeeded to
him, was not a woman to be swayed by such modest scruples;
and Masuccio's design was consequently carried out: rising
in four storys, with a profusion of statues and reliefs,
gilding in many parts, and also (probably) colour, though
this has faded: numerous allegoric figures of Virtues sup-
port or flank the architectonic masses, ten such statuettes
standing under Gothic canopies along pilasters; the King
is shown to us in four portrait sculptures—at the highest
story, seated and crowned, in royal state; in a relievo, with
his Queen and five other persons (relatives?) mourning; in
a smaller relievo, as presented by patron Saints to the Virgin
and Child; again, in a statue in the round, recumbent as in
death, with crown and sceptre, but in the humble garb of a
Franciscan, which he assumed, making the regular profes-
sion of a friar of S. Francis, before the Father General of
that Order, eighteen days before his death, at the Castello
Nuovo. On the tympanum of the canopy is a relief of the
Saviour with angels. The epitaph, expressive in brevity—
Cernite Robertum regem virtute refertum—is attributed to
Petrarch.

Near this monument, in a dimly-lighted transept, stands
the other, the first wrought for this church by the same
artist—to Charles the Illustrious, Duke of Calabria, who
died at the age of thirty (1328), and is represented in a
recumbent statue under a Gothic canopy, with a relief of
the Virgin and Child, and two female Saints, columns rest-
ing on couchant lions, and statuettes of Justice, Fortitude,
Clemency, Prudence; another relievo on the sarcophagus

showing us the Duke enthroned with barons on one side, ministers on the other, all those in front kneeling to him, and the symbols of a wolf and a lamb, drinking from the same vessel, at the feet of Charles, who supports his sceptre on that vessel—to signify (v. Collenuccio, “Compendio di Storia Napolitana”) the peace and justice enjoyed under the sway of this Prince, while he held the reins of government as Vicar during his father’s absence.* King Robert founded a chapel at Jerusalem expressly for the celebration of masses on behalf of the soul of his prematurely lost son and heir.

Among other royal monuments here are those of Mary de Valois, wife of the same Duke Charles;† of Mary, his second daughter (ob. 1366), Duchess of Durazzo by her

* In this epitaph he is styled : *Justitiæ præcipuus Zelator et cultor, ac Reipublicæ strenuus Defensor* ; and said to have died, *catholicè receptis sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ omnibus Sacramentis*.

† The coarse ferocity of the manners of the time may be inferred from the story (v. Collenuccio) of this lady’s second marriage and widowhood. Count del Balzo d’Avellino was determined to obtain her hand for his eldest son, and whilst the Duchess was residing in the Castel dell’ Uovo, visited her there with his two sons and many armed retainers, under pretext of taking leave before his departure for Provence. There and then did he force her to wed his son Robert—and what took place at his bidding, in his presence, immediately afterwards, cannot be narrated. The Count then compelled the Duchess to leave the castle, and embark with him and his party for France. At Gaeta, where his galley was delayed in the harbour, King Louis, the second husband of Joanna, informed of what had passed, came on board, severely reproached Del Balzo for his political treacheries, as well as for his treatment of the Queen’s sister, ordered him to be put to death, and sent back the injured lady, with the two sons of the Count, both prisoners, to Naples. Two years afterwards (1352) the nominal wife entered the chamber where Robert del Balzo was confined in the Castel Nuovo, and, after violently upbraiding him, ordered her attendants to assassinate him in her presence, and throw his body into the sea. The corpse fell on the strand under the castle walls, where it was left for some time before being at

first marriage with the Duke Charles, put to death by the King of Hungary for supposed complicity in the murder of Andrea, and by her third marriage with Philip of Taranto, titular Empress of Constantinople, that shadowy title to the Greek empire having been first assumed in the Anjou family by Philip, Prince of Achaia and Taranto, son of Charles II., in virtue of his marriage with a daughter of Charles de Valois, who himself derived it from his wife, Catherine de Courtenai, daughter of the last titular Emperor of the Latin line once ruling in the East.* On another monument, to Agnes and Clementine, daughters of the Duchess Mary of Durazzo, the elder is also styled Empress of Constantinople, in virtue of her second marriage with

last interred. Joanna and Louis, who were residing at the castle, but absent on that day, were supposed to have consented to the deed, though they affected displeasure against the Duchess who had thus avenged herself. In her epitaph this lady is styled, *Illustris Domina Maria de Francia, Imperatrix Constantinopolitana, Ducissa Duracii*.

* This is the monument erroneously supposed to be that of Joanna I., whose body, we are distinctly told, was entombed, after being left for three days above ground, at S. Chiara, without honours, either funeral or sepulchral. Celano (*"Notizie del Bello, dell' Antico e del curioso della Citta di Napoli,"* 1692) rejects as apocryphal the epitaph said to have been placed on her reputed tomb, one part by permission of her successor, Charles III., but the rest added later, as follows :

Inclyta Parthenopes jacet hic Regina Joanna
Prima, prius felix, mox miseranda nimis,
Quem Carolo genitam, multavit Carolus alter,
Qua morte illa virum sustulit ante suum.

De Dominici admits this as authentic, but owns that before his time it had been erased ; and, in fact, no epitaph is now seen on the monument in question. The other writer, Celano, states that the body of Joanna was privately removed from S. Chiara to the town of S. Angelo on Monte Gargano, and there laid in the church of S. Francesco, founded by that queen, where it was honoured by a monument with her effigy, and the sole inscription, R. J. I can find no notice of such a monument as still extant.

Giacomo del Balzo, Prince of Taranto. The recumbent effigies on these tombs, with exception of that of the Duchess Mary, are stiff and heavy in character; the draperies like mummy-swathings. Among the relievi (very unequal) of sacred subjects accessorially introduced, the Madonna and Child with saints are most frequently seen; in rarer instances the Crucifixion, and the Dead Christ with mourners.* Among other noticeable monuments in this church, and of the same century, are two in a lateral chapel, erected to a knight and lady of the Baucia family, who both died 1370, and are represented as well by recumbent effigies as in relievi, and surrounded by their friends or relatives—the lady with a lapdog on her knees, the knight with a falcon on his wrist. This expresses the antique feeling, which looks backwards rather than forwards in selecting the imagery on the tomb. The large convent adjoining S. Chiara was built by Masuccio for both nuns and friars of the Franciscan Order, here inhabiting distinct premises, after the sisterhood in Queen Sancia's convent of S. Croce had become too numerous for that building to accommodate them. In the refectory of the friars is a large fresco, attributed to Maestro Simone, now faded and sombre in colouring: the Saviour on a rich gothic throne, attended by the Blessed Virgin and S. John the Evangelist, with SS. Francis, Anthony, Louis of Toulouse, who present to Him King Robert, his Queen, his son Duke

* I have given the hitherto-received theory as to the artists of the S. Chiara monuments; but an authority to be deferred to, Mr. Perkins, pointing out six distinct styles in the Angevine tombs here, assumes that the second Masuccio was not engaged on any of them, and attributes the monument of King Robert to two Florentine sculptors, known to us only as Saneio and Giovanni. De Dominici gives the fullest particulars respecting King Robert's monument, as a work of the second Masuccio; so also respecting that of Duke Charles.

Charles, and the wife of the latter, Mary de Valois. The nuns at S. Chiara once numbered 300 ; and though not so many when Celano wrote his "Notizie," continued to average about 200, without counting the friars, their immediate neighbours. When I visited the place in the summer of 1870, three communities of Clarisse nuns, in all 150, and a few Franciscan friars were located here, through the toleration extended to those preferring the cloistral life now abolished according to the letter of the law. The chill, dim-lit, refectory, where I found a frugal supper served for the friars, and where one of them conversed with me in a melancholy tone, seemed to indicate the change since the time of the good King Robert.

S. Domenico Maggiore adjoins the convent where S. Thomas Aquinas resided when (1272) he taught in the University then established within these walls, receiving as salary from Charles I. of Anjou, one ounce of gold (about 20 shillings) monthly—but where not a single Dominican friar now remains.* This church, still more than S. Chiara, is a museum of mediæval monuments, and also rich in later art, for here are several works by the greatest of Neapolitan sculptors, Giovanni Merliano, called, from his birthplace, Giovanni da Nola, 1478-1559. The prevailing features in the monuments of the XIV. century here seen, are such as distinguish almost all the funereal art of this school and period: the architectonic details usually Gothic; the deceased appearing in repose between the states of sleep and death; sometimes angels drawing aside curtains under the overshadowing canopy; the portrait statue, laid on the sarco-

* The church was originally dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene, and founded by Charles II. in fulfilment of a vow made during his long captivity in Aragon; that Prince having fallen into the power of the Spaniards during the war caused by the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers. S. Domenico has passed through many changes since.

phagus, being at times superseded, or accompanied, by another effigy in low relief, placed *perpendicular*, with unpleasing effect, against the wall or other surface. Such is the treatment in the otherwise fine monuments of Archbishop Brancaccio (ob. 1341), and of Joanna Brancaccio (1358), whose effigy is crowned and robed like a queen; also in that of two Counts di Aquino (1342, 1357), both thus represented in relief figures perpendicularly placed. That of Giovanni d'Aquino (ob. 1345), is a work of the second Masuccio, and surmounted by wall-paintings from the pencil of Maestro Simone—the Virgin and Child with SS. John Baptist and Anthony the Abbot; above, in lunettes, the Deity and Virgin Annunciate, placed too high to be well seen. In a transept, is the monument, (or rather sculptured memorial) of Bertrando del Balzo, by the same Masuccio, representing the deceased with other persons, who all kneel to him (!); and in the other transept, alike ill-placed, a similar memorial to the younger sons of Charles II., Philip Prince of Taranto (ob. 1332), and Giovanni Duke of Durazzo (ob. 1335), both here distinguished by being seated among several standing figures. Other noticeable tombs of this period have been transferred from different parts of the church to a passage once included in the main building, but now cut off from it, and communicating between a transept and a side entrance. In the splendid chapel of the “Crocifisso” (rather indeed a separate church, entered from the nave of S. Domenico), we see the Crucifix which is said to have spoken to S. Thomas Aquinas, whilst he was engaged on his famous work, the *Summa Theologiæ*—the picture (for such it is, and by Tommaso di Stefano) having sent forth a voice which said: “*Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma; quam ergo mercedem recipies?*” to which the ‘Angelic Doctor’ replied, “*Non aliam nisi te!*” This specimen of early art is now too much blackened by time, and concealed by gilt halos on

the three heads—Mary and S. John being seen beside the Cross—for criticism to be attempted. In the chapel of S. Thomas Aquinas, entered from that of the Crocifisso, is a Madonna and Child by Maestro Simone, of graceful and pleasing character, notwithstanding much quaintness; and in another of these side chapels, the same artist's earliest extant picture, the "Madonna della Rosa," with the Child taking milk at her breast; the Mother of that mild, delicate and youthful type, which becomes traditionary in the *later* treatment—opposed to the *earlier*—of this subject.

The architecture of the two Masuccios has been as much defaced at S. Lorenzo as elsewhere; and the studious eliminating of the earlier style from this modernized church, may be taken as the measure of distance between the mediæval and modern Catholicism of Naples. It is only in the neglected and almost ruinous chapels behind the tribune that we can picture to ourselves the true character of the olden edifice.* And here, in dim-lit obscurity, we see some monuments well worthy of better fate: the most lamentably mutilated and badly-lighted, that of the Duke Charles of Durazzo, put to death (1348) for the murder of Andrea, by order of King Louis of Hungary; this, and the memorial to the infant daughter of the same Duke, which stands near, being attributed to the second Masuccio. In another chapel are two better preserved monuments—one to Robert Count d'Artois and his wife, Joanna of Durazzo, Countess d'Eu,

* Celano tells us that this most memorable portion of the church was in the same condition in 1692, as at present: the chapels converted into lumber-rooms by the Franciscan friars, "the monuments neglected and almost ruinous." That writer mentions the numerous classic columns of Greek marble in different parts of this building, which were supposed to be remnants of the ancient municipal palace on the site of S. Lorenzo, demolished to give place for this church, and (as suspected) with intent, on the part of the first Anjou King, to suppress the liberties and forms of civic government, which had its official centre in that palace.

who both died of poison on the same day, 1387—victims, as believed, of political jealousy, excited by their ambition to ascend the royal throne ; another, to Catherine of Austria, (ob. 1323), first wife of the Duke Charles, whose tomb is at S. Chiara. The latter, the Duchess Catherine's monument, was the first work of its class executed by the same Masuccio, and greatly admired at the time : the recumbent statue lies under a canopy, on the tympanum of which is a relieve of Christ in the tomb and the two Maries ; the supporting pilasters rest on couchant lions ; the architectural design being Gothic.

Another art-work of the XIV. century in this church, is a picture by Maestro Simone of the coronation of King Robert by his brother, the canonized Louis. The King himself ordered this memorial of the event ; and we here see, no doubt in authentic portraiture, S. Louis seated, in full pontificals, with a splendid crozier in one hand, and Robert, on much smaller scale, kneeling before him while he, the saint, places the crown on his head without bending towards, or apparently paying any attention to, him. S. Louis was a Franciscan before becoming a bishop ; and this subordinating, in art-presentment, of the king to the mendicant friar, serves to illustrate the religious feeling of the times.* Not one of that religious order is now left in their former home at the S. Lorenzo convent, from the cloisters of which we enter a chapter-house, still preserved, in the olden and beautiful style of mediæval building.

A large showy church, in the most gorgeous modern

* De Dominici mentions another picture in this church by the same *Maestro*, of S. Anthony of Padua, deemed marvellous, and “ to this day held in great veneration by the faithful.” The new authorities desired to remove the altar-piece of the Coronation, but found it to be legal property attached to S. Lorenzo, and had consequently to satisfy themselves with a copy from Simone's original.

Italian style, built, as we see it, in 1620, represents that of the Franciscan convent founded by Queen Mary, daughter of Stephen, King of Hungary, wife of Charles II., and mother to King Robert, who herself retired to this sanctuary and died within its walls, 1323. The nuns, forty at the time of their recent dispersal, were all of noble birth; not one of them remains in the immense buildings, now appropriated partly as a Criminal Court, partly as prisons. Remembering late revelations of the interior life of a Neapolitan monastery for women, I looked without regret on such an example of the fatal blow to the system at this retreat of aristocratic devotions.* The foundress of *S. Maria Donna Regina* is brought before our minds by one of the most beautiful monuments of the period, executed by Masuccio the second, in the same year as that of the Austrian Duchess Catherine. It stands in the *Comunichino*, a hall for the communion of the nuns, with a grating that opens on the church, near the high altar—accessible, since the suppression, to all visitors. The pointed style is here appropriately treated; under a gothic canopy lies a beautiful statue of the Queen; a relief of SS. Peter and Paul occupies the recess above; the Virgin and Child with two saints are represented at the summit of the canopy; other reliefs adorn the sarcophagus, and angels, with symbols of virtues, support the whole. There is a chastened solemnity, a dignified repose, truly admirable in this art-work.†

Abandoned to cold neglect, sombre, damp, and disfigured by wretched modern ornaments, stands the church originally dedicated to the “*Corona di Cristo*,” subsequently

* The “*Misteri del Chiostro Napolitano*,” by the Signora Caracciolo.

† Mr. Perkins attributes it to Tino da Camaino, a pupil of Giovanni Pisano, and one of the sculptors much engaged at Naples. He flourished 1315-36.

called *S. Maria Incoronata*, and now known as simply *L'Incoronata*. Historic memories and the splendours of art should have secured better usage for this doubly consecrated building, founded by Joanna I., either to commemorate her second marriage with Louis of Taranto, or (as seems more probable) her coronation (1351) together with that Prince, performed by a Papal Legate on a stage erected against the palace formerly on this site, which building the Queen converted into a church. Such the actual edifice does not seem to be, having nothing ecclesiastical on the exterior; in the interior, nothing of the original Gothic, except the ribbed vaulting, the apse, and a chapel at one end. The monks of a great religious order were mainly responsible for the damage here suffered; and by the end of the XVII. century the wall-paintings, here numerous and most precious, were almost ruined through the Vandalic attempt to scrape off all the ultramarine blue, as well as through damp, "which (says Celano) had penetrated the walls, the monks having taken no pains to keep them dry." The building was at that time utilized by the Carthusian monks (its then owners) as a monastic hospice and residence for chaplains in the upper part, as a wine-cellar in the lower; and a deep foss cut between the outer walls and the street, by way of protection to the building, was used as a timber yard, where that article was sold for the Carthusian proprietors. It is supposed that the original edifice was a tribunal of justice, or court house, into which was incorporated the ancient *capella regis*, where the royal marriage had been celebrated, when the building was converted into a church. According to some writers, however, the whole was built from the foundations, excepting only that chapel, by the Queen's orders; and Collenuccio states, perhaps more credibly, that the original edifice was a palace built by Charles II., on the site of the ancient

Court-house, and which had become the property of the Princes of Taranto before the marriage of Louis with the Queen. In commemoration of that event an annual fête was appointed, which used to be celebrated with jousts, &c., in the street before the "Incoronata" church. Joanna also founded and amply endowed a hospice contiguous to the new church, for the above-named monks of S. Martino. It is certain that the *capella regis* was adorned with paintings by Giotto, who could not, however (as Neapolitan writers ignorantly state); have represented on those walls the nuptials of Joanna, which took place eleven years after his death, namely, 1346. Celano says, that in his time a few remains of frescoes, which he attributes to Giotto, were seen here—some figures on the vault, and certain heads, among them a portrait of Joanna, near the chapel of the "Crocifisso." We must ascend an organ-loft to see the much damaged frescoes on a vault, which are ascribed to pupils of Giotto, and may be supposed to comprise some portions of that great artist's work, if this be indeed the chapel older than the time of that Queen's reign. Criticism, however, both from Italian and English writers, now decides against the opinion which formerly gave these paintings to Giotto, whose style they remind us of, and whose reputation would not be prejudiced by them. The Seven Sacraments are the principal subjects here treated. Matrimony is the historic scene of the nuptials of Joanna and Louis; the brilliant group of courtiers in attendance, and the handsome figure of the bridegroom well preserved, that of the bride unfortunately effaced in the upper part. In Holy Orders we see the consecration of the saintly Louis, King Robert's brother, by Boniface VIII. In Extreme Unction, the death-bed (as supposed) of Louis of Taranto. In Penance, the act of confessing under a portico, the penitent kneeling before the priest, as is the

custom to this day, at least with males at confession, in Naples; other penitents, in the dark costume of some pious fraternity, submitting to the scourge. Corresponding to the picture of the Communion (one of those least injured) is the institution of the Holy Eucharist; the Saviour standing among the Apostles, and of larger scale than are their figures. The Triumph of Religion, an allegory, in which King Robert and his son, the Duke of Calabria, are introduced, clad in purple robes, and holding banners, is one of the subjects least intelligible in the present state of that picture. Altogether, this series, though so little spared by time, and so much injured through neglect, forms an interesting illustration of manners, costumes, and ceremonies in the XIV. century. In the Gothic chapel at the opposite end of this church, are frescoes by Gennaro di Cola, said to represent scenes from the life of Queen Joanna, her marriage (the subject represented on the vault) and the homage paid to her by the Carthusians for the bestowal of the hospice here founded and endowed by her. These I could not recognize, nor indeed any other intelligible grouping in the now deplorable decay of Gennaro's works; but in the spaces beside the entrance to this chapel, S. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar, and S. George subduing the Dragon, by the same artist, are still discernible. So also are the scenes from the life of the Virgin, on the vault; as well as a Madonna and Child under the organ-loft, alike ascribed to Gennaro di Cola. In the sacristy is a Crucifixion by Maestro Simone, who painted on the wall behind the high altar of this church the Dead Christ, several saints and angels, with the instruments of the Passion—now totally perished.

Other works of the early Neapolitan school are scattered over different churches, and deserving of notice. By the first Masuccio, the monument of Jacopo di Costanzo (ob.

1234) in the cathedral, and a wooden Crucifix in the Caracciolo chapel at the same church. By Pietro di Stefano: three wooden Crucifixes, one in S. Restituta, another in S. Gregorio Armeno, and another in the Carmine church—this last having, it is believed, bowed its head to avoid being struck by a cannon ball when Naples was besieged by Alfonso of Aragon, 1436. By Tommaso di Stefano: SS. Andrew and Michael in the sacristy of *S. Angelo a Nilo*, and another picture of S. Michael the Archangel—attributed, however, to Marco da Siena by some writers—over the high altar of that church. By Colantonio del Fiore: a lunette fresco (now imperfectly seen under glass), over the outer door of the same S. Angelo, representing the founder, Cardinal Brancaccio, kneeling before the Virgin and Child, with his patron saints, Michael and another. In the SS. *Annunziata*, founded by Queen Sancia, 1343, was formerly a Madonna picture by Pietro di Stefano over the high altar; but that church was burnt down, 1757, before the present edifice, modern in style and splendour, arose in its place, 1782. We must regret the disappearance of another church and convent founded by the same pious Queen, and of her monument with it—S. Croce, where Sancia used occasionally to retire from the pomps of the Court, and pass a season in meditation and prayer with the Clarisse nuns, and where she herself took the veil with vows after she had become a widow. The architecture, by the second Masuccio, was Doric—another example of the early abandonment of the mediæval style at Naples.

Other historic monuments of this and of a somewhat later period—the beginning of the XV. century—are to be seen, and well preserved, in the church of a famous and still frequented place of pilgrimage, Monte Vergine, on an Apennine height, amidst grandly romantic scenery, near

Avellino in the province of Principato Ulteriore. A classical and, at the same time, romantic origin for that name is assigned, without reference to the intelligible intent of honouring the Virgin Mother. The mountain was anciently called "mons sacra," on account of a temple of Cybele which stood on it, and attracted the thronging devotees of heathen superstition; and that name was subsequently changed to "Virgilianus," because Virgil once resided at the temple, in order to consult at leisure the oracle from which he hoped for inspirations! The impression made by the famous "Pollio" may have given rise to this legend of the great poet. The sanctuary was founded, A.D. 1119, by Guglielmo, a nobleman of Vercelli, who, in returning from a pilgrimage to Compostella, intended to set out from southern Italy for Palestine, but, after spending some time with a holy man, S. Giovanni di Matera, in Apulia, was induced to establish himself as a hermit on this mountain, because convinced that he had here beheld the Saviour of the world in a vision, and been commanded by Him to build a church, and found a community of Cœnobites on the spot. A few humble cells arose, to be in time superseded by a spacious monastery; and numerous followers placed themselves under the direction of the pilgrim from Vercelli, who died, 1142, in another of the several cloisters founded by him in different parts of Italy and Sicily. Under the government of his third successor in the headship of the new order, the Beato Roberto, the Benedictine rule was adopted by these monks, with approval of Alexander III., who canonized their founder. The church of Monte Vergine was rebuilt on larger scale by the Beato Roberto, about 1180, and consecrated by Lucius III. How many other restorations have been carried out here, may be conjectured from the present modern style of architecture. One of the Madonna pic-

tures, ascribed to S. Luke, and said by tradition to have been brought from Constantinople by Baldwin II., the last Latin emperor of the East, when he fled before the victorious entry of Michael Palæologus into the Greek capital, 1261—but which picture was, more probably, executed by order of Frederick II., about 1220—having been bestowed on this sanctuary, proved a source of great attractions to the devout.* Hence the pilgrimage at Pentecost to Monte Vergine, still joined in by multitudes of different, but especially the lower, classes from Naples and other cities far and near. The abbots of this monastery obtained episcopal powers and privileges; but for some years subsequently to 1440 their office was “in commendam,” *i. e.*, held by dignitaries not bound to residence, or necessarily belonging to any religious order.

A Cardinal of royal blood, Giovanni, son of Ferdinand I., the Aragonese King of Naples, and one of the titulars who held this abbacy on such terms, discovered under the high altar of the monastic church, 1480, the body of S. Januarius, transferred hither from Benevento, in 1156; and that Cardinal's successor in the abbacy, Cardinal Caraffa, obtained permission from Alexander VI. to remove those revered relics (1497) to the cathedral of Naples, since which proceeding the “miracle” of the Liquefaction has triennially excited the impatience, the tumults, and the raptures of devout believers in it.

* The figure, not belonging to the head of this picture, is said to have been painted by Montano d'Arezzo, by order of Prince Philip d'Anjou, son of Charles II. According to Moroni (*Dizionario*) it was bestowed on the monks by Catherine de Valois, a descendant of Baldwin II. and wife of the same Prince Philip. It is a colossal and very ugly Madonna, compared with which Cimabue's, at Florence, is loveliness itself; this of Monte Vergine being half concealed by appended ornaments and heavy crowns, three on the mother's, one on the child's head—barbarous art disfigured by superstition!

The situation of Monte Vergine on a wide plateau sheltered by precipices and dark pine-groves, overlooking the rocky descent that plunges into the solemn depths of an Apennine glen, is in the highest degree picturesque. The extensive buildings, seen from without, are only remarkable for a quaint and massive simplicity that seems to promise both the prosperities and enduring life of an olden institution. Passing through a ponderous gateway under a pointed arch, we enter a long corridor with Gothic vaulting, and thus reach the church through a portal in the same style; but the Gothic (in which probably the whole was originally built) has been banished from the interior—a large, modernized temple with showy ornaments according to the usual examples of taste and type in these southern provinces. Some fine mediæval tombs alone remind us of the far-distant Past, and of the Arts which added lustre to those times. Among these is the monument of Louis of Taranto, crowned after his marriage with Joanna, and deceased at the age of forty-two, 1362; also that of his mother Catherine de Valois, titular Empress of Constantinople—both which memorials were unfortunately damaged by earthquake, and subsequently restored, with more or less deterioration from their original character. Interesting also is the monument of Caterina Filingiera, Countess of Avellino, wife of the Grand Seneschal Caracciola who was assassinated, 1432—with recumbent effigy in nun-like dress, angels drawing aside curtains, a relieve of Christ in the tomb, four statuettes of Virtues as supporters, and a Gothic canopy, at the summit of which are statuettes of the Virgin and Child with two Saints—the sculptures, severally considered, inferior, but the composition fine, the effect impressive. Near this are two other good monuments with low relief effigies of armed knights, each bearing the name, Berteradus Vicecomes, and one with epitaph dated 1335. In a chapel of a transept is

a nameless monument, without a line engraved, or other sculpture placed upon it, except the statue of a lady, with her feet resting on a little dog—her countenance, in that affecting repose of dreamless slumber usually represented in such funereal sculptures of former time, one of the most beautiful and exquisitely finished I have ever seen in a mediæval art-work of this class. Here, too, are the monuments of the Prince Giovanni of Morea, a son of Charles II., among the benefactors of this monastery, and of Bartolomeo da Capua, a learned man, held in high esteem by that King, and his successor, Robert. The Prince of Morea is said to have presented the majestic altar canopy of white marble in different storeys, with columns diminishing towards the summit, those of the lowest storey hexagonal, inlaid with rich intarsio, and resting on lions; this having formerly stood over the high altar, with marble ambones in similar style, for the Gospel and Epistle, placed laterally to it. The ambones have disappeared; and the canopy has been removed to a chapel at the end of the right aisle.

About thirty of the community of white-robed Benedictines inhabited the Monte Vergine cloisters at the time of the recent suppression. Since the law against monastic societies has been enforced, only two monks have been resident continuously on these premises, which seem capable of accommodating at least two hundred; and those two solitary guardians remain here but twenty-four hours, successively taking their turns for this duty, and ascending to the sanctuary from another establishment of the Order, a large octagonal building of the last century, called "Loreto," where five Benedictines of the Monte Vergine congregation still reside together with their mitred abbot. The "Loreto" establishment contains a most valuable collection of codes, comprising 18,000 parchments, many diplomas, deeds, gifts, privileges, &c. conferred on the Order, 300 Papal bulls, and

200 MSS. relating to mediæval Italian history. These truly precious Archives are now consigned to the care of the monks as a recognized branch of the *Archivio Generale* at Naples.

The pilgrimage to Monte Vergine, at Pentecost, affords one of the best occasions for studying the varieties of physiognomy and peasant-costume in southern Italy. I ascended the mountain, starting before sunrise on that day (1870) from the wild little town of Marcogliano at the base. The path is steep and difficult, a rocky zigzag, the whole way ; and the sun had risen long before I came in sight of the sacred buildings. One procession of pilgrims was ascending, another (betimes at their devotions) descending ; and this meeting of two streams, amidst so much excitement and eagerness, increased fatigue by the obstacles opposed to progress. Notwithstanding such difficulties, almost the whole multitude, men and women, were on foot, perhaps one out of a hundred riding, and several, even respectably dressed people, walking bare-footed. A Neapolitan lady and gentleman, whose acquaintance I made on the way, told me that they were performing the pilgrimage on foot because the lady had made a vow thus to visit Monte Vergine. All returning from the sanctuary bore with them some devout trophy or memorial ; little coloured prints from the Greek Madonna hung to branches of trees, boughs of a fir tree, common on these mountains, called *L' Albero della Madonna* (the Madonna's tree), rosaries of hazel-nuts worn as necklaces or watch-chains ; many eagerly possess themselves of chips of rocks from a cavern, on the ascent, called *Sedia della Madonna*, where is a recess in which the Blessed Virgin is said to have appeared—or (as is not improbable) the ancient picture of her, now in the church, to have been originally placed. Here an obliging peasant bestowed upon me, unsolicited, a piece of that sacred rock, knocked off by

his strong hands. All, high and low, pressed forward to make their offerings, either tapers or ready money, before the famous image of Mary, near whose altar a priest sat at a table as Receiver General. My Neapolitan acquaintance told me he had seen between 500 and 600 francs offered during the few minutes he had stood beside that table, and that the average annual receipts here might be estimated as 30,000 francs.* Neapolitans of the artisan-class will lay by their savings weekly for this pilgrimage; and when the time arrives, club together in parties of fourteen or fifteen, hiring vehicles, and incurring the accumulative expense of 30 or 40 ducats on a journey which may last five or six days; as they sometimes visit another sanctuary, the “Madonna dell’ Arco” (at the foot of Vesuvius), and Portici, usually winding up with a *festa* at Nola, which begins on the evening of Whit Sunday, before the return to Naples. Constitutional government had been established in these States, the ancient Church had been open to attack, and all religious Orders placed under ban, Protestantism had declared itself through an Italian medium from the pulpit and the press, theological doctrines had been impugned and theological dissent allowed free utterance, for about ten years before I saw the pilgrimage to Monte Vergine; and yet such the proof of the firm hold retained by Catholicism,

* In the XVI. century, the offerings at Pentecost alone used to amount to 500 scudi, or more—all spent, we are assured, in the repairs and decorations of the sanctuary. It is forbidden either to partake of, or bring, any species of animal food within the sacred premises, and in a radius of about 500 paces around. We are told that the infringement of this prohibition has drawn down repeated and terrible chastisements, maladies, natural phenomena, &c. In 1611, the *foresteria* of the monastery was burnt down when full of pilgrims, and more than 400 lives were lost—this believed to be the manifest wrath of Heaven, because certain Neapolitans had eaten meat within those walls!

and the fascinations to the popular mind of a system that appeals to imagination and wonderfully contrives to blend pleasure with devotion, afforded by the still unchanged, picturesque, at once impressive and amusing realities of this pre-eminently attractive observance in the year I witnessed it.*

* See Tommaso Costo, "*Istoria dell' Origine del sagratissimo luogo di Montevergine*," (Venice, 1591), one of the most curious documents for the history of (Christian) superstition and image-worship that I am acquainted with.

CHAPTER V.

MONUMENTS OF THE XIV. CENTURY—*continued.*

FLORENCE AND CENTRAL ITALY.

MORE striking proof could scarcely be afforded by material and outward things of the superior effects resulting from free as compared with those from despotic institutions, than that presented by the contrasted monuments and art of Rome and Florence in the middle ages. The Tuscan city was agitated throughout almost the whole of the period here considered by civic or foreign strife, political vicissitudes, struggles of faction; yet a principle of liberty, a dignity of independence are continually manifest in the annals of the small State, which ceased not to make good its title to a high position among the powers that have influenced the civilized world. Rome taught respect for consecrated authority; Florence, respect for the rights of humanity. The territories of the latter were increasing throughout the XIV. century with a rapidity which announced a vigorous life, a high destination. She now acquired dominion by conquest, concession or purchase, over Pistoja, Prato, Arezzo, Lucca, Colle, S. Gimignano, Bibbiena, S. Miniato.

At this period her revenues, 320,000 gold florins per annum, exceeded those of the Kings of Naples, Sicily, and Aragon.* The city, divided into fifty-seven parishes, con-

* The ducat and the florin, the former named from the Dukes of Milan, the latter from the Republic of Florence, were the first gold pieces used in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, after the fall of the ancient

tained 110 churches (those in the suburbs included) among which five belonged to monks, twenty-two to friars, twenty-four to nuns.* The "Umiliati" friars, first settled here in 1239, brought to perfection the cloth manufacture, which produced annually an amount valued as 1,200,000 gold florins, and provided work for more than 30,000 persons. In 1312 Florence was beleaguered by the Emperor Henry VII., who could neither enter her gates nor obtain a single success during the month he remained with his army encamped in the plain of S. Salvi (beyond the Porta S. Croce), laying waste the environs with inglorious vindictiveness. In 1313 the *Signoria* (or civic government) was given by free act of the citizens to King Robert of Naples, to be held during five years; and in 1325 alike bestowed on the Duke of Calabria, that monarch's son. In 1315 the Florentines and their Guelfic allies suffered a crushing defeat in contest with forces commanded by Ugucione della Faggiuola, Captain of the Pisans (the Ghibelline rivals of Florence) at Montecatini, where the loss was 3000 slain and 1500 made prisoners on the Guelfic side. In 1325, Castuccio Castracane, lord of Lucca, ravaged the environs of Florence, after occupying Pistoja and Prato; "sparing neither churches nor monasteries, and causing destruction to a vast quantity of noble works of painting, which had begun to flourish marvellously in those days"—so far Ammirato (l. vi.), who adds that "the territory around Florence was at this time profusely adorned with such works." In 1343, the insolent tyranny of a foreign master, Walter de Brienne, titular Duke of Athens, whom the Florentines had first

Empire. Gibbon concludes they may be compared in weight and value to one third of the English guinea.

* The cloisters of the first class were occupied by 80; of the second by several hundreds not exactly numbered; of the third, by 500 in this century—see Villani.

elected "Captain and Conservator of the people," and finally appointed "Signore" of their city for life (8th September, 1342), led to the revolt which compelled him to abdicate on S. Anne's day, 26th July, and soon afterwards to fly, with safety guaranteed for his worthless life. It is to be noted that this tyrant of a few months attempted to win the popular favour by flatteries and vanities, pomps, spectacles, novelties in dress, licensed profligacy in manners. The revolt of the "Ciompi,"* 1378, was the most terrible outbreak of popular violence and outrage which Florence had yet suffered. It had been provoked by abuses of power on the part of the Captains in the Guelfic interest, called "Capitani di Parte Guelfo." The sacking of palaces, the burning of houses and convents, the seizure by the mob of the communal palace (*Palazzo della Signoria*), ensued. The magistrates were forced to resign, and in the result was adopted a new form of government. Michele di Lando, a wool-comber, was elected Gonfaloniere of the People," but deposed and unjustly exiled in 1382. Two *Arti* (or guilds) were added to the twenty-one already existing; and it was decreed that thenceforth the nine chief magistrates called "Priori," should be appointed four from the major, and five from the minor *Arti*. Previously, and soon after the deposition of Walter de Brienne, the government had been reformed on those essentially democratic principles which had long their highest expression and fullest accomplishment at Florence; the nobles were compelled to retire from office (September 1343), the supreme authority was vested in twelve Priors, sixteen Gonfalonieri of Companies, and a Gonfaloniere of Justice, assisted by a council of seventy-five for each of the quarters (S.

* Used in the sense both of carder, or wool comber, and mean fellow, one of the mob, &c.

Spirito, S. Piero Scheraggio, S. Maria Novella, and S. Giovanni), into which the city was now divided—each of those quarters having nine standards with their respective emblems—hence the picturesquely varied heraldry of the “Etrurian Athens,” so conspicuous to this day among the ornaments of her embattled palaces. The noble motto “Libertas,” on one of the escutcheons painted under the battlements of the grand old palace of the Signoria, was granted by the States to the “Otto di Guerra,” a magistracy created in 1376, soon after the city had been placed under interdict by Gregory XI. in consequence of the league with Bernabo Visconti of Milan against the Pontifical Government. It was on this occasion that the clergy were commanded to reopen the churches, and celebrate masses notwithstanding the Papal anathemas. In 1348 Florence was visited by the tremendous natural calamity of that plague which, in the same year, desolated all other Tuscan, and almost all other Italian cities; the mortality here being at the average of 600 per diem; and after this pestilence had raged from March to September, the population was diminished by three-fifths. In consequence of the decreased number of sculptors and architects, among whom had been many victims, the magistrates wisely ordered that thenceforth *maestri* of other states and cities should enjoy the same privileges as natives in the exercise of the Fine Arts. A fraternity of painters, placed under the protection of S. Luke, was founded here in 1350; they met for devotions in their oratory, and pledged themselves to mutual assistance and support. Thus in an age of continual strife, did Art supply a principle and bond of union.* In 1353 were ordered paintings and other embellishments

* See Ranalli, “Storia delle Belle Arti in Italia,” an interesting and spirited work.

in the stern old palace of the Podesta, built about 1250, and now known as the " Pretorio." In 1360 were resumed, after long suspense, the works of the glorious " Duomo," which was vaulted over about four years afterwards. In 1396 the magistrates ordered monuments to Dante, Petrarch, Accursio, and Boccaccio, to be erected in that cathedral—and had their decree been faithfully obeyed, England's poet would not have needed to ask at S. Croce:—

" — Where repose the all Etruscan three,
Dante, and Petrarch, and, scarce less than they,
The Bard of prose, creative spirit, he
Of the hundred tales of love?"

The subsequent history of Florence's cathedral falls within a later period. In 1376 was erected the beautiful Loggia, long misnamed " De' Lanzi," from the myrmidons of despotism, Lanzknechts, German or Swiss troops, hired by Cosimo I. who chanced to have a guard house near it. The project had been mooted so early as 1356, but the buildings were not actually undertaken till 1376, eight years after the death of Orcagna, long supposed to have been the architect. It is shewn clearly (v. Milanesi's Notes to Vasari) that Andrea di Cione could not have prepared designs for this edifice, the locality for which had not been chosen, nor the houses to be destroyed on the site yet purchased, till just before the commencement of the works. Modern research has proved that the real architects were another Cione, with the baptismal name of Benci, not of the Orcagna (Andrea's) family, and Simone Talenti, two esteemed artists who had been much engaged both by the magistrates and by the " Opera " (Board of Works) of the cathedral ; Benci, who had been associated with Fioravanti in the building of *Or San Michele*, being at this time *capo-maestro* (chief architect) to the " Opera."

In that noble Loggia we see an early example of the return to the classical type, with the round instead of the acute arch, after the comparatively long prevalence of the so-called Gothic in central Italy. The piazza, of which that portico forms the glory and the grace, was enlarged to its present dimensions, as requisite for the full assemblage of the popular comitia, in 1356; and the palace of the Signoria (now "Palazzo Vecchio"), was first isolated as we see it by order of the Duke of Athens, who resided there after he had been appointed perpetual dictator, and there suffered the last humiliation of his evil career in that abused office.

I may glance at the history of Art in Florence during the second half of the XIV. century.

Vasari mentions by name, but without giving any particulars as to their works or career, fourteen painters who flourished at Florence in this century, and all of whom held certain posts in the municipal government. Lanzi tells us that he had ascertained the existence of about a hundred Florentine artists belonging to this period, but of whom he could obtain no other information than names, dates, professions (whether painters or sculptors), and places of interment. Among painters, those still to be appreciated through their extant works were worthy of the school of Giotto, though new ideas and a new class of subjects appear in the creations of the age immediately following after that master's death. Stefano, a grandson of Giotto by one of his daughters (1301-50), is said to have far surpassed his illustrious ancestor; but his works in Florence, Rome and elsewhere, have all perished (v. Lanzi), except a Madonna in the Campo Santo at Pisa, of grand style, though now injured by retouching. Tommaso, known as Giotto (1324-68?) is said by some writers to have been the grandson, by others, the great-grandson of Giotto, and

son of the above-named Stefano. The highest praise is bestowed on him by those better qualified to appreciate him, than are we of the present day, when but few of his undoubtedly authentic works remain to attest his genius, which was, beyond question, great. Rosini designates as his extant master-piece the Vision of the Madonna to S. Bernard, now in the Belle Arti Academy. His frescoes illustrating the legend of Constantine and Pope S. Sylvester, at S. Croce, are masterly in expression and dramatic effect; and in the Art-History by Crowe and Cavalcaselle his "Deposition from the Cross," now in the Uffizi, is eulogized as surpassing all paintings of the same period, and indeed all those of the XIV. century. Taddeo Gaddi (born 1300, living in 1352) was the most intimate, the favoured, and perhaps most admired among Giotto's pupils. The frescoes in the chapel *degli Spagnuoli* at S. Maria Novella are no longer (as formerly) attributed to him; but we may appreciate him from those at S. Croce, where, both in the church and convent,* remain, well preserved, several paintings that display his skill and imagination. The most admired pupils of Taddeo were Giovanni di Milano (flourishing 1365—other dates uncertain), who certainly surpassed his master, and Jacopo Landini, called "del Casentino" (ob. 1380), who painted several frescoes at Or San Michele, among others the majestic Evangelists on the blue ground of the vault, lately rescued from whitewash.† When Taddeo Gaddi was on his deathbed, he recommended to those two distinguished pupils his youthful sons, both of whom had studied painting under their father—Giovanni, early deceased, and Angiolo, who died at the age of sixty-three, 1396. The latter was contented to imitate the manner of

* Vide "Mediæval Christianity," &c. p. 585.

† Vide same volume, p. 551.

Giotto and of his father, and did not promote any higher development of the Florentine school, though he maintained its just traditions. He spent much time at Venice, and is said to have been influential in forming the style of an artist there studying, Stefano da Verona, as well as that of his fellow-citizen at Florence, Cennino Cennini, much praised by Vasari for his colouring, who lived till 1437. Antonio Veneziano (1310-84) was, according to Vasari, a native of Venice, but according to others, a Florentine, and the pupil of Angiolo Gaddi—his surname having been given to him because he resided long at Venice, being there engaged in the Ducal palace. To him are now attributed the frescoes (formerly given to Taddeo Gaddi) on the vault of the Spagnuoli chapel above mentioned: Christ walking the waters and met by S. Peter, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit; which, if not beautiful, are interesting and characteristic of the ideas prevalent in the art-schools of the time. Gherardo Starnina (or Starna, 1354-1408?) was probably a pupil of Antonio Veneziano, and is said to have been greatly improved, in manners and temper, if not in art, by long sojourn in Spain. Lanzi calls him "a master of the gay style,"—gay, we may conclude, in the sense of vivacity or brilliancy. His many wall-paintings extant, as those lately discovered in a chapel at S. Croce, assert for him a prominent place. Highest of all are the honours due to the name of Cione; and among members of that family who left enduring reputation, one must be reverentially classed with the greatest of the great, wherever Italian art is known, and by all capable of appreciating exalted Genius. Four brothers of this family (not that of the architect Benci, who bore the same name,) were dedicated to different artistic walks: Leonardo, known as Nardo (ob. 1365), and also Jacopo, to painting; Matteo, to some lower walk of sculpture; and

Andrea, to painting, sculpture, and architecture together, in all of which his success was resplendent. From his additional name of Arcagnolo, he became known by the abridgment Orcagna (or Orgagna.) He studied under Andrea Pisano ; but his first recorded works were not in that great master's art. His progress in painting led to his engagement with his brother for adorning the tribune of S. Maria Novella with frescoes illustrating the life of the Blessed Virgin ; a series which soon perished through damp penetrating the broken roof. When Ghirlandajo painted similar subjects, the history of Mary and S. John the Baptist, on the same walls, he is said to have availed himself of much in the lost compositions by Andrea and Nardo di Cione—" *si servi assai* (says Vasari) *dell' invenzioni che v'erano dell' Orgagna.*" The brothers were soon afterwards occupied in the Strozzi chapel of the same church, where they painted the Last Judgment, Paradise, and Hell,—for the last subject taking suggestions from Dante, of whose poem we are told that Andrea was "studiosissimo." A panel-picture in distemper, over the altar there, has an inscription with the name "Andreas Cionis de Florentia," and the date 1357. Vasari, after a long eulogistic description of the frescoes in the Pisan Campo Santo, which he attributes to Andrea, but which the best critics now incline to believe were painted by Pietro Lorenzetti, tells us that the son of Cione painted a series similar in subjects and equal in merit—the Last Judgment and the Triumph of Death—at S. Croce. Those paintings were spoilt by retouching, in 1530, and have since that date totally perished. After Andrea had applied himself to architecture, the first work undoubtedly attributable to him, and in which he exercised his magnificent powers as sculptor and architect at once, is the celebrated tabernacle at *Or San Michele*, on which the date 1359 is read after his name. Vasari mentions his talents, or at least

taste, for poetry also : that " he delighted in his old age to write verses and other poems"—which, however, time has not spared. He did not live till the date given by that biographer, 1389, but till about 1368, in which year it is certain that he was prevented by his last illness from finishing a panel picture undertaken for the Consuls of a Guild. The best known scholars of Orcagna were Bernardo Nello and Giovanni Falcone, both of Pisa, Tommaso di Marco, a Florentine, and, most distinguished for powers well attested by his known works, Francesco Traini, another Pisan.

Entering that singular church, with exterior so little like a mediæval church, though indeed beautiful and magnificent with the splendours of art—*Or San Michele* (a name abridged from "orte," garden, of S. Michael), we cannot at first distinguish in the dim light that streams through the tinted glass of tracery-laden windows, the exquisite sculptures or delicately ornate architecture of the marvellous tabernacle whose dome and pinnacles almost touch the vaulted roof—that most celebrated work of Orcagna, finished in 1359, and serving to enshrine a much revered Madonna picture over an ever-illuminated altar. The artist was allowed to plan and execute his work without restriction of any kind, after he had presented several designs for the choice finally made by appointed judges. It is said that 96,000 gold florins were spent on this tabernacle, and (as seems probable) on the whole undertaking by which the building was reduced to its present condition; that amount having been supplied in offerings at the shrine of this Madonna, during the visitation of plague, 1348.* Andrea

* In the first edition of Vasari's *Lives*, the amount spent on the tabernacle is stated as 86,000, gold florins. It seems probable that the larger sum, 96,000 florins (equal to about 300,000 francs), sufficed for the costs of the entire undertaking, by which the market-place, the loggia and magazine, which was built over the arcades, 1284-1290, were

engaged his brother Nardo to assist him in the relief sculptures,* and also several artists of intaglio for the elaborate *ornato* details. After the several pieces had been finished, the whole was erected, the parts being fastened together with metal clamps so compactly that the beautiful work, architecture and sculptures combined, appears as if wrought out of a single block of white marble—fairest among offerings of Genius to record the tender devotion, the faith and fervour of pious feeling directed towards the Queen of Heaven and Mother of Mercies. No such complete illustration of the historic and legendary life of Mary had yet been produced by plastic art. On octagonal panels are represented, in delicate yet vigorous relief, her birth, her presentation as a child to the high priest, who receives her on the steps of the Temple; her Espousals, with the since oft-repeated episode of the disappointed suitors breaking their wands,

converted into a church. This ancient building was destroyed by fire in 1304. The new one was commenced in 1397, all the magistrates of Florence being present at the laying of the first stone. Sundry taxes were imposed for defraying the costs, and it was decreed that each “arte” should have its assigned pilaster, and cause to be painted thereon the effigy of its patron saint. Taddeo Gaddi is said to have been the first architect, but did not live to see the building completed. The *closing* of the arcades was not projected apparently till 1348, when the sodality of S. Michele had become enriched by pious bequests during the visitation of plague. After the death of Gaddi, the architects engaged were Benci di Cione and Neri di Fioravanti, till 1372, after which date the works were suspended till 1378; finally resumed under the architect Simone di Talenti. The paintings on the vault, recently discovered, were commenced in 1350 by Jacopo Landini, by whom are also many of the pictures of saints on the interior pilasters.

* “Attese con il suo fratello a condurre tutte le figure dell’ opera,” says Vasari; who makes repeatedly the mistake of describing Nardo di Cione as a sculptor. As the latter is known to have been a painter, we must suppose that his sole assistance was limited to some share in the designs for the relievi sculptured by his brother.

while that of Joseph is miraculously blossoming ; the Annunciation, the Angel kneeling before the destined Mother of the incarnate God ; the Nativity ; the Adoration of the Magi ; and the announcement of her proximate death made to the bereaved, but ever serene, Mother, by an Angel who bears a palm-branch, which (according to the poetic legend) was left by the celestial visitant, to be laid on the bier of Mary, and finally carried to the grave whence her glorified body was to be raised together with her stainless soul. At the rear of the tabernacle are the most complicated and largest sculptures ; the transit or funeral, and the heavenly coronation of the Virgin. Around the bier on which her body lies in the touching dignity of sanctified death, are assembled the mourning Apostles, among whom appears the Saviour Himself, blessing with one hand that lifeless mould of the unspotted soul, which, in form of a new-born infant, He clasps at the same time to His Almighty bosom. Among accessorial figures are a deacon with a censer, and a portrait of the artist, as an apostle, " old as he then was, with shaven beard, a hood muffled round his head, and with visage flat and full"—(v. Vasari) ; also a man, evidently a portrait, with a broad-brimmed hat or helmet, like that worn in Byzantine costume. Above this solemn scene is the Assumption of Mary, who rises within an elliptical nimbus, borne by floating angels, while she lets down her girdle to S. Thomas, represented below, kneeling, with well-expressed eagerness, to receive that pledge of the supernatural and invisible event he had characteristically doubted. The countenance of Mary, far from expressing exultation or rapture, is grave, even sad, in its matronly aspect. Besides these we see other smaller reliefs, on hexagonal panels, of Faith with the chalice and paten, Hope extending her eager arms towards a crown that hangs in view, and Charity giving suck to an infant, and

holding a flame in her right hand, with a crown on her head. On smaller hexagons are half-length figures of other personified virtues, Prudence, Humility, Chastity, Docility ; also several Prophets ; and along the cornices, statuettes of other prophets and apostles, each with a scroll. On each side of the marble framework, within which the holy picture is kept under a veil only removed for devotional regards, are relief figures of Angels, who either play on musical instruments, or scatter flowers in exulting homage to the “*Regina Angelorum* ;” divinely graceful and brightly joyous creatures, like a living sunshine from Paradise. Below the large composition of the Transit is the epigraph: *Andreas Cionis Pictor Florentinus Oratorii Archimagister Exiitit Hujus*, MCCCLIX.—corroborative of Vasari’s statement that this great artist used to qualify himself as a painter on his sculptured, as a sculptor on his pictorial works.

In a poem by Sacchetti, “On the Tabernacle of Or San Michele,” the work of Andrea is thus eulogized after an invocation to the Virgin :—

Ajutami ancor per quell’ ostacolo
 Ch’ io ho fatto son tredice anni al tabernacolo }
 Che passa di bellezza, s’io ben recolo,
 Tutti gli altri che son dentro del secolo.
 Con grandissima fede ogni tua storia
 S’è fatta la’ per dimostrar la gloria,
 Li miracoli tuoi, &c.*

* According to admitted dates in the legend here so nobly illustrated, the Blessed Virgin was consigned to the care of the High Priest, to be educated in the Temple (thus converted by imagination into a convent, or at least supplied with such an adjunct) at the age of three; she there passed eleven years, and was espoused to Joseph at the age of fourteen ; she received the announcement from the angel four months subsequently ; and gave birth to Christ at the age of fifteen. Benedict XIII. concludes that she died in her seventy-second year ; but as to the duration of her life, theologians have widely differed.†

The Madonna picture enshrined in this tabernacle has been the subject, and is indeed worthy, of much critical investigation—see a learned article by Signor Milanese in the *Nuova Antologia*, September 1870. The *primitive* picture on a pilaster of the market-place, which the popular notion assumed to be miraculous, though Dominican and Franciscan friars are said to have agreed to the contrary, must have perished, together with the loggia, in the fire kindled by the ferocious Neri degli Abati, prior of S. Piero Scheraggio, which, beginning at a house near this spot, destroyed 1700 palaces, towers and houses, 1304. The *second* Madonna, which replaced the lost one, when the loggia was restored in 1308, is supposed to have been painted by Ugolino da Siena, and is represented in a miniature on a code containing the register of prices at the corn-market, now in the Laurentian library. The *third*, which that miniature does not resemble, is the actual picture, by Bernardo Daddi, an artist long almost forgotten, and only two other works by whom can be identified in Florence—one in the Ognissanti convent, another (a Virgin and Child with Saints, his name, and the date 1332) at the Accademia. In few art-works of the XIV. century do we see an ideal of the blessed Mother's form so distinguished by serious sweetness and gentle, yet matronly loveliness as in this picture, which is uncovered every Saturday evening for devotions in her honour. The scale is colossal. The features of Mary have a mature character, combined with delicate regularity; the costume of both Mother and Child is simple, but the effect somewhat spoiled by gilt halos and ex-voto offerings. The Child is not seated, but supported in the Mother's arms, and holds a bulfinch in His hand. At each side are four adoring angels; their beautifully earnest and youthful faces seen in profile; the two in front with diadems in their fair hair.

Agnolo Gaddi became the head of a school of painting,

which was surpassed by the Cione family and their pupils. The most remarkable work by Agnolo at Florence is the fresco series in the choir of S. Croce, illustrating the legend of the True Cross. And the choice of such a subject reminds us that we have now to consider a new phase in the productiveness of art. Previously the biblical and evangelical sufficed for the entire range of artistic creation; next appeared the hagiographic class, the lives of saints or legends founded on known facts; finally, the more imaginative class, sometimes in defiance of history, and not even connected, or only incidentally linked, with the careers of persons known to have existed—as exemplified in this pictorial poem on the True Cross, where the story of that relic is linked with a chain of romantic incident beyond the grasp of historic inquiry; also in another theme illustrated by the same painter, the “*Sacra Cintura*,” or girdle of the Blessed Virgin.

The legend of the Cross is as follows—the chief source, from which I only attempt to draw the briefest abstract, being the “*Legenda Aurea*” of Jacopo de Voragine:—Adam, one day, weary of his labour in the fields, bade his son Seth go to the garden of Eden, the path to which he might find by the footsteps, where grass had never grown, left by his unhappy parents when they journeyed as exiles from that blissful home; and there, as his father enjoined on him, to beg of the Angel who guarded the tree of life to grant some of the oil of mercy promised by God when He thrust out the guilty pair from Paradise. Seth did as he was desired, and found the pathway; but the Angel answered that the healing oil could only be granted after 5500 years had passed since the expulsion. Instead thereof, however, he gave Seth three seeds, believed to be those of the tree whose fruit Adam and Eve had disobediently eaten, and bade him place them under the tongue of his

father after his death, which should happen on the third day subsequent to his son's return. So did it come to pass; Adam died that day, and was buried in the valley of Hebron, with the three seeds under his tongue. Out of his tomb presently sprung three saplings, which soon united into one goodly tree—symbolical of the Three Persons in One God. This tree was found by Moses; it was this which turned the bitter waters of Marah sweet; and it was with a wand from this that Moses struck the rock for the second time. The tree was again found by David, who brought it to Jerusalem, planted it in his garden, and built a wall around it. There it flourished, till Solomon ordered it to be cut down for making one of the beams of the Temple; but the workmen, in spite of all efforts, could not make it fit into its destined place, and it was therefore thrown aside, and thenceforth left long neglected. A woman, Sibylla by name (the Hebrew Church?), chanced to sit upon it; suddenly her clothes took fire, and she rose up, and prophesied that that tree would prove fatal to the Jewish nation. Those who heard her threw the tree into a stream; but the wood rose to the surface and formed a natural bridge. The Queen of Sheba, when she came to visit Solomon, was about to cross this bridge, when a vision of its future destination appeared to her, and, thus enlightened, she told Solomon that on that wood One should hang, the destined Saviour of Adam and all his posterity. And the wise king took the tree (or rather beam), covered it with gold and silver, and placed it over the gate of the Temple, where it remained till the wicked king Abijah, son of Rehoboam, stript off the precious metals, and, to conceal his thefts, ordered the beam to be buried in earth. Many years afterwards, all these events being forgotten, a well was dug over the spot where that object lay, and the waters were found to have healing virtues: it was the pool of Bethesda which

had this mysterious origin. When the time came for the Lord of Life to suffer death, the wood arose to the surface of that pool, and the Jews, seeing that it was fit for their purpose, took it and fashioned from it the cross. In the time of Constantine, that Emperor's mother made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, expressly for obtaining the True Cross and other relics of the Passion. A council of wise Jews, whom she assembled in her palace for obtaining the intelligence she sought, endeavoured to thwart her; but she found the three crosses at last, and also the nails, under the temple built by Hadrian to Venus, in mockery of the Christians, on Mount Calvary. Judas, the son of a prophet, whom the wise men had designated as able to inform the Empress, at first refused, but at last led her to this site, after he had for six days been left in a dry well to suffer starvation by Helena's order. The three crosses were all alike; that of Christ was discovered when, as suggested by the Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem, the body of a man, whose funeral procession chanced to pass, was laid on all successively, and became reanimated so soon as it touched the holy tree. Helena divided the relic into halves; one half she left at Jerusalem; the other she brought to Constantinople for her imperial son, who subdivided it, placed part in the hand of a statue of himself, and sent the rest to Rome, where a church, *S. Croce in Girusalemme*, was built expressly for depositing it. In the year 614 Chosroes, King of Persia, invaded Palestine, conquered all its provinces, and carried away that precious relic from Jerusalem. The Emperor Heraclius vindicated the honour of the Christian cause, reconquered Palestine, and invaded Persia, soon after which Chosroes was deposed and put to death by his own son; but the legend makes him die by the hand of Heraclius, after the two monarchs had fought in single combat; and because the defeated Persian refused to be bap-

tized, the Greek cut off his head. Heraclius brought back the cross to Jerusalem; he approached in royal state, on horseback, amidst attendants, but found the entrance barred to him, the gates preternaturally built up. In his dilemma an angel appeared, and reminded him that not thus had the King of Heaven entered the gates of that city. Then the Emperor shed tears, took off his crown, bared his feet, and laid aside all his robes, even to his shirt. The passage now opened before him; and thus did he restore that holiest relic, placing it over an altar. Gaddi's frescoes on this subject have been sadly damaged, and are in many parts almost invisible. The scene of the Emperor's progress with the recovered cross to Jerusalem, and that where the patients are gathered round the pool of Bethesda, may be signalized among the series.*

Another of those art-works which may be called monumental, and which indicate moral phases in the history of mind, is the series of frescoes by the Cione brothers; the Last Judgment, Paradise and Hell, in the Strozzi chapel at S. Maria Novella. The ideal of the Redeemer's aspect, here before us, is noble and beautiful; the arrangement of groups, those, namely, of the blessed, is hierarchic; the tortures of the lost are purely physical; and these hideous details, as well as the triple-headed monster, devouring a victim with each of his leonine mouths—the Satan in the centre of his infernal realm,—display the manifest influences of Dante. The last exaggeration of the worship of Mary is manifested in the honours assigned to her in the "Paradiso," where she is seated beside the Saviour as, to all appearance, His equal, alike exalted above the choirs of Angels, Prophets, Apostles; but in the Judgment, her

* As particularized by Mrs. Jameson, who gives an interesting abstract of this legend. See also the work commenced by her, and completed by Lady Eastlake, "History of our Lord in Art."

place is more appropriately chosen, far below the Almighty and Son, and kneeling in the act of intercession for sinful humanity. The angels are most graceful, and even the sorrow of the women, among the lost ones, preserves calmness. Later art prefers *nudity* for the persons of those rising to judgment on the last day ; but here we see earthly distinctions indicated in the costumes and insignia of the reanimated dead—externals that serve to imply a certain proportion between their reward or punishment, and the discharge or neglect of the duties and responsibilities proper to their several stations in life. The altar-piece in this chapel by Andrea di Cione (1357) is a fine example of his manner : Christ, enthroned among saints, is giving the keys to S. Peter, and a book to S. Dominick. On the predella is the legend of the contest between S. Michael and the Demons for the soul of the Emperor Henry II., whose deeds are weighed in a pair of scales by the Archangel, and who is at last saved by the interposition of S. Laurence, to whose churches he had been liberal.* Among accessorial wall-paintings here, the Saints and Doctors, especially the S. Dominick, on pilasters, are finely individualized. Another note-worthy picture by Orcagna is the S. Zanobi blessing, with SS. Eugenius and Crescentius, and two miracles of the sainted bishop on the predella, now hung against a pilaster in the cathedral.

S. Croce is a veritable sacred museum both of earlier and later Catholic art. The most valuable ancient frescoes in the lateral chapels are of dates anterior to the period here

* A more complete illustration of this curious legend—the moral of which sets forth the extremely easy conditions of eternal salvation offered to devout royalty—is seen in the quaint wall-paintings of the XIII. century, all retouched a few years ago, in the atrium of the Roman basilica, S. Lorenzo beyond the walls ; described in the volume to which the present is a sequel, p. 429.

considered. We may enter the Rinuccini chapel from the great sacristy (itself like an art-adorned and stately church), to observe the complicated composition formerly attributed to Taddeo Gaddi, but now to Giovanni di Milano, illustrating the lives and legends of the Blessed Virgin and Mary Magdalen. Many of these frescoes are admirable, dramatic, truthful; and I might particularize the meeting between the Virgin's parents before her birth, the Raising of Lazarus (though somewhat fantastic), and the scene on the desolate island, where the pious Prince of Marseilles, converted by Mary Magdalen and Martha, finds the wife whom he mourned as dead, and the infant he had left with her in despair, still living, on his voyage back from Palestine—the pilgrimage on which the Prince's wife had born her child, and died, or seemed to die at sea, though both were destined to survive, for the husband and father's consolation, through the powerful intercession of the sister Saints.* Not long ago were rescued from whitewash the frescoes attributed to Starnina in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, also at S. Croce,—lamentably damaged; the few that can still be discerned (at least in the state in which I saw them) being the four Evangelists and four Doctors on the vault, and on

* The legend of Magdalen, Martha, and Lazarus, describes their voyage to Marseilles in a bark guided by invisible hands, and into which the persecuting Jews had put them, intending their destruction; their preaching and the conversions they wrought at Marseilles; the pilgrimage of the Prince who, after embracing the faith, desired to know S. Peter, and to visit the holy places in Jerusalem; the rescue of his wife, and of the child abandoned by him, with its dead mother, on the island, because deprived of sustenance by that mother's death at sea; the final conversion of the entire province of Marseilles, and the retirement of Mary to a desert where she passed thirty years in austerities and extasies, daily visited by angels, and daily raised by them from earth so far heavenward as to hear the songs of the blessed in Paradise. (v. *Il Libro di Lazero, e Martha e Magdalena*, XV. century.)

the walls the Baptism of Christ, the vision of the woman and child saved from the dragon in the Apocalypse: and, from the legend of S. Nicholas, the resuscitation of the three children who had been killed and pickled, to be served up as food, by the wicked host of an inn where the holy bishop arrived in time to save them. The talent of Gerini (an able artist of this period) may be estimated from two wall paintings of the Crucifixion in the sacristies of S. Croce and the Ognissanti church; that in the latter place, where two monks stand beside the cross, together with Mary and S. John, and Angels are collecting the blood in chalices, the Divine Victim being apparently dead, a powerful and pathetic presentiment of the subject. From the sacristy of the Carmine church we enter a chapel surrounded by frescoes long hidden under whitewash, representing the legend of S. Cecilia in several scenes, and attributed to Spinello Spinelli of Arezzo (1308-1400), by no means among his best works, if indeed by his hand; and far surpassed by other wall-paintings, undoubtedly of this master: the life and legend of S. Benedict in the sacristy of S. Miniato—a series curiously illustrative of mediæval ideas as well as of the idealized biography of that great Saint. The notion of the continual intervention of fiends, to thwart or counteract the purposes and influences of holy men, is, we may say, the key-note to the whole conception of the theme here undertaken.

The genius of sculpture at this period, in the Tuscan School, is indeed luminously asserted by Andrea di Cione; but besides his above-mentioned works, there are comparatively few at Florence, of date between 1350 and 1400, that can vie with the magnificent performances of this school earlier in the same century. Exception must be made in favour of the group of the Virgin and Child, with two angels, finished in 1364 by Alberto di Arnolfo, one of the

architects of the Duomo. This is now visible from the street, over the altar of the Gothic chapel in the Bigallo hospital; a majestic ideal of Mary, who is not only regal, but almost severe in the dignity here distinguishing her. Another sculpture of superior merit is the series of reliefs round the hexagonal font in the baptistery, representing six administrations of the sacrament, attributed to Andrea Pisano, but which must be by a later artist, if the date here inscribed, 1370, refer to the sculptures, and not to the time when this beautiful font was presented by the Consuls of one of the "Arti."* Grandeur and suitable expression distinguish the colossal reliefs of six personified Virtues, all seated, on the attic of the Loggia, still called (though erroneously) after Orcagna: they are supplied with large solemn wings; Fortitude holds a club and shield; Hope has her arms raised towards a crown; Faith holds the cross and chalice; Charity (as on Orcagna's tabernacle) holds a flame whilst she gives suck to an infant; the others have their usual emblems. The designs for all these figures were made by Angiolo Gaddi in 1382. The Faith, Hope, and Charity, were executed by Jacopo di Piero; the Fortitude and Temperance by Giovanni Fetti; the Justice is the work of Giovanni d'Ambrogio. In the cathedral is a statue, sculptured about 1384, by Niccolò Lamberti, known as Niccolò di Piero, of Arezzo, who lived till rather late in the next century—the S. Mark, namely, one of the four Evangelists originally placed near the chief entrance on the façade, but now in four chapels lateral to the tribune, so dimly lighted that none of these statues can be seen in a manner satisfactory. By the same Aretime artist is a group

* Explained by the epigraphs below the several subjects: *Sacerdos baptizat pueros; Christus baptizat Apostolos; Christus baptizat Johannem; Johannes baptizat Christum; Johannes baptizat populum; Sylvester baptizat Constantinum.*

of statuette size, the Annunciation, over the pinnacle of one of the canopies, now occupied by noble sculptures, exterior to Or San Michele. It is difficult to coincide with Vasari in his exalted praises of this work by Niccolò Lamberti.

In the Carmine church we are reminded of one of those holy men who vindicate the honour of Italian Catholicism, and who cannot be forgotten in the ecclesiastical history of this period at Florence. A splendid chapel in that church is adorned with reliefs by Foggini, admirable for spirited design and finish, though with the usual faults of the seventeenth century school, the subjects taken from the life of a sainted Bishop: his first mass, his ascent to heaven, his appearance, hovering above the battle-field, to secure victory to the Florentines in war with the Milanese. Andrea Corsini (1302-1373) of patrician birth, entered the Carmelite order in early life, completed his studies at Avignon, and was elected Bishop of Fiesole, 1360. In that office he set an example of self-devoting zeal and ascetic piety. His impressive eloquence as a preacher, obtained for him the title of "the second Apostle of his native place." Sent as Legate to Bologna by Urban V., at a time when that city was agitated by a faction in the interest of the Visconti, he was persecuted, insulted, imprisoned, but at last succeeded in reconciling antagonists, and inducing them to make peace, after he had assembled them in a church.* Long after his death, the magistrates had recourse to his prayers when the state was invaded (1440) by Nicolo Piccinino at the head of the troops of Filippo Maria Visconti. It was said, while the panic or excitement of war was at its height in Florence, that a noble youth of this city twice saw the holy Bishop issue from his tomb in the Carmine,

* Prezzolini, "Storia Religiosa del Popolo Fiorentino."

and glide into the nave to pray before a crucifix hung to a pilaster; that on the second occasion the phantom had spoken to the awe-struck youth, enjoining on him to assure the local authorities that the God of Hosts, who had delivered Israel from Pharaoh, would not fail at this emergency to protect a people faithful to Him as were the truly Catholic Florentines (who, we must remember, were then of the Guelfic party, and in strict alliance with the Pope), and would cause the invader to be discomfited; that they (the Florentines) should join battle on S. Peter's day following, certain of victory through the intercession of celestial patrons. The battle of Anghiari was fought on the 29th June, 1440, and the Milanese under Piccinino were totally routed by the Tuscan forces commanded by Michelotto Attendolo. Solemn thanksgivings were offered in the Carmine, Pope Eugenius IV. (then resident in Florence) and all the magistrates attending; and during these ceremonies the body of Andrea Corsini—not yet canonized—lay exposed on a rich catafalque in the nave.*

In the immediate environs of the late Italian capital, we find much that tells of the genius of the XIV. century. A few miles from the gates, on the northern side, stands the picturesque Certosa, which, on the isolated height of Montaguto, amidst the fertile valley watered by the Emo, looks like a neat village clustering around its mother church, and sheltered by the lofty walls of a Gothic palace. It was founded, 1341, by Niccolo Acciajusli, a Florentine patrician, who obtained high office in the Neapolitan kingdom, and was Seneschal to Queen Joanna. The architecture of this building is generally attributed to Orcagna, though Vasari describes it as designed by different masters, the contempo-

* Richa, "Chiese Fiorentine." It was in 1629 that Bishop Corsini was canonized by Urban VIII.

raries of Andrea Cione. No architect is named in the letters of the Seneschal to his brother Jacopo, referring to this foundation (v. Gayet, "Carteggio inedito," &c.) Ricci observes ("Storia dell' Architettura") that the building has "passed through so many and such different phases since the period of its construction, that it is impossible to distinguish in it any clear traces of its ancient character." The Seneschal founded also on these premises a college where fifty students were to be maintained, and to be instructed in Theology, Philosophy, Canon Law, by three professors of the monastic Order; but, whatever the obstacles, this excellent institution, though endowed and supplied with a library, was never brought into activity, and the buildings remain an unfinished pile of semi-Gothic architecture, majestic in premature decay, though long appropriated to vulgar uses. Two chapels arose, adjoining and opening on the original buildings, in 1388 and 1391; and in 1394 the whole edifice was consecrated, under dedication to S. Laurence, by the Florentine bishop. Soon afterwards another chapel, in form of a Greek cross, and like a distinct church, was founded by Cardinal Acciajuoli, Vice-Chancellor of Rome, and for a time Regent of Naples during the minority of Ladislaus. No fewer than 112 artists were engaged on these premises during five successive centuries; but the sanctuary, once so richly endowed with wealth, artistic and other, has been several times despoiled. In 1799, silver ornaments, images, &c. of the weight of 580lbs. were removed from the Chapel of Relics to be melted down in the Florentine mint; and in 1808, as many as 508 pictures, besides other art-works, were carried away from this forlorn Certosa. At the time of the suppression under French sway, this establishment possessed eighty-three farms and estates, valued by the commissioners sent to investigate at 4,600,000 francs. The bounteous stream of monastic cha-

rities was commensurate to those ample means. The poor were daily relieved at these gates ; and every year a hundred of those in need were clothed out of a fund at the disposal of the monks. When the recent law against monasteries was enforced, these monks held not more than five farms, besides the grounds amidst which their buildings stood, and were a community of about thirty persons.

Among the paintings still left in the Certosa, one of the most beautiful is also one of the earliest : the Holy Trinity, a panel-picture ascribed to Giotto (but perhaps of a more advanced school), conceived as that subject often is in the XIV and XV centuries : the Father and Son of the same age and almost identical in type ; the First Person supporting the Second, who is seen on the cross ; the Dove hovering between them. In a spacious crypt is the monument of Acciajuoli, attributed to Orcagna, and certainly worthy of that great artist. The Seneschal died at Naples, aged fifty-six, 1366. His effigy, full armed, and with countenance finely individual, is laid on a lofty couch under a rich marble canopy : the effect enhanced by its partial concealment behind the colonnettes of a graceful arcade carried along the summit of the sarcophagus. In the epitaph occurs the singular phrase, "*liber, Olympum mente petit ;*" and under a sculptured escutcheon, the motto, "*Contempsit omnia ille que mortem prius.*"* On the pavement near are

* The life of Niccolo Acciajuoli, in Latin, by Matteo Palmieri, is edited by Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.* T. xiii. It presents a model of the haughty virtues, the munificent piety, and impetuous but devout spirit of the age ; and one looks with interest on his sculptured form and finely expressive head, when remembering the acts of his career. He was instrumental in bringing about the marriage of Queen Joanna with Louis of Taranto, Acciajuoli having been guardian to the widowed Princess of Taranto's children. He proved one of the most valiant partisans of the Queen in defending the Anjou dynasty against the hostilities of the King of Hungary. He founded churches and monasteries in various

the horizontal tombs with low-relief effigies, remarkable for costume,* of the father, of the son, and the sister of the Seneschal, the first having been vicar of King Robert at Prato; the third, Lassa, married to one of the Buondelmonte family; the second, Lorenzo, a young man who died before his father, and was interred here with such pomp, that the funeral convoy, rites, &c. involved a cost (v. Villari) of 5000 gold florins.

The *foresteria* of this monastery afforded hospitality to two exiled Popes in like misfortune, and alike the victims of French invasion: to Pius VI. during ten months (1798-1799) and to Pius VII. for a single night (1809); see the affecting narrative of the latter Pontiff's trials by Cardinal Pacca.

A few miles from the Certosa, high among the cultured hills, we reach the village of L'Impruneta, with a large church famous among sanctuaries of the Madonna, because containing a revered picture which used, at great emergencies, to be brought with much processional pomp into Florence. This hangs over an altar of silver covered with

lands, one monastery for twelve inmates in Greece; ordered the celebration of annual rites and "immense largess of alms" for the souls of his father and mother; made provision for having one hundred poor persons annually clothed; bestowed on the Certosa of his foundation sacerdotal vestments of silk and gold, sacramental vessels of solid gold and silver, also altar pallia adorned with needlework and gold, pearls and gems. During his last illness he engaged priests to say thirty masses for his benefit every day, and ordered twelve poor to be daily fed, besides the alms of a silver coin for each. In his testament he provided that a hundred masses should be celebrated for his soul daily during the first year after his death, with a perpetual alms-giving in prescribed amount. *Requiescat in pace!*

* The splendours of toilet in which the pious Seneschal indulged, are described by Palmieri, "Diebus vero festis et in solemnitatibus ac pompis publicis vestem induebat sericam, duplice pluma, auroque intextam, et coloribus interdum variis et bis tinctam."

relievi, the costly offering of some Medici Grand Duke.* Neither that Madonna nor her altar need be noticed here ; and we may pass at once into the presence of a much more precious art-work, originally placed over the high altar of this church, but now unsuitably banished to the sacristy : a panel picture, in a splendid Gothic frame, divided into twenty-eight compartments and three storys, with surmounting pinnacles ; in the centre the Virgin and Child with adoring angels ; laterally, the twelve Apostles ; in the upper part, the life of Mary from her birth to her assumption ; on the chief pinnacle, her coronation ; and on the predella, the legend of Joachim and Anna ; numerous miniature figures of saints filling the subordinate spaces. A devotional inscription at the basement gives the date 1374, but no artist's name. That of Giovanni di Milano is conjectured, the evidences of style and execution being the sole foundation on which to build in this case ; and the opulence of imagination, the feeling and power manifest in this elaborate picture, entitle it to rank high among master-pieces of the period indicated.† It may class with Orcagna's tabernacle as proof of the complete acceptance and eminent popularity of the legendary, as well as historic, traditions respecting the Virgin Mother.

The Cathedral of Prato, which was rebuilt and enlarged

* "To *this* Mother of God (says Segni, v. i. l. 1.) our city (Florence) has never publicly applied in vain, at whatever extremity of distress. It is no slight or vain thing I am here affirming ; for in time of drought she has ever sent rain ; in periods of flood she has brought back fine weather for us ; from pestilence she has withdrawn the poison ; and for every most grievous ill she has found the appropriate remedy."

† Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle assign this picture to the school of Niccolo and Lorenzo Gerini, father and son, paintings by the latter of whom we have seen at Florence. The date seemed to me clear ; but those able writers and critics report it as doubtful, giving the end of the inscription thus : *Anno Domini millesimo, CCCLXX . . . v.*

from the designs of Giovanni Pisano, 1312-1356, contains a beautiful chapel built to receive the most famous relic in this church, the *sacro cingolo*, or *sacra cintura*, supposed to be the girdle of the Madonna, the same which she bestowed, before ascending to heaven, on the incredulous S. Thomas. According to the legend, this object passed into the hands of a Greek priest, who gave it as sole dowry to his daughter on her marriage with a merchant of Prato—then, as now, an industrious little town—about A.D. 1141. That merchant, whose name was Michele di Dagomari, after he had finished his commercial expedition in the East, brought the relic with his bride to his native place. Every night he used to place the holy girdle in a coffer under his bed; but sadly was his rest disturbed by this proximity, for, invariably as he made such arrangement, he found himself removed from his bed and laid on the floor by invisible (of course angelic) hands! On his death-bed he bequeathed the relic to a parish-priest of Prato, on condition that it should ever be kept in that city. It was carried with due honours to the cathedral, and there, after a sacrilegious attempt to steal it, was enshrined, 1395, in a splendid chapel built to receive this treasure.* About 1365-1367, the legend of the girdle, and scenes from the history of the Blessed Virgin and her parents were painted on the walls of this church, the former (if not all) by Agnolo Gaddi. In this instance, as in the illustration by the same master of the legend of the True Cross, we see exemplified the widening range gradually opened for Art by devout imagi-

* "In process of time, this illustrious relic having been carried to Constantinople, the office of the *Cintura* of the Blessed Virgin began to be celebrated in the Greek calendar on the 21st August, and its translation on the 2nd July. S. Augustine, and his mother, S. Monica, were most devout towards it (the girdle); and on that account were instituted, in the churches of Augustinian Religious, the *Congregations of the Girdle*." —(Moroni, "Dizionario," article *Cintura*.)

nation through the admission of subjects neither associated with biography nor resting on any historical basis. The series illustrating the legend of the Girdle, comprises the marriage of the merchant, and the transfer of that sacred object to his hands by his father-in-law ; the arrival of the happy pair at Prato, which (with amusing artistic license) is here converted into a sea-port town ; the angels removing the merchant from his bed ; Michele's death, and the procession of the relic to the cathedral. The scenes from the life of Mary comprise the meeting of Joachim and Anna before her birth, that event itself, the Virgin's reception by the High Priest in the Temple, her Espousals, Assumption, and Coronation, with the episode of the bestowal of the Girdle on S. Thomas ; also, by the same artist, the Saviour blessing, in a lunette ; the twelve Apostles on a vault, the four Doctors and four Evangelists. It is not certain that *all* these paintings are by Agnolo Gaddi ; and modern critics refer the principal scenes from the legend of Mary to Gherardo Starnina ; the continuation of the series on these walls, including two *storie* of S. Stephen—his appearance before the Sanhedrim and his martyrdom—to Antonio Vite ; the allegoric figures of Virtue, on the vault, to the same artist, who probably lived till about 1428. Whatever be the authorship, the scenes from the legend of Joachim and Anna, and several of those forming a sequel, are fine compositions, in the style of the later Giottesque school ; those attributable to Antonio Vite being inferior.* All are surpassed by the other frescoes in the choir of this cathedral, the work of Filippo Lippi, which belong to a later period.

* "Of all these frescoes, three, namely, the marriage of the Virgin, the stoning of Stephen, and the wail over his body, the whole of the painted frames and medallions, are by a rude painter, of the rise of the 15th century."—Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "History of Painting in Italy," vol. 1, chap. xxiii.

The Prato Duomo is of some importance in the history of Italian architecture ; its campanile, built by Niccolo di Cecco, is imposing ; its façade is of an earlier Tuscan style than the date, 1356, might lead one to expect. The designs of Giovanni Pisano were strictly carried out, though he did not live to see this edifice completed.

The *sacra cintola* is still exhibited on solemn occasions by the Bishop of Pistoja and Prato from a beautiful sculptured pulpit, the work of Donatello, at an angle of the façade of this cathedral. How learned and pious ecclesiastics, the mitred pastors and doctors of the Church, can give their sanction to the belief and devotion directed towards such objects, it is indeed difficult to explain, or account for charitably. One enlightened Prelate, Scipione de' Ricci, bishop of the united dioceses above named, had intelligence to perceive and courage to oppose the rankling evil. But his attempts to repress superstitious practices and bring about a disciplinary reform within his ecclesiastical sphere, were premature, unsupported by popular feeling, opposed by ignorance, reprobated by high authorities, and therefore transitory. The mere report that he intended to remove the relic in question with its altar, gave rise to a tumult (1787), which assumed formidable aspects, and called for the intervention of troops from Florence. The "Pratesi" populace rose, furious and fanatical, armed with hatchets and clubs ; took possession of, and guarded for a whole night, the shrine of their Palladium, burnt the episcopal throne and escutcheon, also the registers and devotional books published with their bishop's sanction, and disinterred certain spurious relics which he had wisely ordered to be buried. In the event, all the reforming measures of Ricci were condemned by Rome, and totally cancelled. The loss of his mitre, and retirement into obscurity were the rewards assigned to the virtuous Prelate who had

attempted more than his age was ready to appreciate, or his people to understand.*

The mediæval sculptures and fine old churches which may induce us to linger in one of the pleasantest among the less frequented Italian cities, Pistoja, pertain mostly to the 13th and earlier years of the next century. What falls within the limits of my present theme is less interesting—for instance, an archaic and clumsy statue of S. Paul (1350) on the front of the church dedicated to that Apostle; and in the chapter-house of S. Francesco, a series of frescoes begun by Puccio Capanna and finished by Antonio Vite, the Pistojan artist of the latter half of this century, whose works we have seen at Prato. To this same Antonio are attributed some of the paintings at *S. Antonio Abate*, a church now desecrated and reduced to a private house, on the Piazza S. Dominico, where the Saviour in glory, the creation of Adam and Eve, scenes from the Evangelic history, and from the legend of S. Anthony, are feeble works, probably by different hands, and of about the same period. I have elsewhere noticed the magnificent specimen of metalurgy—the altar and tabernacle of S. James, entirely of silver and adorned with a multitude of reliefs and statuettes—which, forming the special treasure of the cathedral, was begun by Jacopo Ognabene, a Pistojan goldsmith, in 1316, and finished through the labours of several renowned sculptors, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Donatello, in the

* A Synod convoked by Bishop Ricci at Pistoja, 1786, passed decrees and enunciated principles which called down severe reproach from the Vatican. Pius VI. in 1794, condemned five of the synodical propositions as heretical, seventy others as schismatical, scandalous, dangerous. Yet that Pontiff was, undoubtedly, a man of cultivated mind and pure life, with good intentions. The fate reserved for those

“Who wage contention with their time’s decay—”

is exemplified, with a mournful lesson, in the history of Scipione de’ Ricci.

XV century.* The Communal Palace of this city, founded 1294, and developed into its present form 1395, is a characteristic example of the mediæval civic architecture of Italy, and one of many buildings that seem like types of the haughty defiant temper of those municipal governments whose annals present the romantic aspect of Italian history. In one of its vast halls we see the chiselled and beautifully inlaid fronts of the ancient ambones of the cathedral, which were found, some years ago, buried below the modern pavement of that church. The "Pretorio," formerly palace of the Podesta (1366-1377), opposite to the other official palace, is alike characterized by gloomy grandeur, its *cor-tile* with each of the four sides occupied by a single archway of a ponderous portico, the walls above which are covered with the painted heraldic shields of Prætors and Podestas.

The town of S. Gemignano, conspicuous for its lofty mediæval towers, visible long before we approach its walls, is like an abstract of the Italian Middle Ages, scarcely breathed upon by the spirit of innovation or improvement. It once contained, with a population of only about 2000, no fewer than thirty-six churches, several of which now stand in ruins, and twenty-two convents, all now suppressed except those of certain nuns and one of Capuchin friars. Its high dusky towers were formerly twenty-five, but are now reduced to thirteen in number. By moonlight its

* I have purposely omitted all reference to another work of the same class, the silver *dosale* (reredos) of S. John the Baptist, which is placed over the altar of the Florence Baptistery for that Saint's festival—because this superb piece of metallurgy, though commenced in 1366, was not finished till 1480, and, alike with the Pistoian shrine, by the united labours of almost all the sculptors most distinguished in the intermediate period. Such works are generally appropriated in the Italian Church to the honours of Saints revered as local Patrons.

quaint narrow streets crossed by ponderous arches, and massive buildings of dark brickwork have an effect absolutely awe-striking. In the large collegiate church we see the most important paintings by Berna di Siena, who is little known out of Tuscany, and whose labours in this church were interrupted by his death, 1380, caused by a fall from the scaffold where he was at work ; after which event the series, twenty pictures in all, was finished by his scholar Giovanni d'Asciano. A vigorous treatment, but no highly refined or profound feeling, distinguishes these pictures, which illustrate the principal events of the New Testament down to the Crucifixion—this last left incomplete owing to Berna's death. On the opposite wall is a corresponding series of Old Testament subjects, by Bartolo Fredi, a Siennese (born about 1330, died 1410), who executed these frescoes in 1356.* In the scenes of the Creation the Deity is represented as God the Son, conformably with the more spiritual as well as orthodox, conception generally admitted by earlier, but unfortunately forgotten by later Art. The first of these subjects, which may be described as the evoking of order out of chaos, is most curiously treated : the Creator, attired in long robes and holding a sceptre, is seated, tranquilly omnipotent, before an immense blue disk divided into many concentric circles, within which are the heavenly bodies, the starry firmament, and in the centre of which is the earth, a chaotic uninhabitable globe, compared to which all other orbs, suns and systems, are diminutive and subordinate. A much greater artist, Taddeo Bartoli, erroneously supposed to have been the son of Fredi, painted on these walls a "Paradise" and "Inferno," much damaged,

* Vasari gives the inscription with his name and that date, formerly here, but now absent. There are twenty-four pieces in this series, but the last is almost effaced : the last *visible* being a scene from the story of Job. These frescoes were restored, 1745, by a Florentine artist.

the latter picture, in which Lucifer occupies the upper space, being one of those hideously offensive embodiments of the mediæval notion respecting eternal punishment which calls forth just reproof from the learned historian of this town, Canon Pecori, who is indignant at the indecencies here admitted.* One cannot doubt that the familiar exhibition of such horrors of torture and demoniac monstrosity had the effect of hardening the heart, and may have added to the ranks of the reprobate rather than to those of the blessed. The fiercest persecutions against heresy, and the most cruel modes of inflicting pain and death in judicial procedure were practised at the time such representations prevailed among art subjects and on church walls. Other paintings by Taddeo Bartoli, figures of Prophets and Apostles, are in the collegiate church; also in the great hall of the Palazzo Pubblico, in this town, S. Geminianus blessing with a model of the same town in his hand, and four *storie* from his life on lateral panels.† At *S. Agostino* are some frescoes by Bartolo Fredi, lately rescued from whitewash: the Birth and Transit of the Virgin, with the usual introduction of

* The inscription beneath, *Thadeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hęc capellā* has a date which has been read 1393, but seems doubtful. This artist, the first representative of the school which flourished at Siena in the latter years of the XIV and earlier of the next century, was born about 1362, at that city, being the son of Bartolo di Mino, a barber; and died 1422.

† S. Geminianus was bishop of Modena, about A.D. 450, and is Patron Saint of that city. The Tuscan town is said to have been called after him in consequence of its delivery from Attila by a radiant vision of the holy Prelate above one of its gates, at sight of which the fierce conqueror and his Huns retreated in dismay; or else to have been so named, when placed under that Saint's protection, by Narses after a relic of Geminianus had been brought hither from Modena. The original name was Sylvia, from the founder Sylvius, a Roman patrician who was concerned in the conspiracy of Catiline.—Pecori, "*Storia di S. Gimignano.*"

the Saviour receiving the Soul in form of an infant. The only sculpture of this period at S. Gimignano is a relief of the Baptism of Christ, angels attending and a hand issuing from clouds, to indicate the presence of the Father, on the font of the collegiate church—the sole known work by its artist, Giovanni Cecchi of Siena, dated 1379.

Ever since the revival of sculpture in the XIII century at Pisa, that city continued to be a centre of attractions, though no native school of celebrity in painting appeared there. Artists were engaged to adorn the Campo Santo so early as the year 1299; and we read of one Nuccerus who painted a Madonna and Child over one of the gates of that cemetery in 1301. But the record-books mention no other pictorial works within its walls till 1370, when six artists were engaged here, one a Pisan named Pietro di Cecco, several altar-pieces by whom are extant. The majestic and graceful architecture of the Campo Santo accords with the dedication and memories of the spot. Here we feel at once the spells of genius and the solemnity of hallowed ground—fit home of the illustrious dead—

Dov' é silenzio e tenebre
La gloria che passò.*

He who has lingered alone and by twilight under these lofty arcades, when the paintings on the storied walls become like dim-seen phantoms hovering around the sculptured tombs, will not forget the impressions of the hour and scene.

Many errors respecting the origin of the frescoes on these walls have been corrected by recent research. The subjects from the Genesis, and the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension, formerly ascribed to Buffalmacco, are now attributed to a comparatively obscure painter and mosaist of

* Manzoni, "Cinque Maggio."

Orvieto, Pietro di Puccio, employed here in 1390. The subjects from the history of Job (much damaged), which all critics used to assign to Giotto, are shown from entries in the register to be by Francesco da Volterra, commenced in 1371 by that long almost forgotten artist who is first mentioned under date 1346, when he executed an altarpiece for the Duomo. The much faded but still very interesting *storie* of the Beato Ranieri are now known to be by Andrea of Florence, who commenced this series in 1377, and Antonio Veneziano, who completed it in 1386; another artist, Bernabo da Modena, having been employed to continue the unfinished work in 1380. Priority of date may be assigned, among all the frescoes here, to the highly curious illustration of eremite life, (a complete pictorial chapter of primitive Church History) by the Lorenzetti brothers of Siena, the best known of whom, Pietro, lived from 1311 to 1355. To the same artists are now attributed on good grounds the celebrated paintings of the Triumph of Death, Resurrection, Inferno, and Last Judgment, unhesitatingly given by Vasari to Orcagna* and his brother—an error repeated by numerous writers and critics up to recent time. In the personification of Death as a spectral old woman with long bat-wings, and claws for nails, we recognise the idea of Petrarch.† In the colossal Satan,

* “All these paintings which Vasari attributes to Orcagna, but of which Ghiberti says nothing in his notice of that artist, are with better reason assigned by modern critics to other masters, seeing that they exhibit the Siennese rather than the Florentine style. It is therefore concluded that they should be attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti, who painted the contiguous picture of the Anchorites, and to his brother Ambrogio.”—(Gaetano Milanesi, Annotations to Vasari.)

† Vidi un insegna oscura e trista,
Ed una donna involta in veste negra
Con un furor qual io non so se mai
Al tempo de' giganti fosse in Flegra.

“Trionfo della Morte.”

whose body is a fiery furnace for consuming souls, and in the demons armed with bill-hooks, we perceive the influences of Dante.* The Hell is a rocky abyss divided into four circles, all of which, except the highest part, was retouched in 1379; and the whole composition, Rosini tells us, was restored in 1530. The episode of the hunting party coming in sight of three open tombs where lie the bodies of as many kings in different stages of decay, is said to have been suggested by a popular legend; and the more prominent figures, three princes on horseback, are supposed portraits of the Emperors Frederick I. and Louis the Bavarian, and Ugoccione della Faggiuola, lord of Pisa and Lucca. In the neighbouring group of a gay party seated under a grove, and whiling away the time with music and converse, the cavalier with a falcon on his wrist, is said to be a portrait of Castruccio Castracani, lord, and finally Duke of Lucca, 1327. The spectre Death is about to strike down her victims among the votaries of pleasure, whilst she turns away from many poor wretches, the old, the sick and miserable, who in vain invoke her for release from burdensome existence.† The aged hermit, who has led the hunt-

* What that influence became before the end of the same century in which the poet was proscribed and outlawed by his fellow-citizens, is apparent. In 1373 was founded at Florence a cathedra for the explanation and commentary of the *Divina Commedia* in the church of S. Stefano; the new professorship being first given to Boccaccio, after him to Filippo Villani and Francesco Filelfo. Bologna was the first city to follow this example by founding a Dantesque lectureship in 1375; and Benvenuto da Imola there began the course of public comments on the Poem more multiplied in MS. during this century than any other work.

† The doleful and unanswered prayer of the latter is expressed in the lines here read.—

Da che prosperitade ci ha lasciati,
O Morte, medicina di ogni pena,
Deh vieni a dare a noi l'ultima cena.

This quaint usage of explaining the moral of a picture, or the senti-

ing party to the spot where the ghastly spectacle awaits them, is Macarius of Egypt, a patriot of the anchorite life in the IV century, 301-391. In the background are other hermits pursuing the even tenor of their pious existence among deserts and mountains ; and on the loftiest height is seen a terrific vision, revealed to their spiritualized gaze, of the souls of wicked men hurled by demons into a volcano.* The obvious moral of this picture is : the superiority of the contemplative over the active life, and the wisdom of those who prepare for death in religious solitude, contrasted with the folly and perils of the career of those absorbed in pleasure or worldly solicitude ; a lesson still insisted on by the Catholic Church, and no doubt resting on a principle profoundly true, however misapplied or exaggerated in practice by enthusiasm.† There is much originality and awe-inspiring grandeur, much also that betrays superstitious tendencies and innovations in the picture of the Last Judgment. The Saviour and His earthly Mother are seated beside each other on a rainbow, each within an elliptical nimbus, and though His action is that of wrathful command, hers that of lovely deference to Him, each appear *alike* to participate in Divine honours, and to be engaged in the dread task of judging a guilty world.—He as the Supreme Arbiter, she as the celestial Assessor ! There could be no

ments of those represented, by inscriptions on the same surface, was especially practised, and perhaps rendered popular, by Buffalmacco.

* Conformably with the notion long prevalent that the craters of volcanoes were ingresses of Hell, and that holy men had frequently seen souls precipitated, immediately after death, into those fiery abysses. (v. Maury, “ La Magie et l’Astrologie.”)

† Chorea casta Virginum,
Et quos eremus incolas
Transmisit astris Cœlitum
Locate nos in sedibus.

Hymn for All Saints’ Day.

more conspicuous example than this of the daring superstition which, interpolating the revealed doctrine, elevates a mortal woman to a rank of implied parity with the Second Person of the Godhead ! In earlier art Mary has no place whatever in this tremendous scene.* Singularly fine is the group of Archangels in the centre of the composition : the Michael in shining armour, erect, calm and powerful, holds forth two scrolls inscribed with the words of welcome and repulse from the Eternal Judge : “ Come, ye blessed of my Father—Depart from me, ye accursed.” On each side are subordinate angels poised in air and blowing trumpets, with action that indicates the thrilling force of the death-awakening sound ; below is the Archangel Raphael, one of the Seven continually before the throne of God, but now cowering down and partially hiding his face with one hand, as unable to endure what is prepared for man—his sympathies with suffering Humanity thus pathetically expressed at the awful climax. The other angels engaged in assigning their several posts to those rising from the tombs, are grand and graceful warriors, with princely dignity discharging a task that excites no human emotion in their passionless souls. The angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, who hover on the highest plane of the picture, present perhaps the earliest example of such a group, afterwards almost obligatory, and almost invariably introduced, in the illustration of this scene. It conforms with the speculations of S. Thomas Aquinas—that Christ the Judge shall not only display the marks of His wounds, but the signs and

* Even in this century the religious sentiment revolted against such undue exaltation of Mary ; and her place in the Judgment scene became consequently lower, though still honoured and conspicuous, usually on a level with the Apostles, and opposite to S. John the Baptist. I know of no instance in which the deification of the Virgin Mother is carried so far by art as in this picture at the Pisan Campo Santo.

proofs of His most reproachful (*exprobatissima*) death. In the anticipation of the last day, the use of the trumpet as a material means of awakening the dead, and the ministry of angels for collecting and preparing the scattered dust about to be revived, are also among the ideas supported by that great theologian, and admitted by Art in strict acceptance of his teaching.*

The Last Judgment became popular, and was prescribed by the Church to artists after the general expectation of the end of the world, as a catastrophe predestined for the 10th century, had been refuted by the event. It had been believed that a thousand years was the term fixed by Divine decree for the new dispensation under the Gospel, and for the struggle between revealed Light and heathen Darkness ; after which, in the year 1000, was to begin the reign of Christ on earth. This illusion having been dispelled, it was natural that a reaction of indifferentism or scepticism should ensue ; *most* natural that the Church should call in every suitable aid for reminding that the indefinitely distant was not the less certain, the impalpable not the less real. But Art may be said to have made its greatest failure and most betrayed its weakness by the attempt to grapple with the sublimity of such a theme. In almost every instance, the Christ in Judgment, whether painter or sculptor present His form to us, is an embodiment utterly unworthy, and opposed to every high ideal founded on His own gracious promises and awful prophecies. He is kingly, wrathful,

* “ Tuba erit aliquod signum corporale datum a Christo ad nostram resurrectionem, quod potest esse multiplex, et habebit efficaciam instrumentalem a Christo ad resuscitandum, ex hoc quod proferitur a Deo.—Deus . . . utiter ministerio Angelorum, v. g. ut colligant et præparent cineres, licet Deus immediatè sine ministerio Angelorum uniet animam corpori, et glorificabit.”—*Supplement. Summæ* D. Thomæ : lxxvi. 2, 3.

and severely resolved, or mournful at the moment of sentencing the guilty ; alike removed from divine impartiality and compassion. He is metamorphosed into an earthly potentate, crowned and mighty among men, but infinitely below the eternal and serene majesty of God.

A fourth subject, the Paradise, is said to have been designed by the artist of the paintings long attributed to Orcagna, in order to complete the series illustrative of the "Quatuor Novissima," or "Four Last Things,"—Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell—habitually proposed to the meditations of the faithful.

The legend of the Beato Ranieri, Patron Saint of Pisa, though never canonized by the Church, is so vague that one might question his very existence but for the ascertained fact that the body of a Pisan citizen of that name, and of the patrician family, Degli Scaccieri, who died in 1161, was laid with much honour in the Duomo, and that the popular voice raised him to the place, still assigned to the Beato, of celestial Protector to his native city.* The events of his traditional life are best declared by simply stating the subjects in the series of frescoes here illustrating it. A gay youth, among gay companions of both sexes, he sees a holy man, the Beato Alberto Leccapecore, passing by and followed by an admiring throng ; a woman says to him : "Behold the Angel of the Lord, who passes this way ! Why do not you follow him like the rest ?" Ranieri does follow as far as the gate of a convent, S. Vito, where Alberto dwelt : there he kneels, struck with repentance, before the holy monk, whom he entreats to pray for the guidance of his erring soul into the right path. "If thou, Ranieri (answered

* In the 17th century, Vittoria della Rovere, consort of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II., and her niece the Electress Palatine, caused the body of the B. Ranieri to be clad in a pilgrim's habit of gold tissue, and the head adorned with a precious diadem.—Morrone, "Pisa Illustrata."

Alberto) shouldst serve God as thou hast served the world, blessed wouldst thou be!" On this the Holy Spirit, in form of a dove, visible perhaps to the beatified gaze alone, descended amidst radiance and rested on Ranieri's head; the Pilgrim is on his voyage to the Holy Land, and the sailors, at his bidding, throw their freight into the sea, on account of the bad odour perceived in it—probably because the merchandise thus rejected had been acquired by evil means; the Saviour appears on the land to which the Pisan vessel is sailing; Ranieri, in Palestine, distributes alms and assumes the habit of a pilgrim; he makes vows before the Blessed Virgin, herself visible on a throne surrounded by angels, with the crescent moon at her feet, and a star on her right shoulder—emblems of her Immaculate Conception; various temptations, to which Ranieri is exposed by the Demon, who appears in hideous form, and throws a stone at him whilst he is praying; Ranieri is favoured on Mount Tabor with a vision of the Saviour between Moses and Elias, as at the Transfiguration; Ranieri, probably after his return from Palestine, asks for admission at the gate of a monastery, and distributes miraculous alms. The above are the *storie* erroneously attributed by Vasari to Simone di Martino; but in reality works of Andrea di Firenze. The subsequent scenes from the same life are by Antonio Veneziano—much injured, and in many parts effaced, but still justifying a high opinion of that artist: Ranieri sails from Joppa for his return to Pisa; having landed at Messina, he works a miracle by separating water from the wine served by a dishonest innkeeper, and shows the discomfited host a devil, in form of a winged tiger cat, seated on the cask of the liquor so basely adulterated! The Canons of Pisa entertain Ranieri at a banquet—the architecture of that city being represented, with some attempt at perspective, in the background; the death of the Beato, whose soul is

seen borne by angels to Heaven; his funeral procession, and the solemn exposure of his body in the Duomo; miracles wrought by him after death—the healing from various diseases, one among those cured being an Archbishop of Pisa, and the rescue of a ship from a tempest. The almost unknown Pilgrim becomes an almost omnipotent Protector!*

Among the frescoes on these walls, one attributed to Pietro di Puccio, an inferior artist, mystically sets forth the origin of the universe and its dependence upon the Almighty Creator. A colossal figure of Deity, with the aspect proper to the Second Person, supports an immense disk containing numerous concentric circles, with figures, emblems, inscriptions: first in order, the nine Angelic Hierarchies; next, the three Heavens—the first (empyrean) without sign or symbol, the second (crystalline) with the signs of the Zodiac, the third (the firmament) with the starry host; internal to these, a succession of other circles enclosing at the centre a miniature view of the three known continents. At the angles below are the two illustrious Doctors, severally representatives of the theological mind of ages, S. Augustine and S. Thomas Aquinas.† Next are

* Rosini (“Storia della Pittura Italiana”) praises the funeral-scene as the “most noble, simple and beautiful” among all these pictures. The architecture is carefully studied from the Pisan buildings; the foremost church being S. Vito (destroyed about the time of the artist’s engagement here); the next, the cathedral with the front removed so as to show the interior.

† Not easily legible is the sonnet, probably by the artist, underneath this picture, and beginning:—

Voi che avvistate questa dipintura—

the last lines expressing the meaning and moral of the composition thus:—

Levate gli acchi del vostro intelletto
Considerando quanto e’ ordinato

the subjects from the Genesis : the Creation of Eve, the Fall and Expulsion, &c. About 1391, Spinello Aretino painted the series illustrating the lives of S. Ephesus and S. Potitus, martyrs who suffered the same death, though not at the same time, near Cagliari. The body of Ephesus, decapitated A.D. 303, was secretly interred by the Christians near the spot where that of Potitus had been laid several years previously, and both were eventually transported from Sardinia to Pisa. The subjects of the paintings are as follows: Ephesus presented by his mother at Antioch to Diocletian, who admits the youth into his service, and promotes him to military rank; Ephesus about to march on an expedition against the Christians in Sardinia, when the Saviour appears to him, and commands him not to persecute those in whom He Himself suffers; S. Michael appearing to him, as he is about to alight from his horse, and giving him a banner with the cross of Pisa to do battle on the side of the Christians against the Heathens; Ephesus cited before the Prætor of Sardinia, and condemned to suffer in a fiery furnace, from which he escapes unhurt, while the executioners are burnt to death; the martyr finally meets death by the axe. The pictures of the story of S. Potitus have perished, except the decapitation and the transfer of that saint's body from Sardinia to Italy.

The most beautiful among all the paintings here, those by Benozzo Gozzoli, do not enter into the limits of my present theme. In those works we perceive progress not in power

Lo mondo universale, e con affetto
 Lodate Lui, che l' ha sì ben creato,
 Pensate di passare a tal diletto
 Tra gli Angeli, dov' e' ciascun Beato.
 Per questo modo si vede la gloria,
 Lo basso, e il mezzo, e l' alto in questa storia.

See Da Morrona for the whole of this sonnet.

and knowledge alone, but in ideas and conceptions. What is left to us of earlier art in the Campo Santo affords evidence of the sway of the ascetic religious feeling during a later phase of the dominion long exclusively exercised by the Church over artistic-creations. Subsequently the spell begins to be feebler; other influences intervene, other thoughts and imaginings assert their right to find utterance.

In the Dominican church, *S. Caterina*, a fine example of Pisan architecture completed 1352, is a picture by Francesco Traini, the Glorification of S. Thomas Aquinas, which forms not only a record of that great theologian's supreme distinction; but also of the mind and tendencies of mediæval Catholicism. We see a similar apotheosis of the "Angelic Doctor" in the Spagnuoli chapel at Florence, and in the principal Dominican church at Rome. That from Traini's pencil stands midway in date between the two, and is the most finely conceived of all. On the highest plane of this picture is the Saviour in glory; from His lips issue rays that illumine the four Evangelists, Moses and S. Paul; from them passing to S. Thomas, who is seated with five volumes, his writings, on his knees, and the holy Scriptures in his hand, open at the text: *Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum, et labia mea detestabuntur iniquitatem*. From the Saint's writings the rays proceed first to Plato and Aristotle, who offer their respective works, the "Timæus" and the "Ethics;" from thence to several theologians, cardinals and monks, one of this group being, by alteration of the head, converted into a portrait of Urban VI. The figure of S. Thomas is severely dignified. The Greek Philosophers are like Oriental Prophets, with nothing classical in costume or type. The moral of this highly significant picture seems to be—that all ancient theological science, and indeed all true Philosophy were concentrated in the author of the "Summa," and from his intellect communicated to the

greatest doctors who came after him, with the retrospective accord even of those profound minds not illuminated by direct Revelation.* Near this picture is the pulpit in which S. Thomas used to preach when resident in the S. Caterina convent. Another remarkable altar-piece by Traini, formerly in this church, S. Dominick with six lateral *storie* of his life, has been removed and divided: the central panel, S. Dominick (of benign and noble aspect) and the Saviour blessing in a pinnacle above, being now in the Accademia; the six lateral panels, in the Seminary of Pisa. Near the principal entrance to S. Caterina stands the imposing, though feebly executed, monument of an Archbishop, Simone Salteretti (ob. 1352), with canopy, relievi and statues, well representing the style, but not the higher abilities, of the period.

At the convent of *S. Francesco*, we enter the Sardi and Campigli chapel, communicating with what was once the sacristy, but is now the sole place of worship left to the

* Thomas, son of the Count d'Aquino and Sora, was born, 1226, at the town from which his house took the former title, Aquino in the Terra di Lavoro: he received his first education at Monte Cassino; afterwards studied at the University of Naples, and completed his course at Paris. He entered the Dominican Order at the age of seventeen; and died at the Cistercian abbey of Fossanova, in the Terracina diocese, 1274, being detained there by illness on his way to Lyons for the General Council convoked by Gregory X. During somewhat more than a year before his death, he never desired either to speak or write on theological themes, and renounced all studies in order to dedicate himself to the thought of the Invisible and Infinite—such the moral attitude of this greatest theological thinker of the Middle Ages when on the threshold of Eternity. He refused all ecclesiastical honours, among others the archbishopric of Naples offered to him by several Popes. He was canonized by John XXII. 1313; declared a Doctor of the Church by Pius V., 1567. His appropriate emblems are—a star on the breast, a dove at the ear, or on one shoulder, rays emanating from a book in his hand, the sacred Host and chalice.

few lingering friars of a suppressed Order. This chapel was founded, 1395, by a lady of the Sardi family, the wife of Andrea da' Campigli, and was adorned in 1397 by the pencil of Taddeo Bartoli, as the extant lines on a pilaster inform us. Though much damaged, the paintings evince power, imagination, and refined feeling. They represent the last scenes in the life, or rather legend, of the Blessed Virgin, ending with her funeral and assumption; also, (apart from that series) the annunciation. One among these pictures is especially interesting and impressive, also a new subject admitted within the cycle of the legendary art that refers to Mary. Under a portico of light and graceful architecture, the Mother, in nun-like dress, is seated amidst the twelve Apostles, some of whom stand, others sit on a low form, the other Maries of the New Testament standing on one side; S. John, the youngest Apostle, with expression of reverential tenderness, approaching the Virgin, who takes both his hands in hers. At the extremity of the group another person, of Apostolic type, seems just entering, with one knee bent, at the threshold of the portico, and a venerable figure, of similar aspect, descends from above, in finely poised action, floating through air towards the place where the Mother sits; above are two other persons, alike descending in slow flight towards that sacred group, so earnestly absorbed by a prevailing interest that only three of the Apostles seem conscious of this mysterious apparition. There are two subjects which might suit this beautifully imagined picture: the valedictory reception of the Twelve by Mary, before they disperse for their several missions to evangelize; or (and this seems to me more probably intended) the last farewell of all the Apostles and that Blessed One after the Angel had given warning of her proximate death—with which scene, an affecting amplification of the legend, the presence of those mysterious beings, who

return from the invisible to the visible world, would accord—if we suppose the flying figures to be Prophets, or other departed Saints, allowed to reappear on earth in order to welcome the summoned One to the spirit land. A solemn and subdued sentiment pervades this picture; and we feel that His promise, who said: “Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you,” is assuredly *theirs*, the divinely privileged company here before us. In the transit of Mary is the usual introduction of the Saviour with the Soul in form of an infant; beautiful angels with tapers terminating the group at each side. At the funeral of Mary all the Apostles are present, a rocky landscape forming the background; this, and the contiguous picture of the Assumption, being lamentably injured. On other parts of the chapel walls are finely treated figures of S. John the Baptist, S. Andrew, and the Virgin Saints, Agnes, Catherine, Clara, Apollonia, Lucia; on the vaults, the Four Doctors and as many Prophets.

The ancient church of S. Francesco is now used as a magazine and hayloft for a cavalry-regiment; and we can no longer discern the frescoes attributed to Taddeo Gaddi on the choir-vault. In the chapter-house, however (called “capitolo di S. Bonaventura”) remain the wall-paintings by Niccolo di Pietro, otherwise known as Piero Gerini, and father of Lorenzo Gerini—his largest and most important work, dated, in an extant inscription, 1392.* These represent the cycle of the Passion from the Lord’s Supper to the Ascension, including the betrayal, or the bribery of Judas; near the entrance, S. John Baptist and S. Lau-

* The original mutilated, but thus restored by Lasinio: *Nicolaus Petri de Florentia depinsit an. D. MCCCLXXXII*. It was the same Lasinio who retouched these frescoes, formerly more or less injured, in 1824.

rence. In the Last Supper the artist has unfortunately imitated his model, Giotto, by making S. John fast asleep, as he leans over the table beside the Divine Master. In the Crucifixion, largest of these pictures, the two thieves are seen on their crosses, with the episode (which hardly appears before this century) of the angels and demons receiving the souls of the penitent and impenitent. In the Resurrection the Saviour, calmly majestic, with a red-cross banner in the left hand and raising the other hand to bless, steps out of an open sarcophagus—an unhistorical, but henceforth commonly admitted detail.* The Deposition and the “Noli me tangere” are treated with some power. In the Ascension, a crown and sceptre are given to the heavenward-rising Lord, as symbols of His divine royalty. The countenance of the Christ is sombre and sullen, except in the last, and also in the Resurrection picture where the artist rises to the height of his subject. Altogether, this series is valuable as presenting the henceforth traditionary and prescribed treatment of the principal scenes in the Gospel History.

At Cortona we see, in the church of S. Dominico, a picture deemed the most important work by Lorenzo Gerini—a richly framed “ancona,”—with predella, comprising several subjects, the Madonna with four Saints, her coronation and assumption; the Crucifixion above; this altarpiece having been removed from S. Marco at Florence, in 1438, and presented by Cosimo and Lorenzo de’ Medici to

* Manifestly unhistoric is the circumstance, represented by countless artists in this scene, of the *sleep* of the soldiers around the tomb. They should be all watching; for it was the falsehood insinuated by the Jews whence sprung the report that the sacred body had been stolen away by night, whilst those guards slept. By emerging from the tomb amidst the *watchful* soldiery, the Divine Being more manifestly asserts His glorious powers, and Art obtains a field for nobler efforts.

the Dominicans of Cortona," for the benefit of their own and their forefathers' souls."*

Arezzo, though deprived of many art-treasures formerly within its walls, still contains valuable examples of its local school; and a gallery, formed not long ago, in one of the suppressed monasteries, "La Badia," now affords opportunities for estimating the capacities, and observing the several phases, of Aretine Art. Spinello Spinelli and his son, Parri, cannot be appreciated till we have seen their works in their native city. Among memorable paintings by the former is one in a recess on the front of the SS. Trinita church: the Eternal Father supporting the Son, who appears as dead, on the Cross; the Dove issuing from the bosom of the First to the head of the Second Person; both Father and Son of essentially the same type, in character benignly noble, without any attempt at indicating the distinctions of human relationship, such as later Art has but too boldly introduced, thereby embodying an idea, which, opposed to every spiritual conception of the Triune Deity, is in fact nothing else than Tritheism. Other noticeable works by Spinelli are a Crucifixion and Apostles at S. Domenico, and an Annunciation on the outside of *L'Annunziata*, both churches at Arezzo. That artist's famous picture of the Defeat of the Rebel Angels has, unfortunately, all but perished with the church, S. Angelo, which it adorned. A house, let out in miserable lodgings, amidst gardens on the outskirts of the city, now occupies the site, and includes part of the walls, of that church. Here I saw, in a room used as the workshop of a poor artisan, some vestiges of figures mostly cut in two by the flooring of the room above;

* The painter's name, Laurentius Nicholaus, is inscribed, and followed by the record: "Chosimo e Lorenzo di Medici da Firenze año data chuesta pictura frati di S̄co Dominicho de Osservanza da Chortona per l'anima loro e di loro passati, MCCCCXXXX."

and one of the lodgers told me that other fragments, figures of *diavoli*, had been removed from these walls, and sold to some stranger. The vicinity of S. Angelo was called, "Contrada dei Diavoli," from the lost picture, in which Demons were so conspicuous, and in which was introduced that figure of Satan, said (v. Vasari) to have haunted the artist till the horrors of his own conception caused, or accelerated, his death. I ascertained the existence of some other remnants of this work in the warehouse of a furniture-maker; and, visiting that place, saw a fragmentary group of Angels and Demons combating; the former in plate-armour and wielding swords; the latter, nondescript monsters with bat-wings and eagle's talons—the whole composition confused and bewildering.

Berna di Siena was engaged much at Arezzo in 1369, and executed several frescoes in the cathedral, of which but one remains: a Crucifixion under a Gothic canopy; beside the cross Mary, S. John, S. Francis, and the Archangel Michael; kneeling below, the donator, in complete armour, Guccione Tarlati, one of a powerful family for a time supreme at Arezzo. This struck me as the finest of that Siennese artist's extant works. Among the paintings by him which have perished, was one, at *S. Agostino*, on a subject affording testimony to the increasing belief in demoniac agencies and the growth of a Mythology for which the Christian religion is not responsible—the story, namely, of a youth, one Marino, who sold his immortal soul to the Devil for base lucre, but was ultimately saved by the intervention of S. James the Apostle, though the Demon, "hideous to a miracle," displayed a written agreement to make good his claim when the poor guilty soul threw itself on the Apostle's power and mercy in the other world. The same story was illustrated by Berna in a picture at S. Spirito, Florence, destroyed by the burning of that church in 1470.

Such sculptures as we see at Arezzo of earlier period than that to which I now refer, throw into shade the productions of the same art within the latter half of this century. There are, however, good qualities in the works of the Niccolo Aretino (or Niccolo di Piero), some statues by whom are seen at Florence. His finest sculptures at his native place are on the façade of the "Misericordia," or "Fraternità," the former hospital and offices of a pious sodality, which building now contains a museum and public library. That Institution, dedicated to charities, became enriched by bequests during the visitation of plague; and in 1383 applied its wealth to the purpose of constructing a new façade, in florid Gothic style, for its official residence. Niccolo was engaged to adorn this building, now one of the most conspicuous and observable at Arezzo. Above the portal, he represented a large relievo, the *Madonna del Soccorso*, attended by angels who hold back her long mantle so as to display the many citizens, figures of smaller scale, kneeling at her feet—a favourite popular aspect of the Virgin Mother in Aretine Art.* Below, and laterally to this principal group, are the local Patrons, St. Laurentinus and Preguntinus; also statues of S. Gregory the Great, and S. Donatus, principal Protector and Martyr-bishop of this city, who suffered A.D. 361. By the same Niccolo is a terra-

* It became alike popular eventually in other Italian schools and localities. In her character of supreme Protectress to cities and states, the Virgin Mother, thus presented in painting or sculpture, bears silent witness to the deepening religious feeling which turned to Her as the centre of a devotional system. Mystic Theology had so far banished the Christ, Creator and Judge, to dim and awful distance that He, the still recognized Mediator of Salvation, became almost forgotten in popular regards, or rather the object of fear than of faith working through love; whilst Mary was the tenderly revered and universally trusted Mediatrix of Intercession—the "Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra," as Roman Catholic devotions still address her.

cotta relief—a work of his early youth, the Virgin and Child, Angels, and the two last named Saints, over a lateral door of the cathedral. Also, another of his early works, S. Mark seated, with his emblem the winged ox, in an arched recess on the façade of that church—the last sadly mutilated, but still distinguished by dignity of forms. Other less important sculptures of this School and period are: some small reliefs of the history of the companion-martyrs, Laurentinus and Preguntinus over the door of a chapel dedicated to the former; and around the doorway of the *Annunziata*, reliefs of Christ and the four Evangelists, each with the head of his emblem, three having consequently the animal combined with the human form—an unpleasing anomaly not often admitted in Art, though in one instance so late as the XV. century—in a picture by Fra Angelico, now at the Florence Accademia.

In this century Arezzo attained the apex of the prosperity, and also suffered the severest visitations known to its mediæval experiences. The famous bishop, Guido Tarlati di Pietramala, whose stately tomb we admire in the cathedral, founded the dominion of that family, and having made himself lord of Arezzo, secured various material benefits, fortified and embellished the city during the time he held power. After his death, in 1328, dissensions and factious struggles ensued. In 1380 this city was delivered up by two families, the Rostoli and Albergotti, to Charles of Durazzo, then on his way, with an Hungarian army, to the invasion of the Neapolitan States. In 1384, the Tarlati and other exiled Ghibellines conspired to withdraw the city from the dominion of the Durazzo prince, now King of Naples; and in the September of 1384, Arezzo was taken by escalade and given up to pillage by the Sieur de Coucy, Captain of the troops of the Anjou Louis, who disputed the Neapolitan crown with Charles III. The Florentines, jealous of this occupation

by foreigners, sent an army to besiege the French, who were still opposed by the troops of the King, in the castle of this city; and Coucy had recourse to the expedient of selling Arezzo to the Florentines for 50,000 gold florins, after having already promised it for 20,000 to Siena. On the 20th November, 1384, the city, and a few days afterwards the fortress, passed under the dominion of the Republic now most potent among Tuscan states.

At Siena the art-activities of the period here in question were less important than in the earlier half of the century, though the works for the rebuilding of the beautiful cathedral were still in progress. A moral degeneration seems to have prevailed in the Art circles of Siena at this period, though one star of luminous distinction arose with Taddeo Bartoli, whose works here seen date subsequently to 1400. Towards the close of the XIVth century several Siennese painters were involved in democratic movements or factious strife; some were guilty of political crimes. One, named Galgano, presided at the execution of nineteen persons unjustly put to death, and was several times elected Captain of the People. This truculent artist received payment in 1384 for twenty-six standards, painted (we may conclude) with political emblems or allegories; but not one sacred subject is known to have been attempted by his hand. The most remarkable paintings of this period, though not by a native master, to be seen at Siena, are in a hall, "Sala de' Priori," of the "Palazzo Comunale" (or *pubblico*), where Spinello Aretino, assisted by Martino de Siena, executed (1380-1400) the "frescoes" illustrating the *gesta* of Pope Alexander III. (1159-81), especially the contest between that energetic Pontiff and the Emperor Frederick I., the most formidable but finally self-submitting adversary of the Holy See. As that Pope (Rolando Bandinelli) was of Siennese birth, and a man of great qualities,

who sustained his trials and discharged his duties with un-failing constancy and nobleness, the desire on the part of his fellow-citizens to perpetuate and honour his memory among themselves, is indeed to their credit. The eventful history is here delineated with much dramatic power, however quaint, and in some details incorrect, may be the presentment of the subject in these historical pictures. Among the scenes remarkable for able treatment are the coronations of the Pope and of the Antipope raised up by Frederick; the homage paid by "Barbarossa" to that creature of his own making—the Antipope, represented as a white-vested monk, evidently perplexed and alarmed at finding himself brought from his quiet cell for unenviable and dangerous honours; the siege of Rome by Frederick with his German army, and the escape of Alexander, disguised as a monk, from the beleaguered walls; the submission of the Emperor to the Pope at Venice—in which subject is perpetuated the long-received tradition, incorrect and discordant with the known character of Alexander III, that the Pontiff actually trampled on the neck of the prostrate potentate before he would give him absolution: Barbarossa is here lying at full length on his back, though still wearing his crown and imperial robes, whilst, with absurdly unnatural action, the enthroned Pope places one foot on his shoulder! Lastly, may be noticed the scene of the Council at Venice, where the reconciled antagonists are seated amicably beside each other. Such a work announces a new tendency of Art. The argument, though ecclesiastical, is neither scriptural nor religious; and this early example of painting which attempts the epic delineation of an entire career, independent of the inspirations of Theology and dictates of the Church, indicates the desire to infringe limits long scrupulously observed, to escape from trammels long piously submitted to.

Another new form in the Art now active at Siena, is the celebrated intarsio and "commesso" work on the pavement of the Duomo, long erroneously supposed to have been begun by Duccio, but in its oldest portions not dating before 1369, the year when it is first mentioned in the record books. Duccio died in 1339. The intarsio work here before us, in the nave of the church, was not begun till 1372; the Wheel of Fortune, and the figures of Temperance and Prudence, were finished about 1380: and the other compositions, scriptural and allegorical, on this unique pavement, were executed during the XV. and earlier years of the XVI. century. In the public library of Siena are preserved the letters of a certain Lombardelli, written in 1588 to the archiepiscopal Vicar of this diocese, complaining very seriously of things seen in this pavement, as well as of popular practices kept up around the Duomo, which scandalized that respectable gentleman: *e.g.* the vases inscribed *mel* and *fel* in the intarsio at the summit of the outer stairs; the rosary in the hand of the Pharisee at prayer, in the design illustrating the well-known parable; the figures of Socrates and Crates throwing his treasures into the sea; those of Fortune and the Seven Ages—all alike profane to orthodox eyes.

The deeply religious feeling and spiritual tendencies of the Umbrian School had scarcely given signs of life in such works as had been produced before the period here considered, nor did such signs appear before the end of this century. We must return to the pleasant regions, where loveliness and grandeur unite in the scenery of the valleys watered by the Tiber, the Nar, and the Velino, in order to appreciate the high merits of the local Art in its maturer existence. But even at its dim and feebly flowing source, the stream destined to expand so magnificently may detain the pilgrim step, and command reverential interest. We

may begin our study of the Art in question, in its earliest and comparatively obscure efforts, at "Perugia Turrena," which, in the middle of this century, was not only an independent city, but the seat of a republican government, extending its sway over many towns of mediæval importance, Spoleto, Foligno, Assisi, Gubbio, Città di Castello, &c. About 1366 was built the new cincture of walls, which, after being enlarged by the formidable Braccio Fortebracci, lord of Perugia in the next century, measured five miles in circuit; and the stately city made good her claim to the title of "the towered" by forty-two battle-mented structures, conspicuous in the aspect she presented on her commanding height—but of which only three remain at this day in their original altitude, though efforts were made in the XV. century to preserve them from ruin, even by penal enactments.* It was the usage to defend the ingress to the narrow streets, still so picturesquely irregular and mediæval-looking, by massive chains, the hooks for fastening which are seen at this day in many places; and when all these barriers were removed, in 1590, it was found that the total value of the iron so used, might be estimated at 10,000 gold scudi.

The earliest paintings, with ascertainable date, at Perugia are a large Crucifixion in the Pinacotheca, and a Madonna and Child in a chapel occupying a part of the portico of the ancient Podesta Palace. Margaritone di Arezzo, the artist of the former picture, has left the date, 1272,† on this grim and ghastly composition, in which, besides the Crucified, are introduced the figures of the Deity blessing, the Virgin between two angels; the Magdalen, S. John, and S. Francis kneeling below the cross. The Madonna

* Sixtus IV. prohibited the demolition of the towers of Perugia under penalty of 50 ducats.

† Anno Domini MCCLXXII. T.P.R. Gregorii PP.X.

picture is one of those called "Maestá," and, in this instance, "Maestá delle Volte," from the circumstance of its being painted under the vault of a portico before the Podesta's Palace, which was reduced to ruin by two fires (1329-1534), though that sacred picture, together with a remnant of the portico itself, is still extant; the Madonna, said to have been painted by order of the Magistrates in 1297, being now enclosed within a chapel, and provided with an altar. In this instance we see the earlier adopted type of the Virgin Mother's aspect, neither youthful nor distinguished by loveliness, but of a certain severe and matron dignity. Both Mother and Child are richly dressed, the former in robes of embroidered gold tissue. The attendant angels are modern. Other art-works at Perugia of the period here in question, may be briefly enumerated. In the singular church of *S. Angelo*, long supposed to be a Pagan temple, but now recognised by antiquaries as a building originally destined for Christian worship,* probably of the V. or VI. century, we see some rudely executed frescoes: three female saints, one the Veronica, with her miraculously impressed handkerchief, the head upon which is *colossal*; also over the high altar, a Madonna with angels. At *S. Fiorenzo*, a church founded in the VIII. century, but for the most part rebuilt, 1491-1515, are some remnants of wall-paintings—the Saviour in an elliptic nimbus, amidst angels and several saints, the heads alone of several figures rescued

* It is still referred to a heathen origin, and conjectured to have been a temple of Vesta, in the useful "Guida di Perugia," by Count Battista Rossi Scotti, published in 1867. That writer mentions the tradition that eight Barons, companions in arms of the renowned Orlando, who died and were buried at Perugia, raised this church in the form of the tent of that doughty champion, and dedicated it to S. Michael. Their graves, we may infer, should be sought for within these walls; but the church has suffered much from modern alteration.

from whitewash—on the vault of what once formed a transept, but is now cut off from the modernized and diminished church. At *S. Agata*, a church of good architectural features in the pointed style, recent repairs have brought to light several frescoes which probably occupied the entire surface of the walls—figures of Saints standing under Gothic arches, divided by columns, alike belonging to the painted decoration—some evidently of very early, others of a later phase in Umbrian Art; a *S. Agatha*, distinguished by the beauty of the head, referrible to some period in the XV. century; while an earlier school is recognised in a fantastic representation of the Holy Trinity with three heads, or rather three faces, two in profile, to a single head and body—the aspect stern, the features strongly marked. Such offensive conceptions of this mysterious subject, now forbidden by authoritative decree from Rome, are seen in two other examples at Perugia, both probably of date within the XIV, or first years of the next century. One is in the now desecrated church of *S. Crispino*, attached to a hospital also suppressed, and on the walls of which are, besides that monstrous representation of the Triune Deity, a Crucifixion, Christ standing in the tomb, and a Madonna crowned by angels. The other is in the crypt below the oratory of the *Confraternita di S. Agostino*: the Deity being here depicted with three faces and a single head, in the act of blessing, and holding a book open at the text, in Gothic letters: *Ego sum Via, Veritas et Vita*.* At a short distance beyond one of the gates of Perugia, the castellated *Porta S. Angelo*, stands the small church of a long suppressed monastery, *S. Matteo*, now open for

* A similar picture, with such presentment of the subject, of dates early in the XV. century, is in the rural church of *S. Cristoforo*, near Passignano on the Lake of Trasymene.

worship but one day in the year, S. Matthew's festival ; and here, on the walls of an interior not without good features of the least ornate Gothic, are some frescoes that may be classed among the primitive attempts of the local school, but recently rescued from whitewash : one, a group too much damaged for the determining of its subject, with the date inscribed 1348 ; the subjects recognisable, S. Matthew, S. Michael subduing the Demon, S. Sylvester charming the Dragon, S. Galgano on horseback ; and, behind the altar, Christ blessing, S. Bartholomew, S. Francis, and the Madonna and Child—the latter reminding one, though not pleasingly, of Cimabue. Among pictures of early date removed from suppressed convents to the Pinacotheca now an important and most interesting centre for the study of the Umbrian School, are several frescoes detached from the walls of *S. Giuliana*, representing the horrid tortures endured by that virgin martyr, and also (of more advanced art) an uncommon subject, which might be described as Christ receiving His earthly Mother into beatitude, *not* crowning or admitting her to like honours with His own, but apparently holding high converse with her, both being seated upon clouds opposite to each other, while the two SS. John, the Baptist and Apostle, are seen on earth, each with a book, below that celestial vision. May not this be an incipient conception of what was finally developed into the formal and triumphant coronation of the Virgin by the Divine Son, subsequently by the Eternal Father, and (the latest phase) by both Persons of the Godhead conjointly ?

I can only mention the supposable existence of mediæval paintings on the now whitewashed walls of another monastic church, about a mile from Perugia, *S. Bevignate*, built (or rebuilt) by the Templars in the year 1300, and, after the extinction of that order, possessed by the Knights of S. John, who handed it over, 1324, to a Perugian merchant

and his wife, by whom it was finally conceded to a community of nuns. It is now held, and bestowed *in commendam*, as a simple benefice, by the Apostolic Camera of Rome; but is rarely opened for public worship. Its old tower is truncated; its lancet windows and a side portal with clustering columns are walled up; its interior, a single nave without colonnades, under a high-hung vault, is badly modernized; but there is still an imposing effect, a picturesqueness of desolation in this long silent church. Its architecture in dusky stone work is a noticeable example of the Italian Gothic in its utmost simplicity and sternly massive character. The deserted, though still habitable, monastery, with large vaulted rooms, now in part used as a granary, and commanding beautiful views from the windows, seems a mournful memorial of what such institutions once were in contrast to what they have now become—fallen and impoverished, or abandoned and disowned!*

The earliest Christian sculptures at Perugia are some curiously archaic reliefs round the portal of *S. Costanzo*, an extramural church on the site where the martyred bishop of this see, Constans, was decapitated A.D. 165. Here we see, in rudest execution, the Saviour as a youth, seated on a rainbow, the Four Evangelic Emblems, and a more pleasingly treated ornato, with birds and fantastic animals amidst foliage. A transition of several centuries brings us to the sculptures, not without dignity and character, around the chief portals of the majestic Palazzo Comunale, whose Gothic architecture, much marred in the time of the Pontifical Delegates resident here, has lately been restored with

* S. Bevnate was a hermit, who is said to have inhabited a solitary cell on this site about the middle of the 13th century, and was canonized, at the request of the Perugian magistrates, 1277. His body lies in a narrow dark crypt below the high altar of this church.

intelligence. To the latter half of this century may be referred the statues on the tympanum of its round-arched doorway, SS. Lawrence, Herculanius, and Louis of Anjou, three patron saints of Perugia; also the reliefs of allegoric subjects on the flanking pilasters, Humility and Pride, Magnanimity and Avarice, Fertility and Abundance, &c. This strikingly picturesque palace is supposed to have been built from the designs of a Benedictine monk, Fra Bevignate, who held the office of public architect in this city. The buildings are first mentioned under date 1296; they were finished so far as to be habitable and occupied by official persons, in 1353, though not completed in all parts till 1429.

At Assisi the historic fact manifest on all sides, is the rapidly attained ascendancy of the Mendicant Orders through the force of their protest, backed by the example of enthusiastic self-denial, against the luxury and worldliness which had invaded the higher regions of the Church, the prelate palaces and magnificent monasteries, long before S. Francis and S. Dominick appeared on their mission of renovating, denouncing, and purifying. A remarkable circumstance in the records of the great basilica above the tomb of S. Francis, is the almost unprecedented rapidity with which both the upper and lower church were built (1228-1232), thanks to the zealous exertions of Fra Elia, the first Father General of the Order after the death of the saintly founder, and also to the liberal contributions of benefactors, among whom one of the most munificent was the Emperor Frederick II.* It was in gratitude to that potentate that the imperial eagle was placed, where it is

* Jacopo, or Lapo, who has been called a German, but may have been (as Cicognaro supposes) an Italian of one of the northern provinces, was sent by the Emperor, at the instance of Fra Elia, to design and superintend the buildings.

still conspicuous, among the symbolic sculptures of the principal façade. Not, however, till the later half of the XIV. century did this venerable church attain its matured beauty through the wealth of artistic adornment, which, though commenced by Cimabue and his immediate pupils, received its most numerous additions from the school of Giotto, flourishing between 1350 and 1400. I have elsewhere noticed the different theories as to the authorship of the frescoes in the upper church ; and the works of Giotto do not fall within the limits of my present theme. I may now more particularly dwell on the works of a great artist, far less generally known, and represented by few extant creations of his genius, Tommaso di Stefano, called Giotto, who was born in 1324, and certainly living in 1368. In his paintings we see the emancipation of Art from cumbersome tradition and gloomy asceticism. The wall-pictures ascribed to him (though not, indeed, without dissentient voices) in the lower church at Assisi, are : the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, within an arched recess at the left of the nave ; and, on the archivolt above this, subjects from the life of S. Stanislaus, a Polish bishop, who was canonized in this church by Innocent IV., 1253.* In the Magdalene chapel, founded about 1330 by a bishop of Assisi, are frescoes illustrating the history of Mary and Martha, which Vasari attributes to Buffalmacco ; other critics (with much more apparent correctness) to Giotto. Worthy of that artist, and certainly maintaining the reputation founded on his known works, are such pictures, in this interesting

* In an official report drawn up by a committee appointed to inspect this basilica and its contents, in January 1863, these frescoes are attributed to Taddeo Gaddi. They are not comprised in the works assignable to Giotto, according to other critics, whose sentence is authoritative ; but are given to that artist in the "Guida" published at this city, 1869.

series, as the Raising of Lazarus, the "Noli me tangere," and the larger groups of the bishop Pantani (founder of this chapel) kneeling before S. Rufinus (the first bishop of Assisi, martyred A.D. 238), and of S. Rufinus himself kneeling before Mary Magdalene. Here we see also the legendary class of subjects: the converted Prince of Marseilles, and his wife and child rescued from death on the desolate island.* In the former chapter-house of the convent, a Crucifixion with numerous figures may, I believe, be assigned without doubt to Giotto,† and seems to me the noblest illustration of the subject hitherto produced by mediæval art—an example of the idealizing treatment, which, while it softens the tragic horror, brings into relief the solemn significance and mighty religious results of the event depicted. Angels are floating round the cross; at its foot are kneeling S. Francis and S. Clara; beside it stand, together with the apostles SS. Peter, Paul, and John, the Blessed Virgin, and two other favourite representatives of the Franciscan Order, S. Anthony of Padua and S. Louis of Anjou. Another example of this ideal treatment of the Crucifixion, giving to the event the character rather of a tragic triumph than a sacrifice, and with complicated grouping that implies the adoring acquiescence of nations in the worship and faith of the Divine Victim, is before us in the great picture, the masterpiece of Pietro Cavallini, in the south transept of the lower church, ordered, 1342, by Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens and Tyrant of Florence, whose portrait is here introduced as a warrior on a white steed, with a gilt halo (certainly not the intended emblem of sanctity), his

* The report of the Commissioners considers these paintings as "probably" by Taddeo Gaddi. They seemed to me far beyond that master's capabilities.

† It is so in the report of the Committee.

handsome face seen in profile, and devoutly upturned towards the Crucified. To Giotto are given, on good authority, the illustrations of the life of S. Nicholas, and twelve figures of saints in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament; among the subjects from the former saint's history, his intervention to save the lives of three citizens of Myra condemned to death by the axe, and his appearance in a vision to the Emperor, attesting their innocence. Some critics attribute to Taddeo Gaddi several paintings on New Testament subjects in the north transept; they seem of more advanced art, and characterized by more poetic delicacy than that master's works display. Particularly beautiful, and full of refined feeling, are the Visitation, the Christ disputing in the Temple, the Adoration of the Magi; and, above all, distinguished by quiet grace and tender sentiment, a picture of an uncommon subject, Mary and Joseph leading away the Divine Child from the Temple after the so-called "dispute" with the doctors.

An historically interesting picture is seen in the chapel of S. Catherine, founded by the famous Cardinal Albornozy—that warlike Legate and able politician (a portrait, as we may suppose) kneeling before a sainted Pope, believed to be S. Clement; the walls being adorned with frescoes by the same artist, Pace di Faenza, on the legendary life of the Virgin Martyr of Alexandria, besides other accessorial figures of saints.

The church of *S. Chiara*, which ranks also as a basilica, and is remarkable for imposing effect with simplicity of design, also for the magnificent wheel-window, like a glorious star on its front, was completed between 1257-1260 by Filippo da Campello, who succeeded Lapo as architect of the Franciscan Basilica. Among the finest extant works of Giotto are the frescoes on the vault above its high altar: eight Virgin Saints standing in pairs, two under

each of the four arches of a painted portico or loggia; the Saviour, seen as if hovering in air above each group, and angels, of smaller scale than those sainted Heroines, kneeling beside them. This composition not only illustrates the memory of the gentle Saints themselves, but the glorification of woman through the teaching and practice of the Catholic Church. It is an early example of the class of paintings, subsequently so much more common and popular, in which sainted females appear not in any historical action or association, but in an abstract character surrounded by a celestial atmosphere—not merely as examples, but as patronesses and powers. The other frescoes by the same artist, in a transept of this church, are almost lost. The only subjects now intelligible, in a series covering large surfaces, are: the translation of the body of S. Clara (1260) from her convent, *S. Damiano*, where she died, to this church, and the consecration of the basilica (formerly dedicated to S. George but now to S. Clara) by Pope Clement IV. 1265. The other much damaged paintings, which it is vain to attempt to appreciate, are described by Rio as a miracle of S. Clara, the resuscitation, namely, of a dead infant, with a group of women around, and the same Saint ascending to Heaven. That last the artist was obliged to leave unfinished, owing to his enfeebled health. In one of the lateral chapels we see a life-size portrait of S. Clara, with eight small *storie* from her life, ascribed to Cimabue, but apparently either repainted or by a later artist; though indeed so full of character accordant with what we know of this energetic woman, that we may regard it as at least a traditionary likeness. The body of that Saint, who died, aged fifty-nine, 1253, was found under the high altar of this church in the September of 1850; and may now be seen, through a grated window, laid in a rich shrine within a chamber

accessible only to the nuns.* At the same time we obtain an unsatisfactory glimpse of some frescoes, said to be of the XIV. century, on the walls of the sacred penetralia.

The Crucifix which *spoke* to S. Francis, from the old church of *S. Damiano*, hangs in the same chamber. Among other frescoes which may be referred to the century here in question, is one representing that miraculous incident—the Crucifix commanding S. Francis to repair His Church (the Institution, not the particular building, as the Saint at first understood)—in the same dim and primitive-looking church, *S. Damiano*, on the hill-side below Assisi. In the Benedictine church of *S. Pietro*, which has good features of the earlier Italian Gothic, and a fine façade of date 1268, some faded fragments of the fresco-painting by which, we may suppose, its walls were once covered, may be of about the same period as the afore-named picture. Undoubtedly the oldest paintings at Assisi are those (but a slight remnant) in the crypt of the cathedral—the most ancient place of Christian worship here, and long anterior to the original Duomo built by the Bishop Ugone between 1036-

* Soon after this discovery of this revered relic was commenced the construction of a splendid “confessional,” or crypt, underneath the high altar, and surrounding the rocky bed in which the Saint’s body was originally laid, and where it is to be eventually replaced. The local circumstances, and the mode of enclosing the saintly tomb within a chapel over whose altar the body reposes, are the counterpart of what is seen in the gorgeous modern chapel forming the third and lowermost story of the Franciscan basilica. But the design adopted at *S. Chiara* is different—highly ornate Italian Gothic with profuse incrustation in marbles and scagliuola. When I last visited Assisi in the summer of 1869, I found that these works for the crypt-chapel had been long in suspense, owing to want of funds. At an early stage of this undertaking a collection, speedily set on foot, soon produced 4,800 Roman scudi, of which 600 were contributed by the Pope. Of two architectural designs prepared, that by a Canon of Assisi named Morichelli, was preferred by the Roman Academy of S. Luke.

1059 ;—also those, a Madonna and Child, alone left in the crypt of *S. Maria Maggiore*, a church of the XII. century, which for a time ranked as this city's cathedral.

Since the suppression of monasteries, twelve friars (priests and lay-brothers) have been allowed to reside in the immense convent attached to the Franciscan basilica, as officiating clergy for the church and guardians of the premises. For the maintenance of this famous sanctuary a revenue of 12,000 francs per annum is assigned : and in the August of '69 was promised an additional subvention of 20,000 francs for repairs. The Commissioners, in '63, judiciously recommended the removal of all the wretched modern adjuncts and tinsel adornments, tawdry gilt wood-work and barocco altar-mountings, by which the friars had contrived to conceal in part several inestimably precious paintings—as, for instance, the Crucifixion by Cavallini—and to detract almost as much as possible from the solemnity of architectural effects. The silent convent, its long corridors and countless unfurnished cells, now present a melancholy scene. Its library is but a wreck, though still containing a collection of some value ; and of the illuminated choir-books, a once precious and numerous set, the two alone left have been furtively deprived of all, except *one*, of the miniatures adorning them !—the painted borders still, however, remaining to enhance our regret for what is lost. It is projected to unite all the monastic libraries of this province in one great collection on these premises—nor could a more appropriate locality be chosen. Such a new consecration would well instal the genius of Science and Learning in the former retreat of Piety.

Few tourists make any sojourn at Foligno, a quiet city in the midst of a beautiful and fertile valley, on the heights around which stand so many other towns whose names have become classical in art-history. There is a charm in

the landscape around, and a quaint picturesqueness in the level city, with its numerous church-towers and decayed fortifications—a harmony in the spirit of the scene—which will be remembered with pleasure by those who have stayed long enough for any distinct recollections of Foligno. From an early mediæval period this city, the “Fulginium,” mentioned as a Roman municipium by Cicero (*Pro Lucio Vareno*), maintained republican principles and forms of government; but in 1305 the Trinci family, descended from Hildebrand, who was Duke of Spoleto in the eighth century, obtained the lordship over their native city, which they continued to rule over, assuming the title of “Vicars of the Pope,” for one hundred and thirty-four years. The last representative of that house in its *quasi*-sovereign capacity, Corrado Trinci, brought down upon himself by intolerable abuse of power a shock, through popular revolt, that weakened the foundations of his sway; and in his person the Trinci dynasty (if so it may be called) was finally overthrown, deprived for ever of the lordship of Foligno, by the Papal Legate of martial renown, Cardinal Giovanni Vitelleschi. From that time forth the city and territory remained under the immediate dominion of the Holy See; though many municipal privileges and an almost independent magistracy were among benefits still enjoyed here under pontific government.

The See of Foligno is said to have been founded by S. Chryspolitus, a disciple of S. Peter, A.D. 58, and the first Christian oratory here is believed to be still extant, comprised within the buildings of a very ancient church, *S. Maria infra Portas*, which originally ranked as the cathedral. S. Felicianus, a bishop who was elected to this See by the free suffrages of the clergy and people, A.D. 197, and who suffered martyrdom at the age of ninety-two, under the Emperor Decius, A.D. 251, is said to have conse-

crated for Christian worship a temple of Pallas, which, after this city had been devastated by the Longobard invaders in the eighth century, was rebuilt on larger scale, subsequently restored and embellished in the XII. and XIII. centuries, and finally reduced to its present form from the designs of Vanvitelli, with a cupola of somewhat earlier date—the third raised in Italy, and attributed, though not beyond doubt, to Bramante. The façade still retains its original architecture, as erected in 1201 by the bishop Anselmo Atti; its fine wheel window has been destroyed, to give place to a useless and unornamental loggia; but the curiously archaic sculptures around the portal, the signs of the zodiac, the four Evangelic Emblems, and relief busts of saints, attest the character of that art in what may be called its mediæval infancy. A crypt, divided into two aisles by massive columns under a depressed vaulting, is, no doubt, the most ancient part of this noteworthy cathedral. In the tower we may visit a small dark chamber which was the retreat, during several years, of the Beato Pietro Crisci, a saint of this city (1243-1323), who early appears in Umbrian art, known by his eremite costume with bare arms and feet, and sometimes represented in prayer whilst gazing undazzled on the sun, according to the legend of his being favoured with a vision of the Saviour in the disk of the luminous orb, which he was preternaturally enabled thus to contemplate; an apparent reminiscence of the Apollo and Mithraic worship, blent with the Catholic mysticism of the middle ages. In that gloomy cell of the cathedral-tower are a few faded frescoes: the Crucifixion, the Agony in the Garden, and, in a recess where the holy man used to sleep on a bed of stone, a Madonna and Child—little noticeable save for the supposable date, which may be referred to some year not long after the recluse's death.

The primitive chapel at *S. Maria infra Porta* is said to have been originally a temple of Diana, consecrated A.D. 58 as a Christian oratory, in which S. Peter and S. Paul celebrated mass while they were guests at Foligno, on a progress through Umbria.* The wall behind the altar of this chapel has been covered with paintings, of which the sole portion left entire is a colossal half-length of Christ blessing between SS. Peter and Paul, who each hold books with jewelled binding, and two of the Evangelic Emblems,—the style of these paintings, and especially the severe character, as well as sallow complexion, of the Saviour's head, reminding of the mosaics in Roman basilicas, and consequently of an antiquity much higher than the period I am now considering. In a recess on one side of this chapel, where was formerly placed the stone said to have served the Apostles as an altar, is a Madonna and Child, probably about as ancient as the other pictures; and in the recess of a deeply splayed window, an *Ecce Homo*, with a six-winged Seraph beside the Divine Victim—of somewhat later art. The entire walls and pilasters of this church have been covered with frescoes, now in the plurality concealed under whitewash, though many are still visible—some to be recognized as inferior works of the XIV. century; others as later, and by masters of evident

* The Apostles were entertained, it is believed, by a family still represented, and now bearing the name of Villa, at a small town in this neighbourhood. It is moreover believed to this day, and not exclusively by the less educated citizens of Foligno, as I understand, that, in gratitude for the hospitalities received, those Apostles conferred on the same family the *hereditary* gift of healing from the malady of sciatica by a touch, which miraculous power is still occasionally manifested, with infallible effects, by members of that otherwise obscure house!—v. “*La Rosa dell’ Umbria*,” an interesting volume for local intelligence, and something more than the mere guide-book, by Giuseppe Bragazzi, Foligno, 1864.

power. I shall have occasion again to notice this memorable church, which contains so many art-works of different degrees of merit, and ranging apparently over several centuries.

The newly formed collection of pictures from suppressed convents in the "Betlemme," a desecrated church of Foligno, should be visited in order to acquaint oneself with the phases of the Umbrian School here represented. Some display the infancy, others the matured life of this local Art. To the earlier period belong the colossal figures of the four Evangelists, each with his mystic emblem, and seated before a clumsy table; a colossal Madonna of severe and forbidding aspect, and a picture (not without solemnity) of the Holy Trinity, the Father and Son with the same traditional types, the Second Person hanging to the cross, which the First Person supports, while the Dove issues from His bosom towards the head of the Crucified; two adoring Seraphs and Saints standing beside the elliptic nimbus which surrounds the Almighty Three. Such conception of the subject begins first to appear, and seems to have become eminently popular, in the second half of the XIV. century; and in later ages every encouragement was given to this species of anthropomorphism, which degrades the ideal and leads astray the imagination directed towards the Infinite.*

By special privilege, and with a written order from the "Priore dei Canonici" of the cathedral, I was enabled to visit the interior of a once celebrated monastery of nuns at Foligno, *S. Anna*, founded by the Beata Angelina,

* The feeling of the early Church was adverse to such representations, and authoritative voices anticipatively condemned them. S. John Damascene determines that the form of Deity should never be introduced by Art save under the recognisable aspect of the Incarnate Son: *Dei, qui est incorporeus, invisibilis—imago nulla fieri potest.*

Countess di Marciano, a patrician lady of this city, in the XIV. century; for the church of which Raffaele painted the exquisite altar piece now in the Vatican, and known as the Madonna di Foligno. Since the suppression, this cloister has been inhabited by all the nuns in Foligno, still allowed, by merciful exemption from the law, to remain in the religious state they prefer; and two communities under different rules, Augustinian and Franciscan, in all about sixty persons, were inmates of these premises at the time I visited them; the two sisterhoods meeting only in choir and in the refectory, otherwise living apart, and observing their respective rules under different superiors. We were received, (my companion being the gentleman who had kindly obtained for me the requisite permission,) by the Mother Superior of the Clarisse Nuns, a venerable lady of mild and dignified manners, who, attended by another elderly sister, accompanied us over every part of the premises where any art-works are seen, and showed anxiety to make our visit as satisfactory as possible. This establishment is enriched by artists of the Umbrian School, paintings by many of whom, and of the best period, adorn the walls of oratories, corridors and refectory. The nuns could not give positive information as to the authorship of these paintings, some of which seemed attributable, if not to the actual pencils at least to the immediate pupils of Pinturicchio and Lo Spagna. Four large frescoes in the refectory are vaguely attributed to Mezastris, but are not characterized by all the refinement and power of that master—though reminding of his manner. Evidently of a period within the limits of my present subject, are some frescoes in a dark vaulted chapel, or crypt, far below the level of the other buildings, where the Beata Angelina used to spend long hours in prayer and to pass nights sleeping on the stone floor, in a recess, near a small altar.

In this grave-like oratory we see paintings of some value, only visible by taper light, and more impressive amidst such mysterious gloom: a Madonna, perhaps an early Byzantine work, disfigured by modern bedizenments; a Crucifixion with the usual grouping round the Cross, and angels collecting the sacred blood, which altar piece seems worthy of some artist distinguished among those who were immediate followers of Giotto; and another picture whose subject the nuns could not explain, but which I conjectured to be the Virgin in her childhood, nourished by Angels whilst she dwelt under care of the High Priest in the Temple. A young girl is kneeling before an altar; above appears a hand, emerging from clouds to bless her, and an Angel is descending towards her, with a vase and some object, wrapt in a cloth, held in his hands.

We shall have to resume our wanderings in Umbria, and shall find much more to observe in its old towns and picturesque villages when the genius of the XV. century becomes the object of our studies. Before quitting this region for the present, we may notice other paintings of the school, and some perhaps by the earliest followers of Giotto, scattered over venerable churches in towns, or on solitary spots, scarcely known to the tourist world. At Trevi, we find in the Gothic church of *S. Francesco*, a multitude of wall-paintings, Madonnas and Saints, some of the rudest, others of superior character. And in an abandoned (though not desecrated) church, in the valley below that mountainous town, *S. Maria di Pietra Rossa*, a still more curiously overcrowded and unsystematic series of frescoes, covering both the inner walls and those sheltered by a portico on the outside; the Madonna and Child being repeated in at least twenty instances; some of these quaint pictures having inscriptions with dates in the XV. century, others (to judge from style) being at least a century older;

all so disposed without attempt at unity or coherence, as to remind us of the impulsive, unthinking devotion which heaps up its votive offerings in defiance of taste and regardless of effect. At Montefalco, far seen on its mountain summit above the valley of Foligno—and a little town most rich in the art of the XV. century—we have at present to notice only the artistic contents of a single church, *S. Francesco*, where (passing over its most precious pictures by Bennozzo Gozzoli in the choir) we have to observe, among a multitude of other wall-paintings, those which display the character of the later Giottesque school, a Crucifixion with SS. Francis and Clara, and four scenes from the life of S. Anthony. At Spoleto are seen a few indifferent paintings of this period in *S. Dominico*, and in the now desecrated *Madonna della Stella*. Near the strikingly picturesque little town of Spello we may visit the ruinous and roofless church of the SS. Trinita, on whose walls are several Madonnas, and two Crucifixions, which we may hesitate to refer either to so early a date as the XIV., or to any other within the XV. century. And similar doubts may be felt as to the wall-paintings, intelligible though much damaged, in the deserted church of *S. Claudio*, a still beautiful building on the high road below that town. At Terni, the church of *S. Francesco*, attached to a convent formerly the seat of the Inquisition, but now a college for the education and maintenance of about forty boys, contains a Gothic chapel whose walls are covered with curious and interesting frescoes, the Last Judgment, Hell, and Purgatory, conceived in a manner that announces the Dantesque influence, and with date, but no name of artist, in the inscription: *Haec est capella heredū di Giovanni di Paradisi di Interane* (Interamna) f(ecit) *A.D. MCCCCL*. Critics assign these paintings to some otherwise unknown imitator of Giotto. It is observable that, amidst the com-

plicated grouping of the Judgment, S. Francis, not the Blessed Virgin, is the most conspicuous of subordinate figures. A tablet set into the wall near the entrance of this chapel, informs us that through the fault and ignorance of the *frati* this most noteworthy part of the mediæval building had been long shut up and neglected, but that it was at last re-opened and restored under the government of Victor Emmanuel, in 1861. As I have observed, the first efforts of the local school in Umbria bear little promise of a future that proved so nobly inspired, and magnificently productive. The few sculptures of about the same period as the other art above noticed, are characterized by rather more vigour and unartificial dignity. Besides the statues and reliefs on the front of the public palace at Perugia, we have to notice a sculptured pulpit in the upper church of the Franciscan sanctuary at Assisi—statuette-reliefs of SS. Francis, Anthony of Padua, and Louis of Anjou, projecting from the orator's tribune; also at Citta di Castello the bassi reliefs round the lateral door of the cathedral: Mercy and Humanity, dignified figures, holding the stems of vine trees amidst whose interlacing branches are smaller reliefs of scriptural and allegoric subjects. In the provinces subject to the Papal tiara the conditions of Art were inferior indeed compared with those manifest, in this same epoch, at other Italian centres. And this phenomenon of characteristic sterility, while it may be explained by the disastrous circumstances in which those provinces were left during the absence of the Pontific sovereigns, bears testimony to the weakness, the incapacity, and backwardness of that government.

NOTE TO PAGE 268.

Having been able to revisit Florence since writing the above, I can now more fully describe the frescoes in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament at

S. Croce, brought to light through works initiated about two years ago, and by the Franciscan friars themselves, six of whose once large community are left in this convent. The paintings in question are by Starnina and Agnolo Gaddi ; the leading subjects, from the lives of the two SS. John, one of the visions of the Apocalypse being introduced in the scenes from the Evangelist's history ; also, various miracles of S. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, though more generally known as the Saint of Bari, where his remains repose. On the flat pilasters are several Franciscan Saints ; on the vault, the four Doctors and Evangelists, all entirely repainted. The high altar of this church has been renewed in style accordant with the original architecture, and a rich Gothic altarpiece placed above it, made up of different panel pictures, attributed in part to Taddeo Gaddi, which had been dispersed and divided between the S. Croce convent and the Uffizi gallery, till thus judiciously appropriated.

CHAPTER VI.

NORTHERN ITALY.—VENICE.

AMONG all Italian cities Venice is the one which makes the deepest impression at a first glance. She seems built in poetry, whilst others are the prose of construction. A glow of the Romantic, a light and colouring all her own invest this unique metropolis, whose highways are the everlasting sea. Though there are gay and brilliant centres, the prevailing local aspect has a melancholy fascination, which is both historic and picturesque. We know little of this wondrous city, unless our experiences have extended far beyond the S. Mark's piazza, the "Riva" and the Grand Canal; unless we have made the voyage through the mazy labyrinth of watery ways, where the silence is only broken by the plash of oars, or the shrill cries of the gondolieri, where the depth of shadow is but fitfully dispelled by sunlight or moonbeam. In these obscure regions signs of decay and faded magnificence meet the eye on all sides; vast gloomy palaces, whose sculptured windows seem to have been shuttered for years, and their thresholds to have been only approached by the weltering wave since the aristocratic owners passed away; abodes of poverty succeeding to those of wealth; the tokens of a strange contrast between the Past and Present are around us. In the architecture here so singularly varied, we may trace the stages of transition from the noblest dignity of the Mediæval to the most tasteless pomp of the Renaissance; yet, notwithstanding all these oppositions, there is a certain grave harmony in the general effect. We are reminded by the Oriental features so conspicuous, and with details exquisitely beau-

tiful, of the conquest of Constantinople by the thirteenth century Crusaders, the "blind old Dandolo," and the Latin Empire of the East. Amidst islands occupied only by dwellings of the humbler sort, clustering round old churches with high square towers, we think of the primitive settlements founded by those fugitives from Aquileja, Altinum, and Padua, who here sought refuge from barbaric invaders in the fifth century. Amidst contrasts of splendour and decay, are found sea-girt solitudes where those who are weary of the world, who would "seek a refuge from their hopes betrayed," might abandon themselves to an almost eremite isolation amidst the lagoons of Venice.

This city, the external and material, had scarcely begun to assume its present aspects before the XV. century—excepting indeed in one class of public buildings, the sacred and ecclesiastical. In the latter, the beautiful though often anomalous characteristics so strongly marked at the present day, and which render the Mediæval churches of Venice so interesting, were not earlier developed than during the XV. and the previous century. Even the S. Mark's basilica did not till within the latter period—the century here considered—receive the varied incrustation of marbles and sculptures on its façade, or its crowning decoration of pinnacles, canopies and statues along the summit, or the gracefully sculptured borders round the ogive arches surmounting the semi-circular archivolts of the upper story—all which adjuncts are wanting in the earliest authentic picture of this marvellous church, the mosaic, namely, over the first of the five portals, on the left, representing the arrival of the procession with S. Mark's body, for the enshrining of those precious relics in the rebuilt church of the XI. century.* None of the stately

* The date of this mosaic is uncertain, but the introduction of the four bronze horses, in their actual place on the façade, shows that it

edifices around the piazza which expands into a scene of pre-eminently picturesque magnificence before this cathedral, existed prior to the latter years of the XV. century ; nor was that great area paved till 1260, though already the chosen scene for tourneys, pomps, and all most attractive spectacles. At the period here in question, Venice contained about a hundred churches, ninety of which are said to have been older than the renewed S. Mark's ; but among the palaces now noticeable for their Oriental, Mediæval, or Renaissance architecture, only three had origin in the XIV. century ; five being of the XII. ; and thirteen were built in the XV. century.* To that latter period, and in no past (as seems well established by local writers) must be ascribed, all that is most ancient, imposing and characteristic in the Ducal Palace as it now stands.

The period of nascent activity in Art, which I have to consider, was one of stern trials and disasters, but also great successes, to the Adriatic Republic ; Andrea Dandolo, Doge at the opening of this half-century, the historian

cannot be anterior to 1205, when those famous bronzes were brought from Constantinople. Trustworthy writers assume that it represents the church as it appeared at the beginning of the XIV. century ; and the comparative correctness of drawing seems scarcely referrible to an earlier time. We have another representation, alike authentic, and the first which shows us S. Mark's almost as it now stands : the picture by Gentile Bellini, dated 1496, and now at the Accademia, of a procession with the relic of the True Cross ; the cathedral being there seen in its present form, with the sole difference that only one of the mosaics now on its front is introduced—that alluded to, which shows us the more ancient simplicity of its architecture.

* Salvatico, "Architettura e Scultura di Venezia."—That many other residences as old as the XIV. century still stand, and in habitable condition, in Venice, is not to be questioned—among these, the house on the *Riva dei Schiavoni*, anciently the Palazzo Molin, which was presented by the Republic to Petrarch, 1363, and has never been modernized, though the ground floor now serves for shops.

of his country and the friend of Petrarch, ordered the first compilation of Venetian laws, a Digest in eighty-four chapters, which were translated into the local dialect soon after the Latin edition had been completed. Almost immediately after the inauspicious election of the next Doge, Marino Faliero (or Marin Falier), the Venetian fleet was destroyed (1354) by the Genoese; under the dukedom of Giovanni Delfino, the Republic lost Dalmatia and Croatia, ceded (1358) to King Louis of Hungary. Whilst Andrea Contarini sat on the ducal throne (1367-81), Hungary, Naples, Genoa, Verona, and Padua were leagued against Venice. A signal victory over the Genoese at sea was won by Vittore Pisani, near Porto d'Anzio, 1378; but in the next year reverses came; the fleet under the same heroic leader was almost totally destroyed near Pola; Venice was blockaded by sea, and her states were invaded by land. Chioggia, the key to the lagoons, was besieged, taken and garrisoned by the Genoese, 1379. The very existence of the Republic and her sea-girt capital was imperilled; and some suggested a transfer of the seat of government to Candia. But heroic efforts were made; great sacrifices from citizens of every class were volunteered. Thrilling words, addressed to the people within the walls of S. Mark's, were answered by the declaration of the unanimous resolve to resist to the last and at whatever disadvantage. There is no episode in Italian History more striking or inspiring than this crisis to Venetian destinies, and the victorious courage with which it was sustained. The result showed that the cause of a nationality need never be despaired of when virtue and magnanimity abound in the breasts of those who defend their hearths and altars.* The Genoese were expelled from Chioggia,

* No more thrilling description of a great political crisis can be found, I believe, in any modern historian, than that by Romanin, (*Storia*

but the Republic had to accept (1380) disadvantageous conditions of peace. Venice, however, had vitality sufficient to recover her high position. Under the dukedom of Antonio Venier (1382-1400) she acquired, or rather recovered, Corfu, and obtained possession of Durazzo, Argos, Scutari, Napoli in Roumania; and during the first year of the opening century, 1400, Verona, Vicenza, Rovigo, Belluno, Feltre, and her long formidable opponent, Padua, wrested from the extinct dynasty of the Da Carrara princes, became subject to Venice. I do not undertake to write a history of this Republic; but may observe the coincidence of dates between these efforts of a progressive political life and the growth of monumental art, the contributions to the magnificence of a great city, and to the majestic beauty of her temples—the developments of genius. S. Mark's attained its present character, and may be supposed to have presented its memorable façade, as it now rises in Oriental pomp before us, by the year 1344. The renewal of the Ducal Palace was first proposed by the Senate in 1301, and commenced 1309; the hall of the Major Council being finished conformably to decree passed in 1340. The two churches ranking next to S. Mark's in grandeur and historic importance, were both progressing in this century, both having been founded in the century previous. *SS. Giovanni a Paolo*, commenced by the Dominicans probably before the year 1246, though not consecrated till 1430, was more rapidly carried forward to architectural completeness after the Major Council had, in 1390, assigned the subsidy of 10,000 ducats out of a fund bequeathed for *documentata di Venezia*) of the scenes that took place at Venice after the fall of Chioggia, the liberation of the unjustly imprisoned Vittore Pisano, the aggregate efforts and high-hearted enthusiasm by which the rulers and citizens proved themselves equal to the demands of an overwhelming danger, an extreme emergency.—See l. VIII., c. v. of that Venetian writer's History.

charitable purposes, to these works. *S. Maria Gloriosa*, or the "Frari" church, founded 1250 by the Friars Minor of S. Francis, who had become settled in Venice, at a small abbey conceded to them by the Benedictines, twenty-three years previously, was not consecrated till 1492; but the dates on its monuments allow us to regard it as a building of the XIV. as well as the succeeding century.

The spirit with which Venice accepted the teaching and submitted to the authority of Rome, forms one of the most interesting subjects for investigation in her annals. She solved in practice the problem of a well-balanced accord between mediæval Catholicism and a haughtily maintained political independence. She cherished orthodoxy, and embodied the religious sentiment in forms so superb that we may suppose the Catholic worship and fêtes to have been, during these ages, more imposing at Venice than anywhere on this side of the Alps. She defied Papal anathemas, yet recognised and stipendiared the Inquisitors against Heresy. In an estimate for ordinary expenses of Government, at this time, we find the amount of 6600 lire per month, drawn from the public revenues; and among the charges to which this was applied, a distribution of alms at Christmas and Easter, and a tribute to the Patriarch of Aquileja; also a subvention stipulated for the Inquisitors. In the treaty of peace after the war of 1379, the Republic pledges herself to co-operate with the Genoese at Constantinople for reconciling the Emperor Calojanni with his rebellious son Andronicus, and if the Greek autocrat should persist in refusing adhesion to the Catholic Church, to unite in the effort of *compelling* him to accept the sole orthodox system and authority—"quod ipsorum viribus et potentiâ mediante, ad fidem Catholicam Deo propitio convertatur." The clergy were always honoured and respectfully treated at Venice, but ever kept under the strictest vigilance, and

amenable to the common law in all that concerned things temporal.* Though originally admitted to all employments, and frequently entrusted with important embassies, they were, in the course of time, excluded from every office under Government, and from all counsels in which there was reason to dread the consequences of their influence at home or relations abroad. Yet on the other hand was manifested the desire to unite the sanctities of worship with the triumphs of patriotism and the memories of political success on every possible occasion. Two annual festivities were appointed in this century for commemorating the rescue of the State from dangers through treason. On S. Vitus' day, 15th June, the Doge and magistrates attended solemn rites at the church of that Saint in thanksgiving for the deliverance of the body politic from a conspiracy which broke out with armed violence in 1310—that, namely, headed by Bajamonte Tiepolo and Marco Querini, against the government of the Doge Gradenigo, and which led to the precautionary institution of a powerful body in the State, the Council of Ten, originally appointed for only two months, but, after being prorogued from one bi-mistral period to another, constituted first for five, next for ten years, and finally rendered permanent, though each member

• Significant was the absence of ecclesiastical co-operation at the coronation of the Doge. At the summit of the grand staircase in the court of the palace, the Ducal cap was placed on his head by the Junior Counsellor with the formula, *Accipe Coronam ducalem Ducatus Venetiarum*. Symbolism is, in this instance, an index to the growth of power and prosperity. The original cap bestowed as the badge of the Venetian sovereignty was of red velvet, and in form somewhat like the Papal tiara. What its shape eventually became we know from Titian's portraits; and we are told it was in 1249 that a golden circlet was first added to it; that in 1361 the Doge Lorenzi Celsi adorned its front with a golden and jewelled cross; and in 1473 a head-piece entirely of gold was first assumed by the Doge Niccolo Marcello.

had to retire after two years. On S. Isidore's day, 16th April, the Doge and "Signoria" attended High Mass and a procession at S. Mark's in commemoration of the frustrating of that strangest conspiracy in which the chief criminal was he who wore the ducal crown, Marino Faliero. The fête of the "Maries," or the "Brides of Venice," held on the 2nd February at *S. Maria Formosa*, was among all the most costly; and certain *contrade* (civic wards) were every year chosen by lot to defray its expenses. In 1361 the two *contrade* to which the lot had fallen were required to contribute respectively 190,010 and 103,060 lire for these costs of festivity.* One would not suppose that the excesses of superstition could have found a favourable atmosphere here; yet one annual celebration had origin in a legend, immortalized by the pencil, and of character so wildly fantastic as to convince us that Venice was in no way exempt from the leaven of credulity or mediæval mysticism. On the 15th February, 1340, this city was visited by a tremendous inundation of the sea, whose waters rose higher by three cubits than had ever been known before. In the

* The popular festivities on this occasion, which lasted eight days, degenerated into such a species of saturnalia that, soon after the great war above mentioned, they were suppressed (1379); but the religious observances long remained. The Doge failed not to visit the appointed church on the 2nd February, and received from the parish, through the hands of its rector, two hats of gilt straw, two flasks of Malvasia wine, and two oranges. It was the valour of the artisans of that district which mainly conduced to the rescue of the young brides carried away by pirates, A.D. 994. The gallant volunteers asked of the Doge, as sole recompense, that he should annually visit their church on that day. "What if it should rain?" asked Pietro Candiano, who then wore the ducal cap. "We will give you hats to cover your head," was the answer. "What if we should be thirsty?" "We will give you something to drink," was the promise of the honest artisans, officially fulfilled in those prescribed offerings on the 2nd of every February.

dark stormy night a poor fisherman, who was seeking refuge for himself and his boat near the S. Mark *piazzetta*, was accosted by a dignified stranger, who promised good fare for being rowed to the opposite island, *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, where now stands the great Benedictine church so named. The fisherman reluctantly complied. Having landed his passenger on that island, another stranger there appeared, and desired to be rowed to S. Nicolo, on the Lido, a much longer voyage across the lagoon eastward; arrived there, they found another stranger, of venerable aspect, who desired to be rowed back to the city, and to the landing-place nearest S. Mark's. The fisherman complied, being impressed with something more than common in the appearance and manner of each of these three strangers. When the third had landed near S. Mark's, he gave to the poor man a gold ring, desiring him to present this to the Doge, and tell him that the Patron Saints of Venice—S. Mark, S. Nicholas, and S. George—had interposed to save the city from destruction, and had submerged a ship manned by Demons, which was sailing, tempest-tossed, across the Adriatic, bringing ruin to Venice. The fisherman of course told his story, and presented the ring, which was found to be the identical one recently stolen from the treasury in S. Mark's basilica. For a long time an annual solemnity was held, commemorative of this vision, or divine interposition, which met with general and unquestioning belief.* As

* Paris Bordone's picture of the Doge, amidst the Senate and magistrates, receiving the ring from the fisherman (now in the Accademia), is beyond all praise. Giorgione's picture (in the same gallery) of the voyage of the three Saints represents them all in the fisherman's bark together, and in sight of the Demon galley which approaches, with all sails set, amidst storm and darkness; this being apparently founded on a version of the story somewhat different from the above. San-sovino, *Venezia descritta*, narrates this legend briefly, but with *bondà*

undoubting a belief, still attested by the legend in the book held by the symbolic lion,—*Pax tibi Marce, Evangelista meus*,—seems to have been accorded to the legend of the appearance of the living S. Mark, and his encounter with an angel, who saluted him in those words, on the island where now stands the church of *S. Francesco della Vigna*, and where the Apostle is said to have landed, taking refuge from tempest, on his voyage returning from Aquileja.

Worthier fruits of Christian civilization were borne by Venice, even earlier than the age here referred to. By this time the city possessed hospitals and asylums for orphans and destitute children, for female paupers and penitents, for foundlings, and invalid sailors. No where were charitable institutions better provided for at this period; no where were the evils of professional mendicancy more efficiently checked; the really indigent being sent out of the city to establishments on distant islands, where food and shelter at least could be secured. Most humanely was it provided that a special magistracy should be charged with the protection of children of both sexes employed in factories. Besides other protection, by armed force, of public safety in canals and streets, there was a local police, unique, I believe, and without parallel in any other capital of mediæval Europe, and the appointment of which affords signal proof of regard for justice; this body being charged to act as guides to strangers and pilgrims, and to direct them to the places where lodging might be had, or necessities purchased, at reasonable price. The artisan classes were enrolled here, as at Florence and elsewhere, in "*Arti*;" but the admission of strangers into those sodalities was

fide acceptance of its historic correctness: "At this time (he says) occurred the famous miracle of S. Mark, S. George, and S. Nicholas, who saved the city from a terrific and horrid disaster threatening its ruin by inundation."

facilitated, and the advantages offered induced many to seek the privilege. Even slaves could be admitted into these guilds, for that unhappy class were treated better at Venice, as local historians show, than in most other States where the iniquitous traffic in human beings was tolerated.

On the whole, we may fairly admit the evidence abundantly adduced by native writers, in support of the assertion that civilization was more advanced, and justice more impartially administered, the general welfare more efficiently guaranteed by wise laws, and beneficent institutions at Venice than in most other European, than in any other Italian capitals, during the Middle Ages.

Amidst such circumstances and from such antecedents we might expect a munificent encouragement of Art, and the desire to see its splendours developed, especially when applicable to sacred and public, or political, purposes. Nor shall we find ourselves mistaken in anticipating as much at Venice. At this early period, however, the artistic genius was but at the dawn of its day in the ocean city. In painting appears scarcely any indication of the qualities for which the local school became eventually distinguished. The origin of Venetian art is referred to Byzantine sources; and the first models, for the painter at least, were supplied in the mosaics of the eleventh century, at S. Mark's, mostly by Greek artists invited by the Doge Selvo, about 1070, to adorn that temple of the Patron Saint. Later introduced Greek art-works, paintings, statues, reliefs, imported from Constantinople after the conquest in 1204, continued to maintain the traditions and taste naturally determined by such examples in a city not yet possessing a school of her own. The prevailing Oriental influence was first checked, or counteracted, by Gentile da Fabriano in the earlier years of the XV. century; a pupil of that gifted master, Jacopo Bellini, transmitting to his sons, Gentile (1421-1501)

and Giovanni (1426-1516), the knowledge which availed them in the pursuit of their father's art, and in carrying it to such excellence as shed a glory round their family name.

There is not much to interest deeply in the pictorial art produced here before the close of this century ; and as my object is to dwell rather on ideas and tendencies than on the particular qualities of masters or schools, I need but cursorily notice the extant paintings of this comparatively early period. The ablest Venetian painter of this time was Semitecolo, who lived till 1400 ; and whose earliest extant work is a Coronation of the Virgin (date 1351) at the Accademia ; his latest, and perhaps best, an altar-piece (1380), now in the library of the chapter-house of the Canons at Padua. A Gothic ancona, in many compartments, at the Accademia, has the inscription under the central panel, *Stefan Plebanus Sanctæ Agnetis*, with the date 1380, the subject here represented being like the above-named—the Saviour placing the crown on Mary's head. In the other compartments are scenes from the life of Christ, and four from that of S. Francis, all by Semitecolo. That artist has treated some of these subjects with more historic correctness than later and superior masters did after him. In the Baptism scene he represents the Saviour standing up to His breast in the river, whilst S. John pours water over His head. In the Last Supper the beloved Disciple is not *asleep*, though leaning on the bosom of the Divine Master. In the Resurrection the soldiers are, with a usual error, represented as sleeping beside the tomb. Other pictures in the same gallery, with the names of Lorenzo Veneziano, Francesco Bissolo, Jacopo da Valesa, dated within the XIV. century, have little to claim attention. In the Civic Museum at the Correr Palace is another collection, comprising pictures of the

least developed as well as of the highest phase. What pertains to the earlier Venetian school, among these, seems only valuable in a relative way and in historic association. One of the earliest paintings at Venice with ascertainable date is in the sacristy of the gorgeous modern church, *S. Maria della Salute*, and represents the Doge Francesco Dandolo (1328-39), with his consort, presented to the Virgin and Child by their Patron Saints. At the rear of the high altar of S. Mark's hangs a panel picture, with two orders of distinct subjects,—Christ standing in the tomb, the Virgin, SS. Peter, Mark, Luke, Nicholas, Theodore; and below, the history of the transfer of S. Mark's body from Alexandria to Venice, inscribed with the names of "Magister Paulus" and his sons Luca and Giovanni, also the date 1345; but as this picture has been entirely repainted, the composition alone, in its actual state, belongs to the mediæval period. A chapel at S. Mark's was founded, 1350, by the Doge Andrea Dandolo, and completed 1355, under his successor Giovanni Gradenigo, for enshrining the body of S. Isidore, brought from Scio to Venice in 1125. The mosaics, which cover the vault and two lunettes underneath it, at the opposite ends of this chapel, announce the first stage of emancipation from ancient trammels, and a return to classical traditions, with a certain degree of truthfulness. They represent the martyrdom of the Saint through various tortures till he is finally beheaded; the subduing by the sign of the Cross of a Demon, a black winged monster, who stands discomfited before the Saint; the Baptism of a Princess; the arrival of the Doge Domenico Michiel at Scio; the discovery of the body of the Saint, and its removal from a stately tomb on that island; the shipment and transport of those relics to Venice; on the two lunettes, the Saviour between Saints, the Apostle Mark, Isidore, and others. The shrine of S.

Isidore, over the altar of this chapel, is a noticeable work of its period, (about 1350), not approaching the high merits of contemporary Tuscan sculpture, but impressive and well conceived: the effigy of the Saint, in secular costume, is laid on a sarcophagus, above which stands an Angel with a censer, and on the front are statuette-relievi of SS. Mark, Isidore, and John the Baptist; also two small historic relievi of the Saint's martyrdom—he is dragged at the tail of a horse, on which rides an executioner, and decapitated,—the subjects of compositions among the mosaics; the shrine being surmounted by a deeply recessed arch, adorned with reliefs of foliate ornato, and animals combating, in mediæval style; two other statuettes of Virtues are placed external to this arched recess. The dim light, here admitted, adds solemnity to this saintly shrine. Some of the mosaics in the Baptistery of S. Mark's, though not all, nor indeed the plurality among those on its vaulted roof, are of about the same date, having been ordered by the same Doge Dandolo, who spent large sums on this chapel, in which he desired to be interred. In their aggregate, the mosaics of this cathedral display the whole history of that art, applied to religious purposes, from the XI. to the XVIII. century; and the contrasts here before us between the mystical and conventional, the ascetic and the boldly imaginative treatment, are most curious.

Continuing to consider the Sculpture of this period, we find that Art more developed and attended with more promise than is the case with contemporary painting at Venice. The finest statuary of date within this epoch is at S. Mark's. On the architrave of a marble screen, or rood-loft, dividing the tribune from the nave, and at each side of a metallic Crucifix are seven statues, the Apostles, to whose company of twelve S. Paul adds the thirteenth, with the Virgin Mother; the names of the artists, Pietro

Paolo and Jacobello, surnamed Dalle Masegne, being inscribed with the date 1394.* Dignity and intellectual character distinguish these figures; the heads have well-marked individuality; that of S. Paul is finely philosophical; the Madonna, unlike conventional conceptions of this subject, is self-possessed, self-reliant, though sorrowing; the S. John, opposite to her on the other side of the cross, overcome by grief. The figure of the Crucified, and the Evangelic emblems at the extremities of the metal cross, are of silver; the artist's name, with the date 1394, being also preserved.† Little is known of the Masegne brothers, except the fact that they were pupils of Agostino and Agnolo da Siena, and that Jacobello had a son named Paolo, who followed the calling and imitated the style of his father at Venice. Similarly placed statues on the architraves of two other marble screens before chapels, lateral to the tribune of S. Mark's, may be attributed to the same brothers, for they are alike distinguished by dignified forms and expression. At the centre of each architrave is a Madonna and Child, and beside this group are, on the screen before the chapel of S. Clement, SS. Christina, Clara, Catherine of Alexandria, and Agnes; on that before the chapel of S. Peter, SS. Mary Magdalene, Cecilia, Helena, and Margaret; an inscription below the latter sculptures containing the name of the Doge, Antonio Venier, and the date 1397. Other sculptures in this cathedral show the Pisan influence, as well as a felicitous power to appropriate the refinement and feeling which distinguish that School. In a chapel off the left aisle we see a sculptured altar-piece, pre-eminently beautiful: the Virgin and

* MCCCXCIII. hoc opus erectum fuit tempore excelsi Domini Antonii Venerii Dei gratiâ Ducis Venetiarum.—Jacobellus et Petrus Paulus Fratres de Venetis fecerunt hoc opus.

† Jacobus Magistri Marci Benato de Venetiis fecit.

Child, each wearing a gilt crown, and two Apostles, under acute-arched canopies with florid ornato ; the serene loveliness and calm dignity of the Mother, as also her action of clasping the Infant to her bosom, yet at the same time allowing His figure to be fully seen,—she being conscious of the devotional regards directed towards Him—alike remind us of the great Tuscan masters. The chapel was founded in 1430 ; but some critics conclude (with Cicognara) that these sculptures are of earlier date, and prior to the opening of that century. We may infer that the Madonna statue here before us became a favourite type at Venice, for we see in this city two almost exact copies of it in sculptures not probably of a much later origin—one against the wall of the south transept at S. Mark's, the other on the monument of the Doge Antonio Venier (ob. 1400) at *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*. As was natural, under such political institutions, and with such public spirit as prevailed here, monumental sculpture was first to obtain imposing prominence at Venice. The desire to enhance the honours of the illustrious dead and to add to the splendour of the temple by the beauty or pomp of their sculptured records, proved eventually, as is but too apparent, detrimental to the higher and purer qualities, and almost eliminated the spiritual element from this class of Art-works at Venice. Becoming more and more political, less and less religious, these monuments at last sink into the depths of bad taste, or (as we might also say) rise to the height of egotistic vanity and florid ostentation. A severer feeling and style prevailed in the XIV. century ; and among examples of such higher qualities, I may mention the monument of the Doge Andrea Dandolo, above referred to, in the S. Mark's Baptistery : the conception superior to the execution ; angels drawing aside curtains to display the effigy laid on a funeral couch (the accessory first introduced by the Tuscan school) ;

statuettes of saints, small reliefs on the sarcophagus-front,* and a horizontal canopy above. A good example of the utmost simplicity of treatment is the horizontal tomb (now set upright) at *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, of a bishop of Castello, the ancient title of the Venetian See, who died 1381, and is here represented in monastic costume, with gaze fixed on a book, the mitre and crozier beside him as symbols. Other monuments of the earlier and archaic class, some with rude reliefs of sacred subjects, others with the effigy merely incised, are in the museum (now but a remnant of its former contents) in the Patriarchal Seminary.

The two great churches built for Dominicans and Franciscans, *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* and *S. Maria Gloriosa*, or the Frari, are noble examples of the Mediæval style, here apprehended and carried out with a harmony not often attained in Italian architecture. An expansive and aerial majesty distinguish both buildings; and though the monuments in them are somewhat over-crowded, whilst presenting the utmost possible contrasts of style, there is much to fascinate and impress in such a concentration of historic memories here pervading the sacred precincts. It seems the sublime accord of the spirit of Patriotism with the spirit of Piety; and we tread these majestic aisles with renewed reverence for the vocation and nobly accomplished destiny of the Adriatic Queen, so potent in mediæval Europe. *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, especially, is the Westminster Abbey and Santa Croce of Venice, containing forty-six monuments to the illustrious, or at least conspicuous, of ages passed. Among such works admirable for the higher artistic character, I may mention the monument, near the high altar, to the Doge Michiel Morosini, who died of the plague, 1382,

* Reliefs of S. John in the cauldron of boiling oil, and the crucifixion of S. Andrew. The epitaph written by Petrarch has not been engraved on this tomb.

but a few months after his election : a Gothic canopy, with a statuette of the Archangel Michael at the apex, and a picture of the Crucifixion on the *fondo* beneath, overshadows the funeral couch, on which lies the effigy with finely marked countenance seen in distinct profile ; statuettes of Saints and Virtues filling three orders of niches on the facettes of pilasters at each side, and two other Saints keeping watch, as it were, beside the dead. Opposite, in the same tribune, stands the contrasted, but also impressive monument of the Doge Marco Cornaro (ob. 1368), with the effigy on an inclining plane so as to be brought better into view ; no canopy, but statues of the Virgin and Child with four Apostles in acute-arched niches, at higher level, forming another order in the composition. Over a door in a transept is the high placed monument of the Doge Antonio Veniero (ob. 1400), the effigy, reclining on the tomb, scarcely visible ; though we distinctly see the accessorial sculptures, statuettes of Saints on the sarcophagus front, the Virgin and Child with two Apostles above the image of the dead. Near this stands the monument to the wife and daughter of the same Doge, without any effigy, but a relief of the Virgin and Child and two Apostles under a richly moulded acute-arched canopy which surmounts the modest tomb—its character different, and with more of the early mediæval feeling than the memorial of the husband and father. That ducal monument, is, as its style announces, a work of the school founded by the Masegne brothers. All the above-noticed are examples of the higher and religious conception in monumental art ; of an ideal so carried out as to remind us less of the state or station than of the virtues of the deceased, less of the mortal than the immortal life.

Our studies of the Art of this period at Venice would be incomplete indeed if failing to comprise any notice of two

most interesting and original series of compositions: the sculptured archivolts, at least the two outer ones, over the chief portal of S. Mark's, and the capitals of the ground floor arcade along two sides of the Ducal Palace. The arguments and evidence adduced by recent writers convince me that both those series must be referred to the XV. century, and are, as those writers infer, by the same artist, or from designs by the same hand. It seems clearly established that the façade of that basilica was finished, in its present richly ornate and oriental character, during the first half of the XIV. century, to which period belong, apparently, the fantastic and almost grotesque reliefs—groups of little men, animals and birds, combating amidst foliate ornato, along the *inner* archivolt immediately above the chief entrance. But the reliefs on the two outer and ampler arches are far superior both as to conception and finish; their subjects, the Saviour blessing, half-figures of Prophets amidst luxuriant foliage, and the Divine Lamb surrounded by thirteen illustrations of artisan labours, with one other figure of the mystical class.* Selvatico, one of the most learned writers on Venetian art and monuments, concludes (I believe justly) that these very original sculptures must be given to the same hand as the storied capitals of the palace. The latter have long been attributed, and are still so in popular report, to Filippo Calendario, an accomplice in the Faliero conspiracy, who, with others found guilty, was

* The last, the lowest on the left hand, represents a man in long vestments, seated, leaning on crutches, and with a comical look of mortification putting one finger into his mouth. The satirical is, no doubt, intended in this curious subject. It would be pleasant to admit the notion (perhaps too far-fetched) of the historian Zanotto (*Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*) respecting a purpose to imply the reprobation of, and contempt for, the vain science of Astrology, proscribed by the sage magistrates who directed the artist's inventiveness in this instance!

hanged from a window of this palace the night before that treasonable plot was to have been carried to effect. The ancient residence for the head of the Venetian State was built by the Doge, Agnello Participazio, about A.D. 900. It was injured, but not (as often said) totally destroyed by the fire kindled in the revolt against the hated Doge, Candiano IV, who lost his life amidst the fierce onset, A.D. 976; and the original church of S. Mark was at the same time, if not destroyed, reduced to ruin. Pietro Orseolo II, elected Doge in 991, did much to repair the Ducal palace, and the Emperor Otho III, a guest here towards the end of that century, is recorded to have praised the beauty or splendour of the edifice. As I have stated, a more systematic renovation was proposed in 1301 and commenced in 1309; the directing architect being Pietro Baseggio, who died before the year 1354, and entrusted the execution of his plans to his successor in the same post, Filippo Calendario, connected with him by marriage. For a time all the works were directed by the latter; and Cicognara attributes to him those memorable sculptures on the capitals which announce a new tendency and a newly-opened field for this art. They illustrate, with singular ingenuity and fantasy, the themes of Science, the schools of Philosophy, the labours and ordinary life of man, religious ideas and political principles. I believe that Calendario's claims to the credit of originating them must be absolutely set aside. Ten years after his tragic death, the Doge, Marco Cornaro, ordered the interior of this building to be adorned with portraits of all who had filled the Ducal throne, and with illustrations of two lives historically interwoven together, as is well known, those of Alexander III. and the Emperor Frederick I.

It is assumed that the Ducal Palace of the XIV. century no longer exists; that no part of the actual building dates

earlier than 1424. In that year it was ordered by deliberation of the Senate that the ancient façades of this residence, the yet extant palace of the tenth century, should, seeing their then dilapidated condition, be taken down and rebuilt. During the long reign of the unhappy Francesco Foscari (1423-'57), the works of the new palace continued; the project having been first made by the predecessor of that Doge, Tommaso Mocenigo, who braved the law rigorously prohibiting, under penalty of a fine of 1000 ducats, the mere proposal for such an undertaking. Mocenigo counselled the desirable works, paid the fine, and on the 27th September, 1422, was passed the decree for the rebuilding of the palace. It is possible that parts of the interior of the older edifice may have been preserved; but such must have perished, the whole structure, except the outer walls, having been destroyed by conflagrations.* Eventually this historic palace was reduced to its present form and plan, with respect at least to the renewed interior, on the suggestion and from the designs of Antonio da Ponte, almost the only one of a board of fifteen architects, constituted for the emergency, who counselled the preservation of all that remained, without change of a single detail in this nobly characteristic building. The sculptures on the afore-mentioned capitals are now attributed by the more learned critics to Bartolomeo and Pantaleone Bon; and as to Filippo Calendario, it is agreed that though his appointment as director of the works at this palace after the death of Baseggio pre-supposes high repute in his capacity of

* Sansovino tells us that, in 1477, "a great part of the Ducal Palace was consumed in one night." In 1574 three of the halls of state were destroyed by fire, as was that of the Grand Council, with that "dello Scrutinio," in which were designated the forty-one electors of the Doge in 1577.

architect,* no extant performance either in that art or in sculpture can be attributed to him.

Other sculptures of the XIV. century, scattered over Venice, may assist us in forming an estimate of the earlier art at this centre, and bringing before the mind's eye the picture, somewhat rugged and sombre compared with present realities, of this city at the period in question. We have to remember that the Venice of that time had no Rialto (as it now stands), or Bridge of Sighs; and that the Ducal Palace in which Marino Faliero was beheaded eight months after he had been elected Doge, no longer exists. The chronology of public works shows us that the progress in splendour and embellishment of every description was wonderfully rapid in this "glorious City of the Sea," and that the XV. century was the golden age as well of her artistic beauty as her political power.

Among monuments of earlier date, besides those above mentioned, are two in the Frari church distinguished by the severe simplicity so far departed from in later ages; one, that of a German Knight, named Arnold (ob. 1300), presenting the earliest example here seen of the recumbent effigy on the tomb. Next in date is another similarly treated, in the same chapel of that church, to Duccio degli Alberti (ob. 1336), Florentine Ambassador to this Republic, whose effigy in armour lies under a Gothic canopy sculptured with the symbolism of the Holy Lamb and the Lily of the Tuscan State. A Madonna statue, on a pinnacle of the façade of the Frari church, is ascribed by Cicognara to Niccolò Pisano; but by later critics to the Masegne brothers. Less intrinsically valuable, but curious, is a relief of the Virgin and Child with angels, an early example of affected

* An old Venetian chronicler describes him as "an architect who was a man most astute, and who was much in favour with the Signoria—*molto ben voggiudo (voluto) dalla Signoria.*"

mannerism, and originally painted all over in brightest tints, the hair being gilt, in the recently restored church of *S. Maria dell' Orto*. This is the work of the sculptor Giovanni de Sanctis, whose monument, a horizontal tombstone with an effigy in the lowest relief, (ob. 1390), is in the sacristy of the same church.*

Perhaps there is no parallel instance of important and really beneficial results secured through possession of a revered relic to such a degree as Venetian annals attest. The shrine where the body of S. Mark was laid in the year 831, became to national feeling as it were the Palladium and Oracle of the Republic, which so bravely strove for and gallantly maintained her high position. The watchword "Viva San Marco!" was not one of fanaticism, nor subservient to superstitious purposes; it was the war-cry of the patriot and the stimulus to heroic effort. Such records of the popular devotion towards the Saint as here meet the eye, especially in the countless texts inscribed on the gilt walls and domes of his basilica, seem to indicate little less than the attribution of Divine honours to him; but it is a

* Scarcely above the barbaric are the relievi near the entrance to the Belle Arti Academy (formerly the convent of *La Carita*): the Virgin enthroned, with the Child, who is receiving homage from kneeling devotees (dated 1345); also S. Leonardo and S. Christopher, 1377. On the now solitary island between Murano and Torcello, called Mazzorbo, which once had many cloisters and five parish churches, stands a single dilapidated church over the entrance to which is a relief, very archaic, and far from beautiful, of the espousals of S. Catherine, the earliest example of that mystic subject in Art that I have seen, this being dated, in a Gothic inscription, 1368; the Christ, seated on a throne and holding a book with the words "Ego sum lux mundi" on the open page, places a ring on the hand of S. Catherine, who, crowned and in rich array, kneels before Him, together with two other tiny figures, one of whom holds a crozier; two little angels floating above. Two episcopal monuments in the grand old cathedral of Torcello are noticeable; the effigy on one in low relief, that on the other, merely incised.

distinction of mediæval Catholicism that even the misapprehension of its doctrines, and the errors of enthusiastic zeal in the interpreting of its principles, proved sometimes productive rather of good than evil.*

PADUA.

At Padua, as at Asisi, a great sanctuary containing the shrine of a pre-eminent popular Saint, formed an attraction to genius as well as piety, and became a focus of wealth unappreciable. The period during which mediæval Art produced its noblest works here, coincides with that of the dominion of the Da Carrara family, who, though their reigns were troubled, and in some instances their reputation stained by darkest crimes, did much to promote intellectual interests.

In 1318 the Republican government was suppressed at this city, when Giacomo da Carrara, after being led from the Senate-house and presented to the people by his partisans, was accepted with acclamations as lord of Padua

* The history of the transport of the body of S. Mark from Alexandria to Venice is narrated in the Chronicle by Andrea Dandolo with all due acceptance of the miraculous; and that writer mentions the appearance of the Angel to the living Apostle whilst he was sailing across the lagoons on his way from Aquileja, where he had founded a church and bishopric, back to Rome; the Angel pointing out to him the destined site of Venice, prophesying the brilliant future of that city, and also the fact that the Apostle should have his last resting place here in a supremely honoured shrine. Over the ancient mosaic of the arrival of the sacred body at the cathedral (above alluded to), on that church's front, is an inscription thus given by Selvatico:

Collocat hunc dignis plebs laudibus, et colit hymnis,
Ut Veneto servet, terraque marique gubernet.

But which, as it now stands, has the second line unintelligibly altered thus:

Ut Venetos semper sepit e(t)ab hoste suos.

and its state. His successor Marsilio, beset by domestic treason, his power and person being threatened by his own uncle, handed over this state to Can Grande della Scala, lord of Verona. After the death of that more powerful Prince (1328), Padua was besieged by the Venetians and Florentines in league against the Scaligeri; and when Marsilio, instead of resisting, voluntarily admitted the besieging force, he was rewarded by those allies, with the recognition of a power less conditional than he had yet exercised over his native city. Novello da Carrara, on whose behalf his father, Francesco, had abdicated, 1388, found himself without an army, without finances or trustworthy counsellors, and consigned Padua to the most unscrupulously ambitious of Italian Princes, Gian Galazzo Visconti, who in return sent both the Da Carraras, father and son, to prisons in Lombardy. The escape of Novello, and his perilous wanderings over far-distant lands—the Italian states, Avignon, Bavaria, Croatia,—in hope of obtaining aid to recover his heritage, and his entry by night into Padua, passing along the dried bed of the Brenta with a small company of mounted troops (June, 1390)—all this forms one of the most romantic episodes even in the strangely eventful annals of mediæval Italy. The friend and patron of Petrarch conspicuous in this Carrara dynasty, Giacomo II. (1345-50), obtained the principedom by the sacrifice of his predecessor's life, and was himself cut off by assassination from the hand of a relative, the illegitimate son of Giacomo I. It has been said of him that “never was authority better exercised after being purchased by crimes.” Together with the latter Prince may be classed among benefactors of science and literature, his successor Francesco, who secured to himself undivided sway by the treacherous imprisonment of his colleague and uncle (1355). He obtained from the Pope the privilege for the Paduan University of conferring

degrees in Theology, and founded the first college in this city for the gratuitous education and maintenance of a certain number of students; several other establishments similar to which, for poor students from different Italian cities and from Cyprus, were opened in Padua during this century. Rash hostilities against Venice, often treacherously pursued and promoted by evil means, proved fatal to the Da Carrara family as well as to the independence of their State; and the last representatives of that house, an unhappy father with his two sons, suffered violent deaths, victims of remorseless policy, in Venetian dungeons, A.D. 1406.*

The Basilica of S. Anthony—that magnificent example of the transitionary style, between Byzantine and Gothic—is said by Vasari, and by many who have followed him, to have been designed by Nicolo Pisano; but no contemporary or early writers mention this. What is certain is, that the foundations were laid in 1237; the works fairly commenced in 1259; and they are said to have been finished, at least in the principal structure, 1307; but the central cupola was not added until 1424, and the whole edifice arose, developed into its majestic completeness, as at this day before us, in 1475. The body of S. Anthony was laid in its splendid shrine within these walls, 1350, by a French Cardinal, Legate in Lombardy. The church itself may be regarded as a vast mausoleum to that eminently popular saint; and when we see all these honours rendered to a self-mortified

* The last representatives, namely, of the Da Carrara family in their capacity as independent Princes were those put to death by strangulation in different prisons, the father, Francesco II., on the 17th September, and the sons, Francesco III. and Jacopo, two days afterwards. Francesco II. had two other sons, who found refuge at Florence, where one died a natural death in 1407; and the other, having unfortunately ventured to revisit Padua for some private affairs, was seized at a villa in the neighbourhood, conducted to Venice, and put to death by decapitation, 1435.—Muratori, *Annali*, MCCCCV.

mendicant friar, we are reminded of the power that has gone forth from the teaching of the Crucified Lord, to reverse the maxims of worldly wisdom, and frustrate the combinations of worldly prudence—"putting down the mighty from their seats, and exalting them of low degree!"* There is a chapel in this basilica (for so the church ranks) adorned with paintings, the value of which, as attesting the luminous progress of art, can scarcely be over-estimated. It was founded, 1376, by Bonifazio de Lupi, Marquis di Soragna, and originally dedicated to S. James the Apostle, but subsequently to S. Felix, whose body was laid here about the year 1504. The frescoes round its walls illustrate the principal events in the Gospel, and the entire legend of S. James; the former series by Jacopo Avanzi of Bologna; the latter by Altichieri (or Aldighiero) da Zevio, of the Verona province; these two having been assisted by a Paduan artist, Jacopo Davanzo.† All the paintings here before us were more or less injured by retouching in 1773. The Crucifixion, the largest, fills three compartments, the group of women on one side, the soldiers casting lots (a highly dramatic scene,) on the other; the Victim on the cross being dead. The episode of the fainting of the Mother, and consequent attention paid to her by the other women, is a novelty, now introduced, and henceforth

* This Saint (1195-1231,) born at Lisbon, has become "S. Anthony of Padua" through popular assent alone. His usual emblem is a flaming heart, to signify the ardour of his charity.

† Strange how little is known of the lives of two artists whose works assert a rank alike eminent for both! Jacopo Avanzi was born 1350, and was the cousin of Simone called "dalli Crocifissi," from his predilection for the Crucifixion among subjects; with that relative Avanzi was collaborer in the frescoes at the Mezzarata chapel near Bologna. Altichieri was engaged much at Padua, but is only otherwise known as a follower of the Giotto School in the latter years of this century—his designation "Da Zevio," derived from his birthplace.

generally admitted in art, against which I must protest, as unhistoric, unsuitable, derogatory to the moral effect of this scene. No word in the sacred narrative justifies the belief that Mary so gave way to her feelings at the dread catastrophe; and the early devotion of the Church contemplates her as *standing*,—"Stabat mater dolorosa," &c., beside the Cross till the last moment of awful agony, till the Divine body had been lowered for entombment. The little we know as to the personal character or conduct of this holy woman assures us that hers were the ornaments of a meek and quiet spirit; that she was never elated by her glorious privileges, and never succumbed under the burden of profound, but not unforeseen, sorrows. The artists who imagine her swooning in the Crucifixion scene, impute physical and moral weakness to her: and the group of a more or less interesting lady with her anxious handmaids, claiming all attention for *her* at such a moment, is a piece of vulgar sentimentality. The other pictures of New Testament subjects in this chapel need no explanation. Those from the legend of S. James present, I believe, the first appearance of that romantic story in art; and the paintings themselves may be best understood through acquaintance with the narrative in all its details.

S. James while preaching in the Temple of Jerusalem (here converted into a splendid church of Italo-Gothic style,) is opposed by a magician, who stands up amidst the congregation to resist him. This magician (named Anastasius) is supposed (though such episode is not here portrayed,) to have been carried away by Demons, but at the behest of the Apostle is brought back, riding on a dragon, to earth. Converted by the miracles or arguments of the Apostle, he at last burns some magical books in his presence. Next ensues the martyrdom of S. James; he is brought before a judge, or prætor, and condemned to death; on his

way to execution, one of the headsmen is converted, falls at his feet, declaring himself a Christian, and is immediately condemned to suffer the same death by the axe. Two magicians, both alike converted by the same power, here appear on the scene, and co-operate in the transport of the Apostle's body to a distant land; they place it in a ship, which is steered by an Angel to the coast of Spain. On landing there the pious voyagers request permission of a noble lady named Lupa, to have it interred within the walls of the castle of which she is owner. Next is seen an episode in the story of those converted magicians, who are accused as Christians, and condemned to suffer by drowning in a river, but are eventually rescued by an Angel after being thrown into the deep waters. The Spanish lady desires the body of S. James to be placed on a car, and drawn by oxen whithersoever they choose to go; the animals stop before a splendid building (Italian-Gothic,) which proves to be the castle of Lupa, and which she now concedes as a resting place for those sacred relics, and allows to be consecrated for Christian worship. The posthumous miracles of S. James come next in the series: he appears in a vision of the night to Raniero, King of Oviedo, promising him victory over the Moors in Spain; the King, enthroned in state, announces this to his courtiers; a battle ensues, and whilst the Christians are besieging the Moslems in a city, S. James is seen floating in air above the walls, while the King, who is commanding the attack, kneels in gratitude for the divine aid guaranteed by that vision. The various acts of this legendary drama are represented with vigour and animation. In the finely characterized aspect of the Apostle we see the intent to indicate his human relationship with the Saviour. In the same chapel is the tomb of its founder with a picture of the Resurrection above it, and near it, another fresco by

the same hand, of the Marquis Bonifazio in armour, kneeling before the Virgin and Child.

A dim-lit chapel, preceded by a vestibule or atrium, where a number of trivial votive offerings announce some favourite shrine of popular devotion, introduces us to a new Saint, and to a painter yet new in the biographies of mediæval artists; this oratory having been founded by a noble family, 1382, dedicated to the Beato Luca Belludi, and adorned with frescoes by Giusto di Giovanni Menabrea,* the subjects from the lives of two Apostles SS. Philip and James (*not* the James above mentioned,) and from that of the Franciscan "Beato" himself,—among which latter scenes is one historically interesting: S. Anthony appearing after death to Luca Belludi, and announcing the certain liberation of Padua from the siege by the ferocious Eccelino da Romano, whose encampment before the walls is represented. In the Crucifixion of S. James are introduced portraits of the founder of this chapel, Bernardo de' Conti and his sons.

The genius of Avanzi and Altichieri may be estimated not only from their works in this basilica, but from others in the adjacent chapel of S. George, founded for family sepulture, 1377, by the Marquis Raimondino de' Lupi, and after his death adorned by the pencils of those artists, here engaged by Raimondino's brother, the Marquis Bonifazio. The building and its contents have suffered from every possible maltreatment by French soldiery; used as a prison it was deprived of all its Gothic ornamentation, and of ten gilt statues of the De' Lupi family once within its walls.†

* Little is known of this artist, but that he was a Florentine, and flourished in the XIV. century. Ticozzi does not even mention him; and I can only refer to the ever satisfactory reports of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

† See the well compiled and interesting "Guida de Padova," published

Being dedicated to S. George, the legend of that Saint forms the principal subject of the paintings on its walls, besides which are various *storie* from the lives of S. Catherine of Alexandria, and S. Lucy; over the altar, the Crucifixion and the Coronation of Mary; at the opposite end, scenes from the New Testament; and on the vault, the four Evangelists and four Doctors. An old writer, Michele Savonarola (*De Laudibus Patavii*, 1446,) attributes all these paintings to Altichieri. Vasari, and later critics assign to that artist the lower of the two orders into which the series is divided; the upper, to Jacopo Avanzi. The legend of S. George here makes its first appearance, with all its romantic incidents and colouring, in the artistic sphere. Its narration serves to explain the paintings before us.

George of Cappadocia, a Christian soldier in the army of Diocletian, chanced to arrive at Silena, a city of Libya, at a moment of tragical crisis. A lake near that city had been long infested by a terrific dragon which put to flight the armed bands sent to attack it, and when urged by hunger to approach the walls, spread mortal pestilence among the inhabitants by its poisonous breath. For some time the daily offering of two sheep had sufficed for the appetite of the voracious monster and for the protection of the city; but flocks being scarce in those parts, the supply soon began to fail, and it was enacted by law that a human victim, chosen by lot among the citizens, should thenceforth be daily offered, together with a sheep, to the dragon. It chanced that the lot fell to the King's daughter and only

there on occasion of the Congress of Italian *savans* in that city, 1842. In the winter of 1870-71 the roof of the S. Giorgio chapel was crushed in by the weight of snow fallen upon it; and in the summer following I found the paintings partly concealed by the scaffolds put up for the work of repair.

child. The unhappy father offered all his gold and silver, half his kingdom, to save her life; but all in vain; the people threatened to burn his palace and its inmates with it unless he complied with the law passed by himself. The utmost that could be obtained, was a respite of eight days, after which the palace was surrounded by a furious crowd demanding the victim, and crying out that all the citizens would be destroyed by the breath of the dragon whilst the king's daughter was kept safe. Clad in regal robes, the princess, after receiving her father's last blessing, was led to the shores of the lake, and all the people followed to see what would become of her. The lugubrious procession was met by S. George on his steed. He asked the weeping princess the cause of her sorrow, and when informed, after she had first warned him to fly for his life, addressed her with promises that seemed vain: "Fear not! in the name of Christ I will aid thee." Now the dragon put forth its hideous head from the water, and was advancing to seize its prey. S. George, armed with the cross and his good lance, rode towards it, attacked and wounded it; then desired the princess to cast her girdle round its neck, which having done, she led the monster after her, tame as a household-dog, into the city. The people fled at the sight, but S. George reassured them: "Be not afraid (he said); for this hath the Lord sent me, that I should deliver you from the ferocity of the dragon. But do ye now be converted; believe in Christ, and be all baptized, and I will slay the dragon at once." The King, Queen and Princess with all the people, 20,000 besides women and children, were forthwith baptized; and S. George slew the dragon, whose carcase was dragged out of the gates by four pairs of oxen. And the King built a church, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary and S. George; and from its altar gushed a miraculous fountain whose

waters cured all diseases. Hitherto this story seems the counterpart of that of Perseus and Andromeda, but the element of love is wanting, eliminated by the austerer feeling dominant in the Christian mythology. S. George takes leave of the King and Princess like a devout Catholic, and in his parting words recommends regard for the clergy, constant attendance at religious offices, and charity towards the poor. The next stage brings us to the martyrdom of this pious Champion. Whilst the last of the Pagan persecutions was raging, he rushed before a Prætor, Decennius (called also "King" in the legend), declared that the gods of the Gentiles were demons, that there was only one Creator and Supreme Lord. He was tortured by having his flesh torn with hooks and burnt with torches; but Christ appeared to him in the night, and all his pangs were assuaged and forgotten. The Prætor summoned a famous magician, and desired him to defeat the mysterious powers of the Christian, which the magician promised to do at the price of his own life, should he fail. When S. George was brought again before the tribunal, he was made to drink poisoned wine, mixed by that magician; he did so without being harmed, and the sorcerer fell down at his feet, penitent, and declaring himself a Christian, for which he was immediately sentenced to death. Next day, S. George was condemned to suffer at the wheel; but the instrument, set round with two-edged swords, broke when he was bound to it, and the executioners, struck by the fragments, fell to the ground. At last the Prætor tried persuasion, and S. George, (sarcastically, it seems) promised to comply with what might reasonably be desired of him. The Prætor thought that he intended to sacrifice to the gods, and summoned all the citizens to see this obstinate Christian render such worship to their deities in the chief temple. In presence of a great multitude there assembled, S. George

prayed that the temple and its idols might be destroyed ; and fire came down and consumed alike the building, the idols and their priests ; and the earth opened to swallow up the ashes left. The Prætor's wife now interceded for the invincible Saint, and her husband ordered her to be suspended by the hair and scourged ; she desired baptism, but S. George assured her that the baptism of blood would be accepted by Heaven ; and so she died under the lash of the executioner. It was now the Saint's time to receive his heavenly reward. He was beheaded about the year 287 ; and the Prætor Decennius, on returning to his palace after witnessing that death, was destroyed, together with his wicked ministers, by fire from Heaven.*

The paintings illustrating the legend of S. Catherine are almost lost in this series at the S. Giorgio chapel. Those

* The martyr's prayer and the efficacy promised for it, in his last moments, afford proof of the fully established worship of Saints before this legend had origin—at least in its present form : “ Oravit autem ad Dominum, ut quicumque ejus inploraret auxilium petitionis suæ consequeretur effectum ; divina autem vox ad eum venit, quod sic fieret ut oravit.”

At a meeting of the Royal Society of Literature, in November, 1858, was read a paper on the history of S. George the Martyr, calling attention to the many errors long prevalent concerning him, and citing an inscription, apparently of the date A.D. 346, in an ancient church dedicated to him in Syria. The writer showed that confusion had arisen even in early ages between S. George of Syria, the true Saint, and George of Cappadocia, who was murdered at Alexandria, A.D. 361, but had no claims to canonization. The Syrian Martyr suffered under Diocletian, A.D. 287. Whatever the difference between the merits and fate of the two, one S. George was, ages ago, chosen as Patron Saint of Genoa ; and it was in gratitude to that Republic for the assistance, *i. e.* transports, and the free use of their port, offered to Richard I. of England in the third Crusade, 1190, that Cœur-de-Lion placed his kingdom under the same Protector, and adopted the Red Cross of Genoa for the device of the English fleet.

of the martyrdom of S. Lucy are better preserved : we see the several acts of her sufferings ; she is dragged by oxen, exposed to the flames, deprived of her eyes : and finally laid in death on a bier, surrounded by mourners—the locality, a large church of Italian Gothic style ; and this is perhaps the finest work in the series, the greater part, if not all, of which is attributed to Altichieri. An *ex-voto* picture in this chapel represents the males of the De' Lupi family, all in complete armour, and kneeling in a formal row at the front of the scene, their respective Patron Saints standing behind them ; also the Marquis Bonifazio presented by S. George to the Virgin and Child.

The Baptistry of Padua, founded in the XIII. century, is one of the later Italian examples of such an edifice standing apart near its cathedral—the arrangement, no doubt, preferable for the administration of the rite during the long-retained use of baptism by immersion—its ancient and legitimate form. About 1378 this building was adorned, both inside and outside, with fresco-paintings ordered by Fina Buzzacarina, wife of Francisco I. da Carrara. Those that cover the walls and dome in the interior are attributed to Giusto di Firenze. The compositions present the entire cycle of subjects from the Old and New Testament—the Epic of revealed Religion—in what we may regard as the now accepted and permanent form, which satisfied mediæval feeling till the time for a moral and religious change arrived. In the acts of Creation, the Deity has the aspect and type of the Second Person, as God the Son ; on the dome is a “Paradiso,” or beatific vision of the Supreme Being surrounded by choirs of Angels, and companies of innumerable spirits in glory. Among the New Testament subjects but one is of legendary nature—the presentation of Mary as a child in the Temple. In the tribune are some scenes from the Apocalypse ; and in one compartment are portraits

of Fina and several members of the Da Carrara family, among whom is admitted Petrarch, kneeling before the Virgin and Child.*

Beginning with the master-pieces of Giotto in the Arena chapel, we find a richly varied and impressive representation of fourteenth century art at Padua. We should not omit seeing the majestic tombs of the Da Carrara princes in the "Eremitani" church : sculptured monuments in which the pointed style is combined with that predilection for redundant magnificence which we observe at Venice—though no angels drawing aside curtains are here seen, nor columns to support either sarcophagus or canopy ; and the statuettes are ranged, with heavy effect, along the front of the funeral couch. Most observable is the monument of Ubertino, third lord of Padua (ob. 1345), who conferred benefits on this city and University, restored the fortifying walls, promoted manufactures, but was abandoned to vices which shortened his life. The frescoes round the walls of the tribune of this old church are attributed to Guariento, an artist with whom we have not yet become acquainted, native either of Padua or Verona, and supposed to have been the immediate pupil of Giotto whilst that great master was engaged in the former city. It is known that commissions from the Venetian Senate gave employment to Guariento in 1361, and that he was still at work in 1365.† The principal subjects in the series before us are from the life of S. Augustine, a Saint whom we have already seen take his place in art among the Four

* It is only on the credit of an inscription in this building that the frescoes are assigned to Giusto. Good critics suppose them to be by Giovanni and Antonio da Padova. The paintings on the exterior were, probably, by Altichieri; but not a trace is left of them.

† These frescoes were not attributed to Guariento till some two centuries after his death, and for the first time by an Italian critic, who wrote A.D. 1530—v. Ticozzi, "*Dizionario degli Architetti, Scultori e Pittori.*"

Doctors of the Latin Church, and in one of the earliest examples at Assisi, but the complete illustration of whose life is yet new—destined henceforth to a prominence and celebrity that furnish the measure of his increasing influence in ecclesiastical spheres. These frescoes in the Eremitani church are much injured by re-painting (1589); they still deserve, however, the praises bestowed upon them for invention, vivacity, and treatment of draperies. Other frescoes, under the Gothic canopy of a tomb here seen (XIV. century)—the Annunciation and Coronation, with two warriors presented by their Patron Saints to the Virgin, remind us of Giotto, and may be attributable to Altichieri.* In the porch of the desecrated church of S. Michele, are some frescoes of the same school, scriptural subjects, among which is the Adoration of the Magi, with supposed portraits of members of the Da Carrara family among the attendants on the three Kings. Padua deserves a prolonged sojourn for the study of the genius of the period here in question. An old-world picturesqueness and sombre dignity predispose to reverential consideration of the Past in this historic city.

MILAN AND THE LOMBARDIC CITIES.

We have seen how Gian Galeazzo Visconti obtained the sovereignty over the Milanese State by conduct at once treacherous and violent, the deposition, namely, and arrest of his uncle and father-in-law, Bernabo, who died in prison seven months afterwards, 1385. In 1395 the Emperor Wenceslaus bestowed on the successful usurper the title of Duke; and almost the whole of what had formed the ancient kingdom of Italy, comprising twenty-three cities, (Galeazzo being now in fact master of twelve other cities besides,)

* See Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

became subjected to this fortunate scion of the Visconti house. On the very day of his triumphal entry into Milan after the capture of his uncle and cousins, who had met him, unsuspecting of evil, near the walls, he was recognised as lord of that city and state by decree of the Grand Council. His investiture with the rank of Duke, according to imperial diploma, took place at the basilica of S. Ambrose, attended by an immense multitude from far and near, and with such fêtes and spectacles as were rare even in this demonstrative and pomp loving age. Corio (*anno* 1391) gives the bill of fare of the stupendous banquet which followed, after the official and devotional proceedings, on this occasion.* The grasping ambition and unscrupulous policy of the new Duke, sole Italian ruler now affecting such title, might have made Gian Galeazzo formidable to neighbouring powers; but his temper was not cruel, his reign was not disgraced by the wanton atrocities which had made Bernabo, and others of the same house hateful or terrible; and advantages to public interests might be expected from a Prince who loved splendour, was eager to attach his name to monumental works, and particularly emphatic in his professions of piety. But Gian Galeazzo, cut off by death in his forty-ninth year, (1403,) whilst bent on the attainment of the highest prize, nothing less than the sovereignty of all Italy, had scarcely time to fulfil even his implied promises or see any of his great works completed. It is questioned whether his leading object, in the founding of a new Cathedral, were the fulfilment of a vow, the accomplishment of a stroke of

* The panegyric pronounced by the Bishop of Novara on the piazza before S. Ambrogio, is extant, and a curious specimen of what was deemed eloquence at the time. Summing up the virtues of the Duke, this mitred orator, who was no other than Peter Philargos, afterwards Pope as Alexander V., passes into rhyming rhapsodies. "*Celebris potentia validi vigoris,—nobilis prosapia fulgidi decoris,—hilaris clementia placidi datoris*" &c. (Verri, "*Storia di Milano.*")

policy, or the encouraging of art applied to the honour of religion.* Probably all these purposes combined, together with some impulse of remorse, in inducing him to an act which satisfied at once his piety and ambition. On the 23rd May, 1385, he laid the first stone of the new cathedral of Milan on the site of the ancient basilica mentioned by S. Ambrose as *inter muraria nova*, also known as the Winter-basilica and S. Maria Major. It was not till 1386 that the works for this celebrated edifice were fairly commenced. Report ascribed the original design to the Duke Visconti himself. The architect who has generally been allowed credit for prominent rank and authorship in the great undertaking, is Heinrich Ahrler of Gmünden, said to have been chief director of the buildings from 1388 to 1399, in association with other architects from Paris, Normandy, Freiburg, Ulm, and Bruges. Ricci, however (*Storia dell' Architettura*) shows that Ahrler was not invited to assume the post of master architect at Milan till 1391, and that he stayed in this city not more than seven months.† A board of *maestri*, eighteen being Italians and four foreigners, was constituted to take into consideration the criticisms and suggestions of Ahrler; their discussions resulted in the general approval of a plan and norma to be carried out, and which it is believed were actually adopted in determining the leading features and proportions. At the request of Gian Galeazzo, Pope Boniface IX., who had published the Jubilee for 1390, conceded the same indulgences as those obtainable at Rome, without the journey thither, to all of the Visconti's subjects who would contri-

* He is said to have made a vow to the Virgin, ten years previously, to raise this temple to her honour in case of the success of the ambitious schemes long harboured, and accomplished as we have seen.

† Marco Frisone da Campione is supposed by some to have been the very first architect engaged for this building.

bute one-third the expense of that pilgrimage towards the costs of this sacred building and to the Papal treasury—two-thirds of that fraction for the new church, the remaining third for His Holiness ! Corio (*anno* 1391) states that the Papal bull did not require the usual conditions of penitence and confession for this indulgence ; he is mistaken, as the extant document shows. But Verri supposes that this strange error was actually in popular currency at the time, and encouraged among the ignorant in order to secure their money-offerings at whatever risk to their morals !

The German architect above named left Milan, as Ricci tells us, “ little satisfied with the votes of his colleagues.” The extant records of the church date from 1387 ; they comprise the names of fifty-two architects, and their assistants, all engaged on the works in the last years of this century. The great East window, with tracery approaching to the flamboyant, was finished in 1391 from the designs of Nicholas Bonaventure, mentioned as a Parisian. The whole of the East end, as it still stands, is probably the most ancient portion, and consequently stamped with the characteristics and taste of the artists originally engaged here—an index to the ideal aim of those who commenced this church, and our guide in drawing inferences as to what was projected for the whole structure. The main body, or at least the shell of the building, was completed, A.D. 1400, when it was determined to adorn the exterior with sculptures ; and either at that time, or not long afterwards, the amazing number of 4500 statues, besides reliefs, was determined in this magnificent project for the glorifying of the temple and the consecrating of Art. In the same year was ordered and undertaken the colouring of the windows ; and the best masters then known in Italy were engaged in preparing the glass-paintings, from 1400 to 1409. The history of such a church belongs, of course, not to one but succes-

sive ages. We cannot suppose the Milan Duomo to have presented within fifteen years after the laying of the first stone anything more than an intimation, however noble even at that early stage, of the grandeur and beauty to be attained. In the interior little, except the architectonic, exists to remind us of the XIV. century, except certain relievi, scriptural subjects, and Christ between the Virgin and S. John, some from the designs of an artist better known through his paintings at Florence, Giovanni di Milano, who returned to his native city, probably invited by the Visconti, in 1370. The works in this Duomo have been continuing almost without interruption; and it is said that the scaffolds, for the labourers engaged, have never been absent either from the interior or exterior. Surely, we may class among genuine benefits conferred by rulers the originating of such temples, destined to send down the stream of time an influence acting on that which is disinterested, generous and pure in man's nature; to supply demand for the exertions of genius and offerings of piety; to embody a thought of the Infinite in forms suited to affect almost every not absolutely callous nature. We see also, in this illustrious example, the manner in which the Italian mind finally accepted, whilst modifying, the Northern style; assimilating it to the spirit of another nationality and genius; not merely imitating, but recreating; retaining the many features that were characteristic, but eliciting from them a different expression, and giving predominance to the beautiful over all other elements.

Gian Galeazzo Visconti had been lord of Pavia before he attained the sovereignty of Milan, and seemed mindful of the honours and interests of the former city, which was the seat of his more limited principedom. The Pavia University owed its distinction mainly to him, and on account of the privileges he conferred upon it, he was regarded as its second

founder. Desiring to connect his name with one of the most magnificent monasteries on earth—whether still urged by remorse for the past, who shall say? seeing how many pious foundations of these times had their origin in the impulses of guilt-laden conscience—the prosperous Duke of Milan laid the first stone of a Carthusian church (Certosa) on the 8th September, 1396, many Prelates, Carthusian Priors, and a multitude of all degrees attending. The site chosen was within a park twenty miles in circuit, and surrounded by walls, formerly reserved for the pleasures of the chase by Gian Galeazzo's father. Who was the original architect has been questioned; some supposing Jacopo da Campione; others, Heinrich Ahrlner; but I believe the evidence recently brought forward from archives is quite conclusive—that it was Bernardo of Venice, engineer to the Duke of Milan, who prepared the first designs, and who, from July to September, 1396, received ten florins monthly for his labours here.* The works were carried on with such rapidity that, after two years, a community of twenty-five Carthusians were able to establish themselves in the cloister, and in the third year the first Mass was celebrated in the splendid church. The history of this magnificent Certosa belongs still less than does that of the Milan Duomo to the century here considered; its sumptuous façade, covered with statuary and medallions, was not even commenced till 1473; and the greater number of the sculptures adorning it were executed between 1492-1499. The Duke left large sums for the furtherance of the works after his premature death, and desired to be interred within these walls. A stately mausoleum in his honour was ordered by the monks, and designed by Pellegrini in 1490; but not completed, by

* The same Bernardo "da Venezia" was frequently consulted at Milan by the "Opera" (board of works) for the Duomo, between 1391 and 1400.—v. "Archivio Storico Italiano, *dispens.* II. 1869."

the labours of several sculptors, till 1562. That princely monument is, however, a mere cenotaph, containing no relics of the illustrious dead. Gian Galeazzo's funeral was solemnized with the utmost pomp at the Milan cathedral, and his body was laid in some provisional resting place till a suitable tomb could be prepared. Its place was forgotten long before the stately mausoleum had been finished; and the remains of the most powerful Visconti, who had the regal crown of Italy almost within his grasp, lie mingled with obscurer dust in a tomb not even known! The various ages to which the structure belongs may be traced in the discrepancies of style in this superb church. Still more than in the Milanese example do we see here the predominance of Italian over northern feeling, whilst features of transalpine origin are retained. The tendency to return to Roman classicism is obvious; yet the general effect of the Certosa has aerial grandeur and majestic grace; the whole expands in luminous vastness; and we might say that this church exemplifies the self-developing principle in sacred architecture, which cannot be frozen to immutability, but advances with the life of nations. In this respect is such architecture a symbol of the elastic capabilities and moral Catholicity of the Christian Religion itself—essentially the same whether its worship be held within the bare walls of the humblest Protestant chapel, amidst the Oriental gloom of the Venetian S. Mark's, the spiritualized sublimity of northern minsters, or the brilliant pomps of the Papal basilica.

In a lateral chapel of the large and imposing (though unfinished) cathedral of Pavia, stands one of the most beautiful works of fourteenth-century Art, the shrine of S. Augustine, which not only bears evidence to the genius of the age, but to the ascendancy of that great Saint among the influencing minds that have determined, and stamped

their own character on the decisions of Theology.* This shrine has been ascribed to Agostino and Agnolo da Siena ; but is proved not to have been commenced till after the decease of those sculptors—namely, in 1362, and to be the work of Bonino da Campione, who executed the monuments of Cansignorio at Verona and Azzo Visconti at Milan. It originally stood in the sacristy of *S. Pietro in ciel d'Oro*, and is supposed to have been finished by 1380, or not till several years subsequently, either after or before the date 1400, as one circumstance might lead us to infer. The monks, Augustinian Hermits, who served that church, had already spent 4000 gold florins upon the shrine before the year 1394, when they requested aid from Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who, in his last will, enjoined upon his heirs to provide for the completing of this work, with the same marble and in the same style of ornamentation.†

* Aurelius Augustinus was born at Tagaste, in Numidia, A.D. 354. In his youth he imbibed the notions of the Manichæan heretics, and his baptism, which he had wished to receive during a dangerous illness, was indefinitely delayed. Whilst engaged in teaching rhetoric at Milan, he was so influenced by the eloquence and arguments of S. Ambrose as to be led to abandon his heretic principles, and enter the orthodox communion. On the vigil of Easter, 387, he was baptized by that great Prelate of the Milanese church ; and soon afterwards returned to Africa, desiring to dedicate himself to a life of piety and seclusion. From that retirement he was called by Valerius, bishop of Hippo, to be ordained priest, and engaged in preaching at that city. By the Bishop's desire, Augustine became his coadjutor in the administration of that See, and eventually succeeded to Valerius in the bishopric. He established in his own house a kind of monastic society for ecclesiastics. His labours and self-devoting zeal in the fulfilment of pastoral duties seem to present the personified ideal of the episcopal character in its truly apostolic aspect and noblest dignity. It is inferred, seeing the immense number of his sermons, that he must have long persisted in the habit of preaching every day. For thirty-five years he continued in this unwearied devotedness to his sacred tasks, and died at his post, 28th August, 430.

† Galeazzo Visconti died in September, 1402.

About 1501 some restoration of it was ordered by the monks, and certain heads of the statuettes were then renewed. The earliest mention of it (as far as I am aware) by any known writer, is found in the "Descrizione d'Italia" (written soon after 1550) by Leandro Alberti, who simply notices it as "that artistically wrought sepulchre of marble, in which are to be laid the bones of S. Augustine, but which is not yet finished." The earliest notice of it that can be called historic, is in a MS. at the public library of Pavia, drawn up, 1578, by the Prior of the Augustinian Hermits, its original owners. The intention to place the revered relics of Augustine in this splendid tomb is said to have been abandoned owing to a vision, in which that Saint appeared to certain aged monks of the community at the S. Pietro cloisters, desiring them to leave his relics undisturbed where they then lay. The body was removed from Hippo, the African See of the great Prelate, during the Arian persecution, under the Vandal king, Thrasimond, about the end of the fifth century; and the Catholic bishops of Africa brought it to Sardinia, whither they fled for refuge. In that island the body remained till the VIII. century, when, Sardinia being invaded by the Saracens, and these relics exposed again to profanation, the Longobardic king Luitprand, bought them from the Sardinian Clergy at a high price, for transfer to Pavia, capital of his Italian kingdom. The place of interment at *S. Pietro in ciel d'Oro* had been long forgotten. During some works of repair, in 1695, was accidentally discovered, in the crypt of that church, a marble sarcophagus with the name *Augustinus* inscribed on the outside; within this a wooden case, and inside the latter a silver coffer containing bones and ashes. After this discovery the shrine was erected, and, I believe, the relics laid within it, over an altar in the tribune of the church, and for which the monks spent 10,000 Roman scudi. In 1773,

the Augustinians left the cloister of S. Pietro, and carried the relics with them, leaving the shrine neglected and broken up; in which state it remained for thirteen years, till transferred to another church now occupied by the same monks at Pavia. In 1799, their Eremite Order was suppressed, and the relics, together with the shrine, were placed in the cathedral of that city. A year afterwards, the administrators of the church property proposed to sell the scattered sculptures of the shrine to different merchants or other speculators; but the capitular clergy exerted themselves laudably and successfully to prevent such Vandalism. In 1823 a worthy Bishop of Pavia, Mgr. Tosi, determined to have the sacred relics exposed to veneration, and laid in the shrine destined for them. He desired to have that sculptured tomb erected in a transept, which had yet to be added to the buildings of the cathedral; but, as the large sum requisite for such works could not be supplied, the Bishop at last satisfied himself with the more facile task of erecting a new chapel to contain the enshrined relics. On the 28th of August, 1832, the silver coffer, after being opened and inspected by the Bishop, was placed on the high altar of the cathedral; and, after solemn pontifical rites, carried in procession through the city, with great rejoicings kept up for three days. The relics were finally deposited in a recess within the altar of the new chapel, where the silver coffer, closed by three keys, still remains under the sculptured shrine that rises majestically above the modest mensa. Unlike the splendid tombs of S. Dominick at Bologna and S. Donatus at Arezzo, in which the rich Gothic architecture first attracts the eye, the shrine of S. Augustine exemplifies the subordinating of the architectonic to the sculptural art. More remarkable than the beauty of detail and execution, is the wealth of conceptions and imaginative personifica-

tion of attributes here accumulated appropriately to honour the greatest theological writer among the four who rank as "Doctors" of the Latin Church. There are altogether 95 statuettes, 50 bas-reliefs, and 420 heads on the structure before us. On the lowest of the four storeys are relief statuettes of the Apostles (dignified and well characterized), each holding a scroll, on which is his name, with a sentence of the Creed ascribed to him; thus, S. Peter, first of the company, has his scroll inscribed: *S. Petrus dixit, Credo in unum Deum*. In niches, alternating with these reliefs, are statuettes of Virtues, theological and cardinal; and on the narrower sides, SS. Stephen and Lawrence added to the company of Apostles. The symbolism and emblems are, in some instances, both novel and appropriate. Faith has her cross and chalice; Charity supports two infants, and holds a heart in her right hand; Orthodoxy holds by a chain a tamed monster with a human head; Religion (or Piety), a lovely maiden, with long flowing hair, stands amidst rocks, with a scroll and a palm in her hands; Fortitude holds a disc, on which are represented the sea, seven castles on a rock, and the four winds; Poverty holds an olive branch and two tablets; Chastity has roses and tulips, also a little animal (a rabbit?) in her hands; Obedience, a severe matron, with one finger on her lips, holds a yoke and a book. On the second storey lies the life-size effigy of the Saint, pontifically vested, a book laid open on his breast; six young deacons, or rather (as their costume implies) monastic novices, lifting up the border of the pal' thrown round the venerable figure, which is seen but partially through arcades and colonnettes; the head finely characteristic and intellectual. As if mourning around the bier, stand the other three of the Latin Doctors, with S. Simplicianus, in monastic garb,

filling the place of the fourth.* On consoles are numerous seated statuettes of Popes, bishops, monks, and martyrs; among the latter class, the four sculptors who suffered voluntarily under Diocletian rather than fabricate images for idolatrous worship; two among these seated figures being probably intended to personify liberal arts. On the canopy are other statuettes and relievi; the Deity blessing, the Archangel Raphael leading Tobias, S. Michael with sword and scales, in which he is weighing souls, S. John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, the Magdalene and S. Catherine. On the third storey are relievi of the principal events in the Saint's life: we see him preaching; and again, with a book on his knees, seated outside the cell of the learned Simplicianus; receiving a book (the writings of S. Paul) from an angel; assuming at Milan the habit of a catechumen; received into the Catholic communion by S. Ambrose, his mother S. Monica and S. Simplicianus being present; the funeral of S. Monica, whose body is borne on a bier by monks, her son following;† the instituting of the Augustinian Order, the founder seated, with a long scroll, amidst many disciples; the conversion of a heretic by the arguments of the Saint; the Saint in act of teaching before an audience, between two cities, one designated by the familiar letters S.P.Q.R. as Rome; the body of Augustine transported from Sardinia to Pavia; its arrival at that city, with a procession, in which walks King Luitprand; the reception of those relics at the

* A saint who contributed to the conversion of Augustine from Manichæan errors, and who succeeded to S. Ambrose, A.D. 397, in the Milanese See.

† See his affecting account of his intercourse with that pious mother during her last days at Ostia, and of her death and funeral, in the "Confessions," c. X, XI, XII.

church of *S. Pietro in ciel d'Oro*. In interstices between these relievi are seated statuettes, Augustinian saints, vested as prelates or monks. Along the summit of the shrine are pyramidal canopies with other relievi of the miracles ascribed to S. Augustine : he liberates a prisoner, who (in the next compartment) returns to his home ; he casts out a devil ; he prays before an altar for the suppression of heresy ; he displays an open book (his own writings?) to a heresiarch, whose feet betray the diabolic character ; he refutes two opponents, alike recognised by their more than suspicious feet (the three heresiarchs being probably Manes, Arius, and Donatus) ; the death of the Saint ; his posthumous miracles, the healing of diseased and maimed persons. Lastly, we see a church, with a multitude assembled outside, allusive probably to the canonization and supreme popularity of the great Saint. Between these relievi are statuettes of angels, representatives of the whole celestial hierarchy, each with his appropriate symbol—*e.g.* a chained dragon ; the model of a city ; a sceptre and globe ; a disc displaying the image of the Saviour. The sculptor of this shrine was the artist of the most splendid among a well known group of monuments at Verona. The Della Scala family, who held the sovereignty over that city and many dependencies for one hundred and fourteen years, were the first among Italian princes, who, without fiefs or hereditary states, aspired to extensive dominion. They first appear on the historic page on occasion of Mastino Della Scala being elected as Podesta of Verona, 1268, a few years after the overthrow and death of the tyrant Eccelino da Romano.* The Em-

* First mentioned, however, are two brothers of that house, who, in 1257, were beheaded by Eccelino's order.

peror Henry VII. invested this family with the lordship of their native city, and they, thenceforth, bore the titles of Captains of the People, Imperial Vicars, and "*Procuratori*."

They were originally considered the leaders of the Ghibelline party, opposed to Robert of Naples and to the Papal interests; notwithstanding which Mastino II., the same who, with his own hand, slew the Bishop of Verona, his cousin, 1339,* and was excommunicated for that crime by the Pope, received from Benedict XII., after due performance of the severe penances imposed by His Holiness, the title of Pontific Vicar, under condition of paying tribute, 5000 gold florins per annum, to the Papacy. The sovereignty of this house, after laying its foundations in justice and wisdom, perished through guilt and feebleness.

Cansignorio, the most magnificent in outward pomp, the most culpable in domestic life, among all of his race, contrived, by the murder of his brother, to secure the succession to his two illegitimate sons, both young children. The elder of these, Antonio, when but twenty years old, imitated his father's guilt by assassinating his brother; but did not long enjoy the sole dominion obtained by that crime. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, whose star was now in the ascendant, compelled him to renounce his power, and to quit Verona; before leaving which city for the last time, he made formal abdication of the "*Signoria*," in presence of imperial commissaries. Verona became subject to the Duke of Milan; and thus ended, 1387, the historic career and dominion of the Della Scala family.

The monuments of this family are placed, not within sacred walls, but in an enclosed court, external to a small church, *S. Maria l'antica*, founded in the XII. century.

* V. *supr.* p. 162.

Such location is remarkable: it exhibits the withdrawing of monumental art from ecclesiastical associations. The sculptured tomb here becomes rather a political than a religious record of the dead. That of Mastino, the first Scala raised to power by popular votation, is a plain sarcophagus with no other ornament than a sculptured cross; though formerly covered by a canopy, no longer in its place. Another family, named Nogarola, made use, as their arms and inscription show, of the Podesta's tomb; and the epitaph recording the death of Mastino, by assassination, 1277, is now in the sacristy of the adjacent church.*

Over the entrance to that church is the monument to Can Francesco, surnamed the Great—noblest, and yet most simple in character among the Scaligeri tombs distinguished for artistic adornments. Francesco, called Cangrande, was associated in authority with his brother Alboino, and both were created Imperial Vicars at Verona by Henry VII. He, the former, held the most magnificent court in Italy, encouraged art and letters, was the hospitable patron of strangers and exiles—the friend and protector of Dante.† He died, aged 38, at Treviso, 1329, and his epitaph justly states in his praise:—*Scaligeram qui laude domum super astra tulisset*. On his tomb are two effigies of Cangrande: one, in peaceful garb, laid on a sarcophagus, adorned with

* He was slain to avenge the honour of a young lady, by one of the Scaramelli house, under an archway, since that event called “Volto Barbaro,” near this spot.

† The Poet's sojourn at this Prince's court, is thus foretold to him by Cacciaguida, in the 17th Canto of the “Paradiso:”

“Lo primo tuo rifugio, e'l primo ostello
Sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
Che' n, su la Scala porta il santo uccello;
Ch'aura' in te sì benigno riguardo
Che del fare e del chieder fra voi due
Fia prima quel che tra gli altri é più tardo, &c.”

sacred subjects in relief—Christ in the tomb, and the Annunciation. Above the pyramidal canopy is the other effigy—the Lord of Verona as in life, full armed and mounted on a caparisoned steed, the visor down over his face, his plume and mantle floating in the wind; the character and action of this figure admirable. It impresses like a phantom of the heroic dead—a shadowy chieftain of some chivalric and romantic age.

Much more sumptuous is the monument to Mastino II., who died 1351—this being the only known work of its sculptor, Perino, a Milanese. Mastino II. extended his sway over Treviso, Vicenza, Brescia, Parma, Reggio and Lucca, and became the head of the Guelphic league against the Visconti. Unfortunate in his enterprises, he saw much of his power and dominion vanish: Padua restored to the Carraresi, Brescia to the Visconti, &c. He also held a splendid and hospitable court; and a historian of the time saw him surrounded by twenty-three princes, all dispossessed of their estates, and recipients of his bounties. His political misfortunes had embittered his spirit before he stained his hands with blood by the sacrilegious murder, above mentioned, of the prelate, his relative. His monument is in two storeys: the effigy lies under a canopy, and four angels seem to keep watch over the dead; on the sarcophagus is a relief of Christ in the tomb, and two other figures, probably Mastino and a guardian saint presenting him. The only personified Virtue is Fortitude. On the pyramidal canopy is an equestrian portrait statue—here, as in other instances, the Prince being represented both in life and death—another of the novelties in monumental art at Verona. The monument of Cansignorio, the ninth of his house who ruled over Verona, bears the inscription under six Latin verses around the frieze: *Hoc opus fecit et sculpsit Boninus de Campiglione Mediolanensis Diocesis*, together

with the date of the Prince's death, October 19th, 1375.* This superb structure of white marble, in four storeys, presents a blending of the classical and Gothic, simplicity in general outlines, with extreme redundancy of detail. In tabernacles supported by columns, on the first storey, are six warrior Saints, Quirinus, Valentine, Martin, George, Sigismund and Louis.† Under pinnacles on the second storey are statuettes (well conceived and dignified) of Prudence, Charity, Hope, Fortitude. On the sarcophagus are reliefs of subjects from the Gospels, easily recognised (in the Temptation, the Devil, a grotesque monster, offers stones to be changed into bread); also the Coronation of the Virgin, and Cansignorio presented by saints to the blessed Mother; on the highest storey, reliefs (on smaller scale) of Apostles. On the summit is the portrait statue. Cansignorio ordered this monument, executed in his lifetime, at a cost of 10,000 gold florins. The implied flattery in its sculptures—in the personified virtues and scriptural

* Campiglione, or Campione, is a village on the lake of Lugano, formerly a possession of the Milanese archbishops. From this obscure spot went forth a band of sculptors, both in the 13th and 14th centuries, who made their names and works known in various Italian cities; some of whom co-operated in the building of the cathedral of Modena; others through their counsels and labours assisted in the works for that of Milan.

† Louis and Sigismund were kings (of France and Burgundy) as well as warrior saints. Quirinus was one of four officers in the Roman army, under Maxentius, who suffered torture and decapitation, about A.D. 309, for their faith. Valentine is erroneously classed among warrior Saints: he was a Roman priest, beheaded on the Flaminian Way, A.D. 270, or, according to other report, 306. A church was dedicated to him near the Milvian bridge, and the present *Porta del Popolo* was once called after him. That church is said to have been rebuilt by Pope Julius I. A.D. 337, but no longer exists, unless some ruins, in a villa near that gate of Rome, may be referred to such origin.

scenes, as well as the epitaph—seems ominous for the future destinies and bias of art, when we remember the character and crimes of this Prince.*

Art may have flourished under munificent autocrats; but we have here one of the many examples proving that its healthful atmosphere is found under the protection of liberty.

One other of these tombs, deserving notice, is that of Giovanni (ob. 1350), a member of the Scala family who never held power, and is here represented in an evidently truthful effigy: the expressive head, with long curly beard, turned towards the spectator, on a sarcophagus adorned with statuettes under an acute-arched canopy. His epitaph ascribes to him qualities we might infer from his countenance:—

*Mente manique potens, simul aptus ad arma togamque,
Robur militiæ consiliumque domi.*

The other monuments here before us are plain marble urns, distinguished only by the Della Scala arms, except that of Alberto (ob. 1301), who is represented in a rude relief, kneeling before the Virgin and Child. On that of Alboino (ob. 1311), the eagle of the Ghibelline party,

* Cansignorio lived only to the age of 35, yet burdened his conscience with two deliberate fratricides. He murdered his brother and predecessor in power, Cangrande II. 1359, who had a troublous reign of eight years, and who built the Castel Vecchio and the stately bridge comprised within its bastions over the Adige, both edifices still picturesquely conspicuous at Verona. Not long before his death, Cansignorio ordered another brother, Alboino, whom he had imprisoned in the castle of Peschiera, to be executed, thus securing the succession to his own illegitimate children. His epitaph sets forth, after two introductory lines:

*Ille ego sum, geminae qui gentis sceptrâ tenebam,
Justitiâque meos mixta pietate regebam.
Inclyta cui virtus, cui pax tranquilla, fidesque
Inconcussa, dabunt famam per sæcla, diesque.*

(Dante's *santo uccello*) is sculptured over the ladder—the *arme parlante* of this family.

Some interesting creations of the genius of the XIV. and XV. centuries are seen at the *ancient*, which stands high above the *modern* Bergamo, in a beautiful mountain-region mediate between the loftier Alps and the fertile plains of Lombardy. This city, fair and stately on its eminence amidst the hills and valleys that form as it were a gateway to the sublime palace of Nature, passed successively under Ostrogothic and Longobardic sway, after first yielding to the shock of a siege by Attila, and was reconquered for the Greek Empire in the VI. century. For some time subsequently, it was governed by almost independent Dukes, and, after the conquests of Charlemagne, by Counts, the vassals of the Frankish Emperors. In the IX. century, Arnulph, king of Germany, Emperor from 896, transferred the local dominion to the Bishops of this See, who thenceforth ranked as Counts of Bergamo even after they had lost all temporalities.* From the time of Otho I. it appears that this city enjoyed a degree of independence and autonomic government, compatible with the claims of its mitred rulers, till it passed again, through voluntary act of the inhabitants, under the immediate sway of the German Emperor. In 1331, Louis the Bavarian was recognized as sovereign, and his authority established here through means of the Imperial Vicar, John, King of Bohemia, empowered to represent him in Lombardy, many of whose cities were subjected to the German potentate by that King's conquests or influences.† In later years of the same century, the chief

* A learned historic notice of this place, beginning from the dim twilight of its origin, is supplied in the "Descrizione di tutta Italia," by Leandro Alberti.

† John of Luxemburg, son of the Emperor Henry VII. obtained the crown of Bohemia through his marriage with Elizabeth, the only child of

families of Bergamo, the Colleoni and Suardi, alternately obtained masterdom (the "Signoria") over their fellow-citizens. To this state of things succeeded the dominion of the Visconti, now the most powerful princes in northern Italy. At last, in 1428, the Bergamesque territory was annexed to the Venetian States by the free act of its inhabitants, wearied of the vicissitudes and strifes of factions. Shortly before this change, one of the Suardi family, finding himself unable to maintain his own credit or the independence of this small state, sold Bergamo for 3000 gold ducats to Pandolfo Malatesta; but soon afterwards, in 1419, the victories of Carmagnola, then commander of the Milanese forces, subjected both Bergamo and Brescia to the Duke Filippo Maria Visconti. A hero of mediæval renown, and said to have been contemporaneous with Charlemagne, Lupus, Duke of Bergamo, makes his appearance in local art as personified ideal of wise and vigorous rule—the King Arthur of this State.

The most important church here is not the cathedral, but *S. Maria Maggiore*, finished in its main buildings about 1173; the date 1137 being seen on the archivolt of a beautiful porch at the southern side. Above that member rises one of the later adjuncts to this architecture, a Gothic tabernacle, lofty, rich and graceful, with a seated statue of Christ at the centre, two female figures at the sides, and a statue of the Deity on the highest pinnacle. This tabernacle and its sculptures, as well as a series of statuettes, the Saviour, the Apostles and Prophets along a frieze round three sides of the projecting porch, are by Giovanni da Campello, and of date 1360. To the same artist, whose works entitle him to rank high in two walks alike pursued with power here manifest, are attributed the porch and Venceslaus IV. He was slain in the battle of Crecy, after gallantly taking part in the action, though at the time totally blind.

sculptures on the façade of this church, date about 1353. The round and acute arch are here united, the structure is in three storeys, on the second of which is the equestrian statue of Lupus in complete armour, with two Saints beside him, under cusped arches; on the third storey, a Madonna with two other Saints; another statue, indistinctly seen, being on the apex of the canopy surmounting this conspicuous porch.*

An octagonal Baptistery, which stands isolated in the cloisters of the cathedral, is a memorable example of the transition style, Romano-classic and Gothic, overladen with marble decorations.

This small but splendid building was placed originally within the walls of S. Maria Maggiore, at one end of an aisle, but has been twice transferred to different localities, taken to pieces and rebuilt. A few years ago it was completely restored with the ancient materials, some modern sculptures on the exterior, and a good deal of gilding in the interior. It is not well seen, externally at least, within the narrow area of a court; and is entered, from one side of the quadrangular buildings, through a vestibule, in which we see a tablet giving the date of the founding of this Baptistry, 1340. The outside is encrusted with white, red, and black marble; statuettes of Virtues are at the angles of the eight sides; other sculptures (modern and of marble, substituted for mediæval bronzes) are on the cupola; a corridor of elaborately chiselled ornato, in white marble, is carried round the summit; the windows are not divided, but almost hidden and masked, by colonnettes, eight to each. The interior is rich in statuary, reliefs, ornato and gilding; and in most (if not all) of the sculptures here seen may

* An engraving of this porch, with the assigned date 1360, is given in Hope's "History of Architecture." The equestrian statue seemed to me more archaic than the others.

be recognized fourteenth century art. Round the upper walls are reliefs of the principal subjects from the Gospel, treated according to then established canons; the Crucifixion, with the episodes of the two thieves and the angel and demon receiving their souls, the Mother fainting amidst the other women, the soldiers casting lots for the garments. Below these reliefs are the seven Sacraments *personified* (a novel conception), and all as females, except Baptism, whose representative is S. John holding a vase, and a gilt relief, on a disk, of the Divine Lamb. Penance holds a prostrate demon by a chain. Though somewhat heavy in design, these sacramental figures are not without grace, and the female countenances have a serious sweetness.

The gilding of details, on vestments, &c., is profuse; and the marble mantle of the Baptist is, with questionable taste, converted into a robe of gold. Medallions of the Apostles, with sentences from the Creed on scrolls, seem among the later (perhaps fifteenth century) sculptures placed here. Altogether, this building and its contents are, though very interesting, too like a casket of jewels; an example of the redundant magnificence of a style passing into the phase of decadence before giving place to another founded on opposite principles. Striking, and in their way beautiful examples of this tendency, carried to the extreme of decorative pomp in renaissance sculpture, are before us in the chapel and monuments of the Colleoni family at Bergamo, which we shall have to consider when the fifteenth century becomes the field for our studies.

The cathedral of Como and the basilica of Monza should not be omitted in any review of Lombardic architecture. The former, founded A.D. 1013, was rebuilt from designs by Spazi, one of the many architects engaged at Milan, whose works were commenced here in 1396; the richly ornamented façade, Lombardo-Gothic, was not begun till

1460; and this church pertains rather to the latter than the previous century. The Monza basilica was rebuilt after its predecessor, founded by the pious Queen Theodelinda, had stood unaltered for about 600 years, by Matteo Visconti, styled "the Great," Lord of Milan and Imperial Vicar in Lombardy (1295-1322); and for the costs of this undertaking the oblations of the people were not wanting; but the works remained long in suspense till the actual façade was raised, 1389, by the now celebrated Matteo di Campione. It has been called (by G. Knight) "a curious specimen of the cabinet style," being fretted over with profuse decorations, panels of coloured marble, tracery, statuary, arcade cornices and canopies; the walls of black and white marble in bands, an introduction (unusual in Lombardy) of Tuscan peculiarities. Such a building attests the Italian tendency to overlay the forms of the Pointed Style with splendid ornamentation, effectively combined, but not accordant, with the characteristic features of that northern architecture. There are details in the interior of this church—the sculptured capitals with grotesque figures—which seem older than the XIVth, and are perhaps of the XIth century. Fortunately there still remains enough, among the highly curious relics here preserved, to remind us of Theodelinda and also of the great and good S. Gregory I. The Iron Crown was restored to its shrine in this basilica after being carried away by the Austrians, 1859; its restitution being stipulated and agreed to after the peace in 1866.

BOLOGNA.

Among Italian cities whose aspect bears most strikingly the impress of its historic past, Bologna is conspicuous. At the base of the Apennines, where the lower declivities

of the forest-clothed chain gently subside, amidst fair valleys and rock-crowned or cultivated slopes, into the wide plain bounded westward by the Adriatic and the pine forest of Ravenna, the situation of this grand old city adds to the attractiveness of its memories, monuments, and romantic physiognomy. We recognise here the tokens of vigorous popular life, the influences reflected from Catholic piety combined with those of patriotic principle, the genius of Italian art, together with the haughty spirit of municipal independence. Majestic churches, mediæval embattled towers of stupendous height, and a long perspective of shadowy porticoes—all the objects around us excite interest as to the history of a place so richly endowed with elements of the picturesque, so nobly marked by characteristics of power and vitality. Bologna, in its rank among political and intellectual centres, demands study and observation from those who would appreciate its importance. I have had occasion to glance at some passages of its eventful annals in the later middle ages. According to legend, Christianity was introduced here by the immediate disciple of S. Peter and Apostle of Ravenna, S. Apollinaris; but nothing is known on any sure basis of the Bolognese Church prior to A.D. 270, when it was occupied by a prelate, S. Zama, consecrated for his office by Pope Dionysius. S. Petronius, chief patron saint of this city, was appointed to the bishopric by Celestine I., about A.D. 430. A Greek by birth, he had been sent to Rome by the Emperor Theodosius II. to apprise that Pope of the convocation of a General Council at Ephesus. He found Bologna in desolation and misery after being twice captured and pillaged by Alaric; and during fifteen years that this holy man held the bishopric, he exerted himself for good in various ways; rebuilt the fortifying walls, founded churches, improved the social conditions. We must reject

the tradition of his obtaining from Theodosius II. faculties for the establishment of a University. The earliest document throwing light on the origin of the famous schools of Bologna is a diploma, conferring privileges on stranger students here, from the Emperor Frederick I. Canon and Civil Law alone were originally taught at these schools; afterwards, liberal arts and medicine; later still, Theology, a faculty introduced here by Pope Innocent VI. Public examinations took place, with much pomp, in the cathedral; and the Rector of the University had precedence, on ceremonial occasions, of bishops and archbishops, the diocesan of this see alone excepted. In 1260 we find 10,000 students at Bologna; in 1384, nineteen professors of jurisprudence giving lectures here. "Bononia docet" became a European byword.* This city was comprised in the donations of Pepin to the Pope; but ages passed before it became subject to the immediate sway of the tiara. After the transfer of the Western Empire from a Frankish to a German dynasty, Bologna imitated other Italian free towns, acquired practical independence, and adopted forms of republican government; though the power of the German Emperors was theoretically acknowledged, and that of the Popes, from time to time, submitted to with loyal deference. In the XIII. century the Guelph and Ghibelline factions carried on the same conflicts, and drew down similar misfortunes on their fellow-citizens here as elsewhere, being represented by two powerful families, the Lambertazzi and Geremei. The affecting story of the

* Cantu, "Storia degli Italiani," cap. xc.; see also Tiraboschi, t. vi., who traces the vicissitudes of this University from age to age. In the XIV. century it declined; but rose again to its former credit and prosperity before 1400, continuing at that height during the earlier years of the XV. century. A tradition long accepted is that of its origin through means of the famous jurisconsult, Irnerius, about 1098.

loves of Bonifacio Geremei and Imelda Lambertazzi is well-known ; its tragic close in the assassination of the lover by Imelda's relations (1273), kindled anew the flames of civil war ; those two families having been at deadly strife, at the head of factions in partisanship under their names, from the year 1258. The Geremei (Guelphs) eventually obtained the upper hand ; and the Lambertazzi (Ghibellines), altogether 12,000 citizens classed with that party, were driven into exile. In 1275 a battle was fought about two miles from Bologna, the Guelphic party bringing a formidable host into the field ; for Parma, Modena, Reggio, and Ferrara had joined their forces with the Bolognese. The exiles, aided by the citizens of Faenza, where they had found refuge, obtained a signal victory over the Guelphic allies. More than 3300 Bolognese were left on the field ; and 4000, who gallantly defended the Carroccio at the crisis of the battle, were all made prisoners.

This disaster materially injured the position of Bologna. Together with Imola and other neighbouring towns, her citizens at last resolved to renounce their allegiance to the German Emperor and submit to the sovereignty of the Pope—an act indicating at least the firm expectation of better government and more peaceful civic life under the tiara. The Bolognese addressed their professions of loyalty to Pope Nicholas III., 1278. In the next year took place a solemn scene of reconciliation, with religious sanctions, for ratifying the peace brought about through the laudable efforts of the Legate, Cardinal Latino, nephew of that Pontiff, who had sent him to Bologna on a righteous mission, seconded by the exertions, in the same good cause, of Bertoldo Orsino, Count of Romagna, the Pope's brother. On the 4th of August the leaders of the Lambertazzi and Geremei factions assembled with a multitude of citizens on the principal piazza ; there, after an impressive discourse

from the Legate, who took his place on a decorated tribune, fifty representatives of each party swore peace on the Gospels, and embraced each other in the name and on behalf of all their followers. This triumph of the Christian principle, quickened and embodied in action through the salutary power of the Church, did not, unfortunately, bear the enduring fruit promised. In the December of the same year tumults and bloodshed again occurred at Bologna; the Lambertazzi were the first to offend, attacking and putting to death those of the opposite side who fell into their hands; the Geremei mustered their forces, repelled the assailants, and finally drove the entire aggregate of that Ghibelline party out of the city-gates. The exiles again repaired to Faenza, while the usual barbaric reprisals were enacted at Bologna: the houses and castles of the vanquished were first pillaged, then totally demolished. Two French Popes, John XXII. and Benedict XII. thought of transferring the Curia from Avignon to Bologna.* The former sent his Legate, Cardinal Pouget, to take possession and govern this city in his name. Not without stipulation for municipal rights and immunities was that representative received, though indeed with pomp and festivity on his state ingress, 1327. His rule became most unpopular, owing to his extortions and the perpetual wars with other Italian States in which he involved these citizens, though the Bolognese interest was in no way concerned in, or promoted through, such contests. In 1334, this Cardinal began the building of an immense castle with many towers, contiguous

* Alluded to by Petrarch in his Sonnet "To the Signori of Italy, urging them to take part in the Crusade of Pope John XXII."

E 'l Vicario di Cristo, con la soma
Delle chiavi e del manto, al nido torna;
Si che, s'altro accidente nol distorna,
Vedrà Bologna, e poi la nobil Roma.

to one of the gates. While his troops were absent, called away to resist an invasion of the territory by the Marquis d'Este, the people took the opportunity of revolt ; rose with the cry of "Death to the traitors;" slew all the French who fell into their hands, released the prisoners in jails, and besieged the Legate in his new castle. The Este sent troops for his rescue ; the French soldiery returned to execute vengeance ; but the most efficient intervention was that of Florence, which deputed ambassadors, who came, with strong armed escort, to bring the Bolognese to honourable terms with the Cardinal. His person and property were secured, and he was enabled to leave, with all his moveable wealth and attendants, under Florentine protection ; though not exempt from the execrations of the people on his way to Florence, where he took up his abode. The siege of his castle was not abandoned ; it was taken by storm and totally demolished about a month after his departure. Benedict XII., more pacific in policy and unworldly in motives than his predecessor, would probably have effected the removal of the Papal residence to Bologna, but for the now ascendant power of the Pepoli among their fellow-citizens. A struggle for mastery had been carried on between Taddeo de' Pepoli and the head of the Gozzadini house ; the usual scenes of tumult, street-conflicts and bloodshed occurred. At last the Gozzadini and their partisans were driven into exile ; the soldiery and populace raised the cry : "Viva Messer Taddeo de' Pepoli !" and that nobleman was elected by acclamation Captain of the People and "Signor" of Bologna, 1337. About three years afterwards, Benedict XII. accepted a transaction rather than lose Bologna, and conferred upon Pepoli the rank of Pontific Vicar, with the obligation of tribute, 8000 gold florins per annum, to the Holy See. After the death of Taddeo, 1347, the lordship of this city was bestowed by popular act on his sons, Gio-

vanni and Giacopo, without opposition from the reigning Pope, Clement VI. It was the elder of those brothers who, after being treacherously arrested by the Count of Romagna, Duraforte (a relative of that Pope, charged with the task of resubjecting to the tiara its lost towns and provinces), handed over Bologna and its territory to the Lord of Milan. Released from captivity on the promise of a payment far beyond his means, 80,000 gold florins, as ransom, Giovanni de'Pepoli went to Milan, and transacted with the Archbishop Visconti the sale of Bologna for 200,000 florins. A form of popular election was passed through (1350) in order that the mitred Lombardic Prince, now so potent, might seem at least to be freely chosen by his new subjects as their sovereign; but this proceeding, managed through the influence of the Pepoli, was regarded with general displeasure and indignation by respectable citizens. (Muratori, *Annali*, MCCCCL.)

Five years afterwards, Giovanni da Oleggio, an illegitimate member of the Visconti family deputed to govern Bologna in their interest, usurped the dominion, and caused himself to be proclaimed either Protector or "Signore," in defiance of Matteo Visconti, now ruler of Milan. Bernabo, successor to the latter, thought it best to come to terms instead of pursuing the war begun by Matteo for recovering Bologna, and recognized Da Oleggio as lord of that city during his lifetime. After the general subjection of the Pontific States had been commenced, with successfully exerted abilities, by the Legate Albornoz, Da Oleggio entered into treaty for ceding Bologna to that famous Cardinal. He fled by night from the blockaded city he found himself unable to defend, and where his sway had become generally hateful, because avaricious and unjust. Bologna was now occupied for the Pope by Pietro da Farnese, captain of the Legatine forces. Bernabo Visconti, refusing

to admit the Papal claims, undertook to recover what his house had lost, and sent troops to desolate the environs, subjecting the people of the Bolognese district to misery and outrage. The Pope, however, maintained his rights over this city and province till 1376, when, during a general revolt against the tiara in Romagna and Umbria, the resident Legate was driven away from Bologna, his palace besieged and property confiscated. Popular government was restored, and hailed with popular rejoicing, after this—but for short duration. In 1377, the Bolognese again submitted to the Pontific sovereignty, after stipulating the right of autonomic government for five years, on condition of an annual tribute of 10,000 gold florins.

One might expect characteristic and superior art-productions from the genius of this prominent city. But no school of high attainment arose at Bologna before the end of the epoch here considered.* Three native painters, of the XIII. century, are mentioned by name. In the sacristy of the Servite church, we see a stern-looking enthroned Madonna with angels, presented by Taddeo Pepoli in 1345. Between 1320-45, flourished one Vitale, called “delle Madonne,” from his numerous pictures of the Blessed Virgin, one of which (date 1320) is in the Belle Arti Academy. His pupil, Lippo Dalmasio, was engaged in the latter years of the XIV. and earlier of the next century; and pictures by him are to be seen in the above-named sacristy, at *S. Domenico*, and in the Ercolani collection at Bologna. His contemporary, Simone, acquired the epithet, “dei Crocifissi,” from his preference for that subject, to which and to one

* Giotto, and (as Vasari states), his pupils, Puccio Capanna and Pace da Faenza, were engaged at Bologna during this century. A Madonna with Archangels and Saints by Giotto was in the church of *S. Antonio* in Lanzi's time. That altar-piece is now divided; the central part at the Brera Gallery (Milan), the wings in the Bologna Academy.

other, the Coronation of Mary, he almost exclusively confined himself. One of his colossal Crucifixions, with name and date, *Symon fecit hoc opus*, 1370, is in a chapel at SS. *Agostino e Giacomo*, and certainly displays advance beyond the ghastly and repulsive treatment of this subject by Margaritone. The sufferer appears dead; at the apex is the Deity blessing; Mary, S. John, and two other women stand at the extremities of the cross. In two of the seven ancient churches known by the common name of *S. Stefano* (though each has a separate dedication), we see pictures by the same Simone: in the SS. *Trinità* (one among those seven) the Blessed Virgin and S. Ursula; in another, SS. *Pietro e Paolo*, another Crucifixion similarly conceived and treated with that at S. Giacomo; but instead of the two Maries at the foot of the cross, he introduces, in this instance, the Magdalen and a monk holding a cross as his symbol. Underneath is the ascetic inscription: *Affixus lingnō pte suffero peñas. Symon fecit hoc opus. Memento Q. Pulvis es et pulvẽ reũteris. Age penitẽcia et vives in Eternum.*

Jacobo degli Avanzi flourished about the end of this century. His abilities may be estimated from several extant works, *e. g.* two Crucifixions, one associated with a coronation of the Virgin and other subjects, at the Academy; also an Annunciation on the wall above a staircase in that part of the ancient Podesta Palace now used as the "Archivio Notarile." In the last-named picture, neither pleasing in composition nor effective in colouring, the Deity (of type like the Son, rather than the Father) is introduced above the principal group; and beside the angel, a kneeling donator. Below is the signature *Jacopus Pauli f*; and the same inscription is read beneath a larger work, an ancona with rich Gothic frame, in the same chapel at SS. *Agostino e Giacomo*, where hangs the Crucifixion by Simone; this altar-piece by Avanzi comprising five orders of saintly

figures, full-lengths and busts, besides a Crucifixion and coronation of Mary. A chapel known as the *Mezzarata*, though dedicated to S. Apollonia, in the villa of the Minghetti family, about two miles beyond the walls of Bologna, is adorned with three orders of ancient frescoes, about half of these being lost, notwithstanding a restoration in 1578. The remnants of this series, carefully preserved, were rescued from whitewash by Signor Marco Minghetti, 1838. They are attributed to Simone, Vitale, Avanzi, and others; the oldest being (as Lanzi shews) the Nativity by Vitale. Some subjects from the book of Daniel, in the lowermost order, bore the signature, no longer legible, *Laurentius f*—that, namely, of Lorenzo, an artist said to have worked here in 1360.

Vasari states that the series was finished in 1404. Many subjects, in the present damaged state of these frescoes, are unintelligible, though we can recognise the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Circumcision, the Banquet of Herodias, at which the head of the Baptist is presented; and the Pool of Bethesda, under which last is Avanzi's usual signature, *Jacopus fecit*. Nothing here reminds us of the dignity or power, or dramatic grouping of Giotto; these paintings are curiosities, valuable only in a relative sense, and as connected with the history of Art.* From one point of view they are indeed interesting.

* Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle decide, contrary to Lanzi and other writers on Art, that the Jacopo engaged at Mezzarata cannot be identified with the painter of that name, whose works are seen in the S. Felice and S. Giorgio chapels at Padua. In no one quality or characteristic do we recognise, among the faded frescoes in the Bolognese Chapel, analogies with the imaginative power and beauty of form distinguishing the illustrated legends of S. James, S. George, and other saints on the walls of the Paduan basilica and of the oratory adjacent to it.

In 1388 was determined the undertaking of a work which reflects the highest honour on Bologna in the artistic and also in the religious sphere: the building of a church dedicated to S. Petronius, destined to be one of the largest, and assuredly (had the original design been carried out) one of the noblest in Italy. Antonio Vincenzi, a native of this city, and one of the sixteen magistrates called *Riformatori*, was commissioned to prepare the design, subject to the supervision and judgment of another architect, a learned monk, Andrea Manfredi, General of the Servite Order. It appears, however, that the latter had only to give counsels, and that the authorship of the design finally chosen must, in strict sense, be attributed to Vincenzi. In 1390 the latter was required to prepare, in stone and mortar, an exact model of the projected church, 40 feet long and 30 broad; and this, the trial of his skill which satisfied judges, was built up in the court of the Pepoli palace.* In that year the works were commenced; and, in 1392, were so far advanced that mass could be celebrated in a lateral chapel, where we now see fresco paintings of the *Paradiso* and *Inferno*, attributed (but erroneously) to Buffalmacco.

In 1400 was commenced the marble incrustation of the exterior. Many houses, and subsequently (with sanction from Pope Martin V.) no fewer than eight churches were taken down to afford space for the vast basilica. A tax towards the costs was imposed on all the families who, flying from civil wars in other Italian states, had sought

* It was broken to pieces in 1406, when a copy in wood and paste-board was made instead: but neither is that second-hand model now extant. Forty designs by artists who competed at different periods for the completion of this church, are seen in the halls of the "Reverenda Fabbrica," adjacent to the buildings. That by Terribilia was finally chosen by the civic Senate in 1580.

the citizenship of Bologna; and by such means was raised, from one hundred and ten families, the amount of 22,177 Bolognese *lire*. The works were continued, with longer or shorter intervals of suspense, till 1647, when it was found necessary to abandon the magnificent original project, and leave the buildings in their then unfinished state. An abrupt termination to the nave and aisles, without the projected choir, apse, or transepts, was formed at once, and a sacristy with other buildings raised round the east end. As it stands, *S. Petronio* is merely the body of a Latin cross proposed as the form of the entire edifice.* Only the lower story of the façade is finished, and adorned with sculptures according to the plan so far carried out.

In the latter art the only works to be noticed here (as within the date to which I am now limited) are the sculptures along the basement, by Bonafuti, a Venetian, namely, half-length reliefs, in quatrefoil recesses, of Prophets, SS. Peter, Dominick, Francis and Petronius (the latter with a model of the city in his hand); bold and effective, the heads distinguished by a severe dignity. The effect of the interior of this church is marred by the unsuitable termination of the aisles with doorways instead of chapels, and by a wretched theatrical painting on the end wall beyond the high altar. Yet there is still a grandeur, a blending of power and grace, in this unfinished architecture. The great piers (like those of the Florence Duomo) are con-

* Actual dimensions: length 360, width 147 feet. Projected dimensions, reported variously as 608 feet in length, 436 in the width of transepts, and 400 feet as height of the lantern of an octagonal cupola which would have vied with that of the Florence Duomo. By Ricci given in palms: 570 length, 370 width of transepts, 400 for the height, and 130 for the span of the cupola; these last being the admeasurements published in 1653. The actual vaulting, from the designs of Terribilia, was finished two centuries later than the commencement of the building.

nected by pilasters with the springing of the vault. Lateral chapels with gothic arches, and two of which correspond to each bay of the vaulting, finely break the long lines of perspective in the aisles. The lancet windows of these chapels, and three orders of round windows, disposed over the space provided above the aisles and along the attics, contribute to the admirable variety of outlines and ornament.

Some suppose (*v. Ricci*) that lateral chapels (here a suitable, though in many other instances a disfiguring adjunct) had their origin in a principle of exclusiveness or aristocratic feeling; the divisions, namely, into classes, marked by privilege of rank or party, and each with its elect Patron Saint, consequently its desired separation in worship. It is the Italian Gothic of the XIV. century, in a nobly organised whole, that is before us at S. Petronio; luminous and majestically spacious, in effect utterly unlike the dim solemnity of northern minsters is this, as are other mediæval Italian churches. Nor are these characteristics of the southern architecture to be condemned: they naturally sprung from the appropriation of the sacred building, which was not merely itself the expression of religious sentiment, but, in many instances, required to be the arena of assemblages political and popular, or academic, and also destined as the hall of exhibition for supreme masterpieces of art. Such appropriation and its consequences to the character of the building itself, form a note-worthy evidence of the all-pervading power and action of Catholicism in the middle ages.

Other fine examples of the architecture of this period, at Bologna, are the church and portico of the Servites, *S. Maria de' Servi*, both designed, and in each instance the works superintended by the General of that order, the above-named Fra Andrea Manfredi. In this church (1383)

the acute arch prevails, and a happy union of the majestic with the graceful distinguishes its interior. The portico (begun 1392) is about the most admirable in this city of porticoes, *par excellence*, where almost every street is lined with such structures, in some instances majestic or beautiful, in almost all picturesque. The stately arcade of the Servite building consists of 29 arches, resting on 30 light columns of white and red marble. Such an accessory predisposes to reverence for the sacred fane, even before we enter it.

Another monastic architect commenced, in 1339, the Certosa (extramural), finished 1350. The adjacent cloisters, of great extent, to which others were added in more modern time, are now used as a public cemetery. Though not large, this church's interior has a religious solemnity, and the rich ornamentation is harmonious. The impressions received from both the temple and the cloisters, are such as we desire to carry away from a spot so consecrated, such as accord with the feelings—"the melancholy fear, subdued by faith"—most suitably cherished, and allowed their ascendant action, in the sanctuary of the dead.

Turning to monuments of another class at Bologna—mediæval sculpture—we naturally think first of the celebrated shrine of S. Dominick, which nobly attests the revival of that art by the Pisan school, and represents its progress from the earlier years of the XIII. century down to the time of Michel Angiolo. That marvellous tomb of the saintly Founder, in the principal church of his Order, does not, however, present any addition made to its exquisite adornments within the period here in question. The only work of fourteenth century sculpture at Bologna entitled to rank high (besides the above-mentioned on the S. Petronio façade), is a marble ancona over the high altar of S. *Francesco*, a church of the more severe and simple

Gothic style, built either between 1236-45 or 1227-51; long used as an inland "dogana;" finally restored with much polychrome decoration, and reopened for worship about twenty years ago. Vasari made the mistake of attributing this sculptured altar-piece to the Siennese Agostino and Agnolo, and to the date 1329. It is now proved to be a work, wrought, or commenced, in 1388, by the Venetians Jacobello and Pietro Paolo, known as the Masegne brothers. The architectonic design is Gothic, rich and graceful, crowned by aerial pinnacles. The principal sculptures, besides a multitude of statuettes and delicately finished reliefs, represent the Deity enthroned, and the Coronation of Mary by the hand of Christ—a fine treatment of that now pre-eminently popular subject.

Before completing this review of the religious History and Art of fifty years within certain limits, I may notice a few facts generally manifested, or pertaining to the theme before me:—

The introduction in sacred architecture within the Piedmontese provinces of influences from mediæval France, as apparent in the principal churches at Aosta, Chieri, Moncalieri; the failing of that influence, and prevalence of the Lombardic in the same provinces farther from the frontier, as at Asti, and in the church of S. Maria di Renversa, near Rivoli; in the Milanese States, the new variation of the Italo-Gothic at Monza and Como; and the appearance of a tendency aiming at more repose and simplicity than are found in the northern type, exemplified in a majestic church of this period, the Carmine at Pavia, as to which Schnaase justly observes that it displays the attempt to modify that type by a return to the earlier mediæval forms.

At the close of this century, we find almost all the legendary subjects admitted to the prominence and sanctioned place they long continued through later ages to occupy

in juxtaposition with the historic and scriptural ; also, alike permanently set in their artistic rank, the episodes super-added to the Gospel narrative, and in some instances contradictory to the clear, even the more impressive meaning of the sacred text.*

I have had to notice the Vandalic practice of demolition, of destroying houses or castles, as part of the penalty inflicted on traitors or proscribed exiles. The Visconti, in their government at Milan, had the good sense to abolish this, ordering that the residences of such persons should be preserved as public property ; and this while a law was newly brought into force at Modena, that homicides also should be so punished—their houses razed to the ground.

An incident curiously displaying the ideas and superstitions associated with Art, occurred in 1357 at Siena. That city was first supplied with water from the Fonte Gaja, in 1343, long before the fountain on the picturesque Piazza del Campo acquired renown through the sculptures of Giacomo della Quercia. The sole statue adorning it previously was an antique attributed to Lysippus, a Venus reported of as most beautiful, which had been disinterred

* See the ably annotated and valuable work, "Apocryphal Gospels and Documents relating to the History of CHRIST," translated by B. Harris Cowper ; for the whole of the Marian Legend, excepting the later-imagined bodily assumption, see the "Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, probably (observes Mr. Cowper) drawn up by a Latin writer late in the fifth century, or within a hundred years after ;" for the Descent into Hades, apparition to the Patriarchs, discomfiture of the Demons, &c. in that invisible world, the "Gospel of Nicodemus," written probably between 320 and 376, the Greek text of the earliest version of the story, called also "Acts of Pilate," avowedly not before the time of Valentinian (364-375) ; for the Legend of Veronica and her miraculously impressed handkerchief, see the "Death of Pilate," apparently a mediæval Latin production, and the "Revenging of the Saviour," the most absurdly incredible of these fictions, and in the original of most barbarous Latinity.

near Siena before the constructing of the fountain. During many years in this century, the city was torn and rent by civil wars. At last one of the magistrates forming the "Council of Twelve" declared to his colleagues his conviction that all these calamities were owing to such profane setting-up of a Heathen idol as had desecrated the Fonte Gaja; he advised that the Venus should not only be cast down, but broken into pieces, and the fragments buried within the Florentine territory, thus to transfer the curse and misfortunes long suffered by Siena to her formidable neighbours! This was actually done—the worthy magistrates probably not suspecting how strictly Pagan was the feeling by which they were animated!*

* v. Perkins, "Tuscan Sculptors."

CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTS.

(1350-1400.)

Rome.—Lateran Basilica restored after fire ; Gothic tabernacle, with paintings by Berna da Siena, over high altar, 1369, works ordered by Urban V., 1364 ;* S. Peter's, monuments in crypt of Urban VI., Cardinal Tebaldeschi, Bishop Maffiolus, &c. ; S. Maria Maggiore, campanile rebuilt 1372, spire added 1376 ; S. Maria in Trastevere, chapel of SS. Philip and James, and monument of Cardinal Alençon (ob. 1397) ; S. Cecilia, monument of Cardinal Adam Eston (ob. 1398) ; S. Crisogono, mosaics in apse (date uncertain) ; Christian Museum of Vatican, twenty-five panel pictures of Florentine and Siennese schools ; Capitoline palace, restored and fortified about 1395.

Florence.—Cathedral, works recommenced 1360, vaulting raised 1364, monument of Pietro da Farnese, 1362 ; statue of S. Mark by Niccolo Lamberti, 1384 ; picture by Orcagna (against pilaster) of S. Zanobius, Patron Saint, with SS. Crescentius and Eugenius, Charity and Humility ; octagon of cupola and chapel of east end commenced 1367 ; S. Maria Novella, finished 1357, paintings by Orcagna in Strozzi chapel, altar-piece 1357 ; Or San Michele, building continued, with Orcagna as architect, 1355, tabernacle by

* The silver busts of SS. Peter and Paul by the Siennese goldsmith, Giovanni Bartoli, placed in this tabernacle by Urban V., are said to have disappeared, as well as the jewels adorning them, during the French occupation of Rome in the last century. It is probable that the jewels alone were lost, and that the busts we see, almost half-length figures indeed, are no other than those works of the XIV. century, studded with new gems, and restored to their place in 1804.

the same artist, 1359, Madonna picture, enshrined in it, by Bernardo Daddi; S. Trinita enlarged, 1382—campanile, 1390; S. Croce, frescoes in choir (legend of the True Cross) by Agnolo Gaddi—in chapel of Holy Sacrament by A. Gaddi and Starnina—in Rinuccini chapel, by Giovanni da Milano—in Medici (or ? *noviziato*) chapel, Gothic altar-piece, four saints and four emblems by Orcagna, 1363; S. Giovanni Gualberto, and four subjects from his life, with the Saviour blessing—Virgin and Child, with Saints, 1365; sacristy of S. Croce, Crucifixion with Saints and Angels, picture of uncertain authorship, Christ bearing the Cross, Resurrection and Ascension by Niccolo Gerini; Carmine, frescoes (legend of S. Cecilia) in chapel near sacristy, attributed to Spinello; frescoes in cloisters by Giovanni da Milano; chapel of Bigallo Hospital, Madonna and Angels, statues by Alberto d'Arnoldo, 1359; Loggia di Orcagna (or de' Lanzi) begun 1376, reliefs of Virtues along summit, 1390; Silver altar of S. John, for Baptistery, commenced 1366; S. Miniato (extramural), frescoes in sacristy by Spinello, ordered by General of Olivetan Order, 1377; Certosa (Val d'Emo), sepulchral chapel of Acciajuoli family, 1355—monument of Niccolo Acciajuoli, 1365, and horizontal tombs near it of his father, his sister, and his son; Impruneta, in collegiate church of village altar-piece, or ancona, 1374.

Naples.—Cathedral, Gothic details in chapels and canopy of episcopal throne; S. Chiara, monument of King Robert, finished 1350—monuments of Mary de Valois, Duchess of Calabria, of the Duchess of Durazzo, 1366, of her two daughters, and of the Baucia family, 1370; S. Domenico Maggiore, monuments of the Count d'Aquino, 1357, of Joanna Brancacci, 1358, of Bertrando del Balzo, and others, dated within this century; S. Lorenzo, monuments

of the Count d'Artois and his wife Joanna di Durazzo, 1387; S. Maria Incoronata, founded 1351 (?), frescoes of the Seven Sacraments on vault, and scenes from the life of the Patriarch Joseph (much damaged) on lunettes*—in chapel of Crucifix, vestiges of frescoes by Gennaro di Cola; S. Angelo in Nilo (or in Lido), founded 1380.

Venice.—S. Mark's Cathedral, reliefs on archivolts of central door, pinnacles and Gothic ornamentation of façade—chapel of S. Isidore, mosaics, and sculptured shrine of that Saint, 1350-55—fourteen statues and Crucifix on roodloft, 1394—statues on architraves of chapels lateral to choir, 1397—statuettes (date uncertain) in chapel of "Madonna de' Mascoli"—monument of Doge Andrea Dandolo (ob. 1354) in Baptistry; SS. Giovanni a Paolo, monuments of Doges Michiel Morosini, Marco Cornaro, and Antonio Veniero, of the wife and daughter of the last; S. Maria Gloriosa (Frari church), Madonna statue on pinnacle of façade, monuments of different dates in this century; S. Maria dell' Orto, founded about 1350, restored 1399 (originally dedicated to S. Christofer)—relief of Virgin and Child, with Angels, by Giovanni de Sanctis, and tomb of that artist (ob. 1392) in sacristy; S. Giorgio Maggiore, monument of Bishop of Castello, 1381; Convent of La Carità (now Accademia di Belle Arti), reliefs beside portal, Virgin and Child, 1345, SS. Leonard and Christofer, 1377; Gallery of Academy, paintings by Semitecolo and others; Ducal Palace, new buildings commenced and continued up to 1355—sculptures on capitals of arcade,

* Formerly attributed to Giotto, and described by able critics as "but a development of the Giottesque manner by a painter of the middle of the XIV. century, who sought to carry out the master's grand maxims without his genius and energy." (Crowe and Cavalcaselle.)

ground-floor?*; Mazzorbo Island, relief over church-door, 1368; Torcello, two horizontal monuments of Bishops in cathedral.

Milan.—Cathedral, founded 1385, works commenced 1386—east end completed 1391—sculptures over doors of sacristies by Giovanni and Perino de' Grassi†—monument with expressive effigy and the Four Emblems in relief, of

* I have noticed (v. supra, p. 346) the difficulty of determining any exact date for those memorable reliefs, so fraught with moral and religious meanings. Deferring with the highest respect to such an authority as Ruskin, I must own that the proofs adduced by Selvatico lead me to conclude for a later origin than the former admits. Schnaase ("Kunstgeschichte") supposes that those capitals nearest to the S. Mark piazza are of the XV. century, the rest earlier, though of date subsequent to the death of Calendario (1355), to whom they were long attributed; and the same critic infers that the leading idea, the general conception of the whole series, must pertain to the latter years of the XIV. century. Whatever the date of their execution, the insight, religious sentiment, and standing-point from which life and duty seem to be here regarded, announce in these finely conceived sculptures the genius and spirit of the XIV., possibly kept alive and animating art-productions in the XV. century.

† These, the most noticeable sculptures of date within the XIV. century in the Duomo, adorn Gothic pediments over two doors, at opposite sides, near the choir. Over one door are reliefs of the Annunciation, Salutation, Adoration of Magi, Flight into Egypt, Massacre of Innocents; on the tympanum, the Virgin of Mercy, with devotees around her, and the Virgin and Child with two kneeling Apostles, the Entombment, relief statuettes as supporters; and on the lintels of the door, heads of Prophets. Over the other door are reliefs of Christ, the Virgin and S. John the Baptist, the latter presenting his severed head; under an acute arched canopy, the Deity enthroned amidst Angels and Saints; and in quatrefoil niches, ten small heads of Prophets. These works are distinguished by imaginative power and beauty of finish. The first-named of the two artists is better known as Giovanni da Milano, a painter, and especially through his pictures extant in Tuscan and Umbrian churches.

Archbishop Giovanni Visconti (ob. 1354), and of Marco Corelli (ob. 1394), with effigy and statuettes—the latter a benefactor to this church at the time when the buildings were incipient, as a line in his epitaph tells us:—

“Pro fabrica ecclesie maxima dona dedit.”

Brera Museum, in “Museo Archeologico,” monuments of Bernabo Visconti, with equestrian statue and reliefs,* and of his wife Regina della Scala; sculptures and wall-paintings, from suppressed churches, of this century.

Verona.—Monuments of Della Scala family—Can Francesco, 1329; Giovanni, 1350; Mastino II. 1351; Cansignorio, 1375.

Pavia.—Certosa founded 1396; shrine of S. Augustine (now in cathedral) commenced for church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, 1362—finished about 1380; S. Maria del Carmine, 1373; † S. Francesco (similar style) 1360.

Padua.—In Basilica of S. Anthony, chapel of S. Felix (originally of S. James) founded 1376, paintings on its walls by Altichieri da Zevio and Jacopo Avanzi commenced in that year; five statuettes of Saints (inferior) by architect of this chapel, Andriolo, a Venetian—chapel of the Beato Luca Belludi founded 1382, paintings on its walls by Giusto di Menabrea—in cloisters, monuments with Gothic canopies

* Ordered by Bernabo himself prior to 1384, and attributed to Matteo da Campione, but more probably by Bovino da Campione. One of the reliefs represents this ferocious tyrant in the midst of a group of saints round the Crucifixion, S. George presenting him to the Saviour. Beside the equestrian statue are smaller figures of Justice and Fortitude. Neither this monument nor that of Bernabo's wife, both removed from a suppressed church, display any high artistic merits.

† Schnaase observes of this imposing architecture that “at a first glance one might take it for a German Cistercian church of the end of the XII. century.”

and fresco-painting, 1370, 1390, &c. ; chapel of S. George, founded 1377, legend of that Saint, and of others painted by Altichieri and Avanzi ; Baptistery (XII. century), frescoes on walls and cupola, 1378 ; Eremitani church, monuments of Da Carrara family, frescoes in choir attributed to Guariento ; library of Chapter of Cathedral, picture by Semitecolo, 1367.*

Bergamo.—S. Maria Maggiore, porch with sculptures on façade, and tabernacle with sculptures above porch on south side, 1353-60 ; octagonal Baptistery, commenced 1340, with sculptures, on the outer and inner sides, of this period.

Como.—Cathedral rebuilt, works commenced 1396.

Mantua.—S. Antonio rebuilt, relief of Guido Gonzaga, presenting the President of the Guild of Merchants to the Virgin and Child, 1350;† S. Maria delle Grazie (about six miles from the city) founded by the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga, 1399, and built at the cost of 30,000 ducats—Romanesque Gothic.‡

* This remarkable work of the early Venetian school represents the Holy Trinity, the Virgin and Child, and four scenes from the story of S. Sebastian : the Father (in that first subject) holds the Son, whose arms are extended, though no cross is seen, and the self-devoting One appears alive ; both Persons of mild and serene aspect—a novel conception of this mystic class in Art.

† Guido Gonzaga was elected Captain of the People at Mantua, 1348.

‡ Raised to receive a supposed miraculous Madonna picture, to which the Marquis had addressed his vows for the delivery of Mantua from a pestilence then desolating many Italian cities. This church became a place of pilgrimage, and contains a multitude of votive offerings the most curious,—life-sized and full-dressed effigies of those who desired to express their gratitude to the Madonna, among others many illustrious persons, Charles V., Frederigo Gonzaga, Pope Pius II., &c.; also pictures of the perils and sufferings from which votaries had been rescued, through the power (as they attest in commemorative verses) of the

Monza.—Basilica of S. John—rebuilt, façade 1389—marble pulpit with statuettes and reliefs by the same artist, Matteo di Campione, who designed that façade; S. Maria in Istrada (rich Gothic ornamentation in terra cotta), 1357.

Piacenza.—S. Antonino completed, with acute arches, 1350; Palazzo Pubblico, begun 1281.*

Mirandola.—In S. Francesco, monument of Prendiparto Pico, a warrior, by Paolo, son of Jacobello Masegne.

Treviso.—S. Niccolo completed by Dominican architects, 1352.

Rivoli.—S. Antonio di Renversa (extramural) Italian Gothic, founded in the XII. century for the Knights' Hospitallers, rebuilt.

Chieri.—Cathedral founded, Piedmontese Gothic, finished about 1405.

Biella.—Baptistery.

Ferrara.—On façade of cathedral, statue of Alberto d'Este in pilgrim-garb, 1393; in S. Andrea frescoes by Cristoforo of Bologna.

Bologna.—S. Petronio founded, 1390—reliefs on basement of façade (Prophets and Saints) by Bonafuti, 1393; S. Francesco, sculptured ancona, 1388; S. Maria de' Servi,

heavenly Queen. The worship of the Virgin is manifested in its extreme extent and most glaring light at this long favourite sanctuary.

* One of the noblest of such municipal palaces in Italy. All the clergy, the guilds and other bodies of citizens contributed to the costs; not more than one-fourth was finished in the XIII. century; the rest, from a different design, about a hundred years later. The acute and round arch, with richest terra cotta ornamentation, are here seen; and the whole upper story rests on Gothic arcades of bold and well-marked character. Never shall I forget the first impression from a view by twilight of this superb edifice.

1383—portico before it, 1392; paintings by Simone de' Crocifissi at SS. Agostino e Giacomo (or S. Giacomo Maggiore) and S. Stefano, others by Jacopo Paoli, at the former church; by different artists of this period at the Mezzarata chapel; Certosa (extramural) completed, 1350—outer cincture of walls, 1367.

Pisa.—Campo Santo, wall-paintings, history of Job, 1371, of S. Ranieri, 1386, of SS. Ephesus and Potitus, 1392—subjects from Genesis, and Coronation of the Virgin, 1390-1—Triumph of Death, Resurrection and Judgment (date uncertain, but prior to 1355); * S. Caterina, completed 1352—Apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas, in the nave, by Traini—monument of Archbishop Salterelli (ob. 1352); S. Francesco, in Sardi chapel paintings of the last scenes in the life of Mary, and figures of Saints by Taddeo Bartoli, 1397; in chapter-house, the Passion, Ascension, &c. painted by Piero Gerini, 1392; Accademia, several paintings of this period; Certosa (about five miles from city), founded 1367.

Siena.—Cathedral, intarsio of pavement commenced 1372; in Palazzo Pubblico frescoes of history of Alexander III. and Frederick I. 1380-1400; tribune of S. Dominico, finished 1361.

San Gimignano.—Pieve (collegiate church), paintings of Biblical history, Genesis, &c. by Bartolo Fredi, 1356, of the Passion, &c. by Berna da Siena, 1380, and Giovanni d'Asciano; sculptured font, 1379.

Pistoja.—Cathedral—silver altar and tabernacle of S.

* In that year died Pietro the younger of the Lorenzetti brothers, (called by Vasari "Laurati"), to whom these pictures are now attributed; and by the same Pietro was painted the fresco illustrating Eremitic Life, also on these walls.

James, commenced 1357, continued by different artists,* 1366, 1386, 1390 ; in S. Antonio (now desecrated) and Piazza S. Domenico, frescoes, Christ in Glory and Paradiso, by Giovanni Cristiani ; Palazzo Pubblico, enlarged 1395.

Prato.—Cathedral, façade 1356—wall-paintings in chapel of the “Sacra Cintura,” about 1365;† S. Francesco, in chapter-house frescoes by Niccolo di Piero Gerini, legend of S. Mathew, Crucifixion with Saints (half-destroyed), scenes from life of S. Anthony the Abbot (the best, and least injured, that of the Saint distributing his fortune to the poor), and over entrance, SS. John Baptist, Bartholomew, Francis, Clara and Catherine, under which is inscribed: *Niccholo di Piero Gierini Dipintore Fiorentino pinse qui con suo colore.*‡

* Left wing of altar by Maestro Piero ; right wing, by Leonardo di Ser Giovanni ; four statuettes and Annunciation by Pietro d’Arrigo, a German.

† Agnolo Gaddi’s frescoes of the legend of this Relic, the “holy Girdle,” which was enshrined in its splendid chapel 1395: the marriage of the Pratese Merchant in the East ; S. Thomas, *in propria personâ*, consigns the Girdle to the bridegroom as dowry of the bride ; the voyage of the married pair ; the arrival at Prato, here represented as a sea-port ; the merchant landing with the Relic hidden in a basket of reeds ; the merchant removed from his bed and laid on the floor by Angels, the Relic being placed under his pillow ; the merchant, on his death-bed, consigns the Relic to the “Proposto” of the cathedral, who kneels to receive it ; procession of the Relic to the cathedral. Another series by the same artist, on these walls, comprise the Birth, Espousals, Transit, and Assumption of the Virgin, who, in this last picture, lets down the precious girdle to S. Thomas—this picture in great part lost, sacrificed to a modern window and wooden shrine. Another series illustrates, with much ability and effect, the legend of Joachim and Anna ; on the vault, the Evangelists and Four Doctors.

‡ The legend of S. Matthew, as here treated, is a novelty in art ; and its passages are explained by rude Latin verses under each picture. The Apostle induces Iphigenia, a Princess, to dedicate herself to Heaven by

Arezzo.—Cathedral, on façade statue of S. Matthew, and over side-door relief of Madonna, Angels and Saints, by Niccolo Lamberti ; façade of “ Misericordia ” (now public library, &c.) with reliefs, Madonna and Patron Saints, by the same sculptor, 1383. Crucifixion by Berna da Siena, in cathedral ; paintings by Spinello Spinelli on fronts of SS. Trinità and L’Annunziata ; other paintings of this period in gallery of Badia.

Cortona.—S. Domenico, altar-piece by Lorenzo Gerini.

Pietrasanta.—Pieve, completed about 1350.

Suvaroeto (Tuscan Maremma).—S. Francesco, and tomb of Franciscan General who founded church—architecture and sculpture, the sole extant works of Moccio da Siena, 1357.

Fermo.—Cathedral, monument to Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio (ob. 1366) by Tura da Imola.

Orvieto.—Works of cathedral continued by architect Giovanni di Stefano, 1373.

Perugia.—Wall-paintings (mostly damaged) at S. Fio-
religious vows ; her uncle, Hymacus, who has just ascended the throne wishes to wed her ; the Apostle supports her in resisting his suit, and the enraged King sends his satellites to murder S. Matthew while he is celebrating at the altar. In this last scene, the Mass of the Apostle is, both as to costume and sacred ornaments, images, &c. like that of a modern Italian priest ! Underneath are the verses :

Dum missam celebras, ac Epygenic mentem
Virginis egregie firmas herere Deo,
Perfidia Presulis Himaci necaris inique
Martirium passus, nunc pro cunctis ora.

These much damaged pictures have lately been cleaned and restored, without any repainting, through the care of the Franciscan friars still left in the convent here—see a critical notice, “ La Cappella de’ Mighorati,” by Signor Cesare Guasti, Prato, 1871.

renzo, S. Angelo, S. Agata (frescoes here of different periods), in crypt of oratory of S. Agostino, at the extramural S. Matteo, and the desecrated chapel of S. Crispino ; in Pinacotheca, paintings of this period, mostly from suppressed convents ; over and beside portal of Palazzo Pubblico, statues of Saints and allegoric subjects in relief.

Assisi.—Franciscan Basilica, in lower church frescoes by Giotto—in north transept, nine (New Testament subjects) attributed to Taddeo Gaddi, but probably by Giovanni da Milano ; frescoes in south transept by Puccio Capanna ; in chapel of S. Catherine, by Pace da Faenza ; sculptured pulpit in upper church ; in chapter-house, Crucifixion by Giotto ; S. Chiara, frescoes by Giotto on vault of tribune and in transept.

Foligno.—Wall-paintings of this period at *S. Maria infra Portas* (where are earlier and later frescoes also), in crypt below S. Anna convent, and in the cell of the B. Pietro Crisci in the cathedral tower ; many others in the collection formed at the “Betlemme,” a suppressed church.

Spello.—Remnants of wall-painting in the extramural S. Claudio and SS. Trinità, a ruined church.

Trevi.—Wall-paintings (of different dates) in S. Francesco ; several Madonnas, of this and following century, at *S. Mario Pietra Rossa*, in the valley below this town.

Montefalco.—S. Francesco, paintings of later Giottesque school, and others of various dates.

Spoleto.—Remnants of wall-painting at S. Domenico and the Madonna della Stella, a desecrated convent.

Citta di Castello.—Cathedral, around lateral door (Gothic style) reliefs of Mercy, Humanity, and scriptural subjects on smaller scale.

Terni.—S. Francisco, wall-paintings in chapel, 1350.

Salerno.—Cathedral, monument of an archbishop, 1382—effigies of Prelates in outer portico.*

Monte Vergine.—In church of monastery: monuments of Louis of Taranto (ob. 1362), and of his mother Catherine de Valois, of Prince John (ob. 1335), son of Charles II., and anonymous monument of a lady with recumbent effigy (v. supr. p. 245).

Sanseverino.—Monuments of Tomaso da Sanseverino, High Constable of Naples in 1353, and of the Princes of Salerno in village church.

Modena.—In cathedral, Gothic ancona, the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin, &c., painted by Serafino de' Serafini, 1385; near choir of this church, wall-paintings, the Deity,† the Annunciation, the Madonna and S. Peter.

Cagli (between Urbino and Gubbio).—In S. Francesco miracles of S. Antony, painted about the end of this century—discovered, 1842.‡

Barletta.—S. Maria Maggiore (founded in XII. century), east end and apse completed.

Biletto.—Cathedral commenced 1392.

Galatina (Peninsula of Otranto).—S. Caterina, church and monastery founded 1355 by Raimondo del Balzo,

* The finest sculptured monument here belongs to a period removed by a few years from my present limits—that of Queen Margaret of Anjou (ob. 1412), wife of Charles III., and mother of King Ladislaus.

† The Father, colossal, holds the Son, an infant, in His hand; the Son holds a globe and blesses. Near these paintings are the archaic, but highly characteristic, reliefs of the Last Supper and the scenes of the Passion by Anselmo da Campione.

‡ Erroneously ascribed to Guido Palmerucci.

Prince of Taranto, lord of this town, on his return from the Holy Land; the aisles added later; the older parts (except façade) French Gothic; tombs of the Del Balzo family.*

Palermo.—S. Maria della Catena, atrium (round-arched) about 1392.

Note to article "Florence" in Chronology of Monuments.

The frescoes in the *Cappella degli Spagnuoli*, (cloisters of S. Maria Novella), attributed by Vasari to Taddeo Gaddi and Simone di Martino, are now known to be by other artists, of the latter half of this century; those on the walls probably by Andrea di Firenze; those on the vault, or at least the greater part of them, by Antonio Veneziano. The west wall is occupied by the picture described elsewhere in this work (Vol. I. p. 591), which may be called the Apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas, who is seated among the highest saints; the personified Virtues and Sciences, with those excelling therein, seated below. On the east wall is the Church Militant and Triumphant, a complicated picture, strikingly illustrative of the ideas of the time in the religious and ecclesiastical order. This is in two distinct compartments: on the lower plain is the material church represented by Florence Cathedral, as designed by Arnolfo; in front of it are seated on thrones a Pope (Benedict XI?), an Emperor, a King, another Prince, and a Cardinal (supposed the portrait of Niccolo da Prato, Legate at Flo-

* See, for an account of this church, Schnaase "*Kunstgeschichte*."

rence); near these are other persons, a numerous group, among whom are said to be introduced portraits of Cimabue, Arnolfo, Petrarch and Laura, Boccaccio and Fiammetta; others are listening to the exhortations of a prelate; farther on one side, is seen an allegory of the vocation of the Dominican Order; their saintly Founder is directing several white and black dogs (*Domini canes*) to do their duty by driving off wolves (heretics) from a flock of sheep—the faithful; above are groups dancing and playing on instruments, allegoric perhaps of innocent pleasure sanctioned by the Church; apart is seen S. Dominick confessing a penitent; and again, the same Saint pointing out the entrance to Paradise, at the visible gate of which stands S. Peter, receiving the faithful who are allowed to pass in; beyond are seen the Joys of the Beatified; Christ enthroned amidst Angels, and the Virgin Mother near, the emblems of the Evangelists and the Cross above. On the side of the altar are: the procession to Calvary, the Saviour bearing the cross, women, soldiers, and a multitude following; the Crucifixion, the Thieves expiring on their crosses, while an Angel and a Demon receive their souls, Angels bewailing over the Divine victim, and the Mother fainting—as to which last episode (already noticed as objectionable), it is worthy of mention that Benedict XIV. states the fact of an order having been once given by the Master of the Sacred Palace (the chief Censor) at Rome, for the destruction of all Crucifixion pictures introducing it. On the same side is the Descent into Hades—Christ entering across the fallen gates, beneath which the monstrous Lucifer lies crushed. The paintings on the opposite wall, from the life and miracles of S. Dominick, are almost effaced. Those on the vault represent the Resurrection and apparition to Mary Magdalen, the Ascension, the Descent of the Holy

Spirit (quaintly treated, with prominence given to the figure of the Virgin), and Christ walking the waters, with S. Peter rescued from sinking,—which reminds of Giotto's *Navicella*, and is distinguished by more imaginative power than the others in this series.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—1400 to 1447.

FEW are the epochs so marked by vicissitudes important to great interests, or so distinguished by moral and intellectual movement as that we have now to consider. The study of its annals may confirm our conviction that the progress of the Human Race is *the* event and dominant fact of all History. At the opening of this period we find Western Europe more or less agitated by, or at least interested in, proceedings the theatre of which was an ecclesiastical Court either at Rome or Avignon; Latin Christendom divided by that schism in the Papacy which lasted thirty-seven years, and which from 1378 to 1409 continued to break up the Latin Church into two, from 1409 to 1415 into three "obediencies" to one or other of the rival Popes. The spectacle of worldly-minded old men, each claiming to be sole Vicar of Christ on earth, denouncing and cursing each other, professing readiness to sacrifice everything for the sake of peace and unity, while evidently preferring the sweets of power to all other interests, had its natural effect on thinking minds. Indignation and earnest feeling gave rise to the demand insisted on by famous universities, re-echoed from the retreats of piety and meditation, that the whole Church should be reformed in her head and members. The desire for such radical improvement, the claims for an independent action of the entire Clergy, as well as Prelates and Abbots, in

the sphere of spiritual things, were ostensibly admitted but practically eluded. The efforts vigorously made for a cause alike sacred and rational, failed to secure results commensurate with the elevation of the objects and theories fervently cherished and eloquently maintained. What ensued after the great Councils held in the first half of this century, shows the impossibility of accomplishing religious reforms, for which the public mind is not mature, and which the Hierarchic Body is not disposed to adopt or promote.

Among the Popes of this period we find liberal and enlightened benefactors of learning and literature; some also who may rank among the best and wisest sovereigns in Europe. The influence of progressive ideas could not be resisted. Eugenius IV., when prayed to absolve an enterprising traveller, Niccolo Conti, who had passed twenty-five years in the East, from the sin of denying the faith in order to save his life, did not refuse, but imposed as condition to this bountiful use of the spiritual keys that the penitent should narrate his travels with strict correctness to Poggio Bracciolini, so that the literary talents of the latter might produce some instructive work founded on that tale of foreign experiences. Martin V. granted plenary indulgence to all travellers (the orthodox, of course, alone implied) who might perish in the long and dangerous journeys to oriental lands, which were promoted and undertaken with at least the avowed object of redeeming souls by baptism and civilizing nations through the Gospel. Even before this period, the spiritual censures against intercourse between Christians and Moslems had been relaxed. Urban VI. gave faculties to a Cardinal Archbishop of Genoa to absolve Genoese, Milanese, and Piacentine merchants from the previously imposed penalties for exporting goods to Egypt; and at the same time empowered

that Cardinal to great dispensations for exporting merchandise to the amount of 8000 florins' value into the states of the Sultan of Babylon. The opposition to Papal government from its immediate subjects now becomes a sign of the times, increasing in frequency and in menacing significance. Formerly hostilities had come from abroad, from Princes recalcitrant against the authority or aggressive against the rights of the Church. The danger now lurks nearer to the Vatican and the Lateran, in the gloomy towers of the feudal lord, in the narrow streets of Rome, and in the humble workshops of Roman artisans. Revolt, the flight of the insulted Pontiff, his return after more or less prolonged exile, after being regretted in absence and implored to forgive, to accept the guarantees of loyal submission for the future, are now familiar episodes.

Thus was the storm again and again allayed; and if more serious evils to the pontifical throne were warded off, it was generally through means most creditable to those who sat thereon—by wisdom and clemency, by personal qualities that won esteem. The frequent recurrence of such shocks, however, proved the inexorable, if slumbering, force of the volcano under the surface—the gradually intensifying sense of irreconcilability between two essentially opposed offices, between the tiara and the sceptre, the crucifix and the sword.

The Jubilee of A.D. 1400 brought multitudes to Rome, notwithstanding the other celebration, ten years previously, ordered by Boniface IX., sole Pontiff who ever presided over two such recurrent "Holy Years" in this metropolis.* The pilgrims, regardless of the conflict-

* Contrary to antecedents, no bull was published for this Jubilee; the Pope merely intimated the bestowal of the same indulgences on pilgrims to Rome as in other such years. He allowed like benefits to be obtained in the city of Prague, at the request of the King of Bohemia;

ing claims of an antipope, and also of a pestilence now raging in different countries, flocked in immense numbers to that centre, especially from France, whose king, Charles VI., had renounced the cause of Benedict XIII., formerly protected by him, and still at Avignon. The dangers of the journey to Rome were, it seems, greatest in the immediate environs of that city; for the Count Gaetano of Fondi, at war with the Pope, sent his retainers to scour the Campagna and despoil the unfortunate travellers who fell into their hands. The grave accusation is brought against Boniface IX. of failing to provide for the safety of the pilgrims, many of whom died of the pestilence which broke out with great fury, during this year, in Rome. Other disasters threw gloom over the "Anno Santo" within the city's walls. In January occurred an incident which displays the temper and social conditions of the time. The city was entered, late at night, by a thousand armed men, mounted and on foot, with cries of *viva* for the people, and "death to the tyrant Pope Boniface IX.!"—the invaders being of the Colonna faction, and the plot contrived by that turbulent family at their castle of Palestrina.

The Capitol was reached without opposition; but an attempt to storm the recently restored palace was fruitless. The assailants found themselves in perilous predicament, for none of the citizens in league with the "Colonnese" stirred at the moment for action; and on their assistance it seems that reliance had been placed for success in this desperate attempt. When morning dawned no alternative was left to the aggressors but flight. Many were seized by the pontific soldiers, and hanged without form of trial: thirty-one being thus doomed to instant death. Theodore de

and thus was the ideal importance of the Roman pilgrimage weakened by the act of the Pontificate itself.

Niem mentions the horrid circumstance that a poor youth, one of the prisoners, was spared on condition of his acting as hangman to all the rest, and thus being obliged to inflict death in public on his own father and brother; this exciting pity and indignation. The Pope not only anathematized the Colonnas and all their partisans, but sent troops, 2000 enrolled citizens, to devastate their lands. Palestrina and Zagarola were laid under interdict. Before this year had passed, Perugia, Spoleto, Assisi, and Nocera were lost to the pontific states, and became subject to the powerful lord of Milan. Perugia, however, was recovered for the tiara by Ladislaus of Naples, now the friend and protector of Boniface IX. The deposition of the worthless and vicious Emperor Wenceslaus, son of Charles IV., and the election of his successor afforded opportunity for a noticeable recognition of that office of supreme umpire often nobly exercised by the Popes, and still theoretically assigned to them by all Western Europe. Boniface IX. received the complaints which the Princes and Electors addressed to him against the Emperor, before they proceeded to extreme measures.* Wenceslaus was admonished, but in vain, by the Pontiff; and before the Electors took the step which left the imperial throne vacant, they sought sanction from the same authority.

* One of the charges against Wenceslaus was that he had derogated from the imperial rights over Italy, by conferring the Dukedom of Milan on Gian Galeazzo. In the eyes of the Pope he was culpable for having made no effort to suppress the schism; still more as the sacrilegious murderer of S. John Nepomuck (or Nepomucene), confessor to the Empress, and whom he ordered to be drowned in the Moldau (1383), because the holy man refused to betray the secrets of the confessional. Wenceslaus, who still retained the kingdom of Bohemia, was succeeded by Robert, Count Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, elected King of the Romans in 1400.

In 1404 deputies from the Antipope were admitted to make some propositions in Consistory.* Their insolence excited such indignation that the death of Boniface, who was already suffering from complicated diseases, is said to have been hastened by the shock to his temper. He did not leave a much honoured memory; and Muratori's sentence is not unjust, that "he rather destroyed than built up." The wealth he had accumulated (by what means we have seen), enabled him to maintain a considerable army, and recover several cities lost to the pontifical states.† He conferred benefits on the university of Bologna, by founding new cathedræ for Civil Law and Physics. In that city he appointed a Jubilee, kept up with festivities for three days, with the object of promoting the works for the splendid basilica of S. Petronio. The building of the Milan cathedral was in a similar manner forwarded by him.

So soon as the Pope's death became known, tumults and conflicts broke out; the usual factions, headed by Colonnas and Savelli on the Ghibelline (anti-papal) side, by an Orsini on the other, resumed their hereditary strife; and for three days the streets were a theatre of civil war. The Capitol was attacked; the senatorial palace on that hill was gallantly defended by the Senator, but the assailants took possession of the church and convent of Ara Cœli. The deputies of the Antipope, who attempted to fly, were seized and imprisoned in the S. Angelo fortress, but set

* Not, as reported, to propose a mutual concession of the Papacy, but merely a meeting between the two claimants.—v. Muratori, *Annali*.

† The chronicler Gobelinus depicts in dark colours the effects of the simony and venality notorious in the Curia during this pontificate:—"Auctoritas et reverentia Papalis ex factis ejus (Bonifacii) plurimum viluit apud omnes. . . . Clerusque quotidie magis et magis eisdem laicis vergit in contemptum."—vi. c. 87.

free on payment of 5000 gold florins, that they might confer with the Cardinals respecting the election.

At the opening of the conclave all the Cardinals pledged themselves solemnly to abdicate, if the interests of the Church should so require of the future Pope. After five days they elected Cosmo de' Migliorati, who, before being one of their college, had been appointed to the sees of Ravenna and Bologna,* and had acted as papal "collector" in England. Innocent VII. (the name he took) experienced during a short pontificate (1404-6) how great were the perils now besetting S. Peter's throne—not indeed through his own fault, for he was a just as well as learned man, of pacific temper and the purest intentions. Even before his coronation Rome was entered by Ladislaus, who marched hither at the head of troops, with the pretext of protecting the new Pope, born his subject (a native of Sulmona), from violence or insult, but in reality, as the event showed, to forward his own ambitious designs. The King spent the first night in the Lateran palace, and the next day was received by the Pope, with honours, at the Vatican. He remained in Rome fifteen days; and during this interval there was drawn up a treaty, one of the most remarkable documents in the history of the Pontificate, for it imports a partial abdication of the temporal power. It was concluded only ten days after Innocent had been raised to the throne, ratified by six Cardinals and four citizens of the higher class, in a chapel at the Vatican: The Pope was to appoint the Senator, with the same attributions as formerly; the pontifical Court, the aggregate Clergy, and cases of leze-majesty, were to be exempted

* Troubles and hostilities against the clergy, so prevalent during this period of schism, had prevented him from taking possession of either of those archbishoprics.

from that officer's jurisdiction ; six assessors (*Gubernatores Camerae*), succeeding to the place of the "Riformatori," and holding office for two months, were to administer the civic finances, levy taxes, pay salaries, &c. After the first half-year, three other magistrates were to be aggregated to the *gubernatores*, their nomination to proceed both from the Pope and the King. Ecclesiastical affairs were to be exempt from all secular control ; and if questions should arise as to the limits between the ecclesiastical and civil, the umpire was to be King Ladislaus. The Leonine City was to be left under the Pope's exclusive jurisdiction ; and, as well as the defensible posts in that quarter, the Milvian bridge to be guarded by pontific soldiers. No Roman barons, or "signori" of the neighbourhood with armed retainers, could be employed in the public service. The Capitoline palace was to be reduced to a communal residence, as seat of the civic authorities, and court of justice. That palace, on the first day the treaty came into force, was consigned to a representative of the King, who introduced the several magistrates. Before Ladislaus left, the Pope constituted him Rector (or Governor) of the Campagna and Maritime Latium for three years ; and that territory continued in fact subject to the Neapolitan crown for about thirteen years, till the time, namely, of Martin V.

In his first year Innocent VII. took a step, the sequel to which forms one of the leading events of this century : he announced the convocation of a General Council, to be opened at Rome the 1st November, 1405. Many requests from different quarters had convinced him of the necessity of thus providing for the endangered interests of the Church.

The Antipope imitated him some time afterwards. The King of Naples continued to support the party disaffected

against the Pope in Rome. His troops again appeared in the neighbourhood, and encamped on the fields near the S. Angelo castle. The Romans of the anti-papal party joined them, and co-operated in an attempt, not successful, to seize the posts at the Milvian bridge.* Several skirmishes ensued, but without decisive results. A deputation of leading citizens went to the Vatican, for the Pope was disposed to listen to terms; but when they requested the surrender of the Capitol and of that bridge to the representatives of the people, Innocent refused. As these citizens were returning from the palace, they were seized, except some who fled, and brought before Ludovico de' Migliorati, the nephew of the Pope and commander of his forces, who was then lodging together with a *condottiere* near the S. Spirito hospital. Ludovico upbraided them violently, and when they attempted to justify themselves drew his sword and wounded one of them in the face; then ordered the soldiers beside him to kill them on the spot. Thus were eleven citizens murdered in presence of this ferocious man, who ordered their bodies to be thrown out of a window into the street. After the horrid spectacle had been seen, and the crime made known in the city, a revolt of most menacing aspect broke out. The Pope, the Cardinals, and most of the Vatican officials fled on the same day (6th August, 1405), passed the night at a village twelve miles distant, and thence travelled to Viterbo; being exposed to such suffering from heat, thirst and fatigue that some of the more old and feeble fell down dead on the wayside, and

* This bridge must then have been partly of wood, as Infessura tells us it was burnt on occasion of that attack. It must have been restored before 1408, when a writer of the day mentions it as serving for transit. It is still fortified by towers, as in the Middle Ages; and its last vicissitude was to be blown up during the siege of Rome in 1849, not by French but Roman orders.

others were struck with fever before they reached their resting place.*

Rome was now left without regular government, and in the power of an irritated anti-papal faction. Acts of violence and bloodshed took place. Those courtiers and adherents of the Pope who had not escaped, were put to death; the Vatican was twice pillaged, first by the rabble, next by Giovanni Colonna; books and documents, bulls and diplomas were torn to pieces or carried away.† On the

* These scenes are graphically described by an illustrious eye-witness, Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), who had been lately appointed to a secretaryship by the Pope. In a letter to Coluccio Salutati he tells what he saw between the S. Angelo bridge and the Vatican on that 6th October. "When I heard the tumult, I hastened back to rejoin my friends; but having made my way through the streets and reached the bridge of Hadrian, I suddenly came upon a strong body of armed men, who were guarding it. All around were arrays of weapons. I had just time to turn my horse and pass into a side street, where I alighted, changed my dress, and mingled unknown among the crowd, thus contriving to pass through the guards. Scarcely had I left their ranks when I saw the servant, who had stayed behind with my horse, seized by some soldiers, the animal, and even his clothes, taken away from him. After I had reached my companions the spectacle of the murdered men presented itself, and filled me with horror, for many of them had been known to me: they lay in the middle of the street, covered with blood and gaping wounds; I looked at them and shuddered. I then went to the palace of the Pope, who was in the greatest affliction; utterly ignorant of what was to take place, a peaceful and benignant man as he is, far as possible from thoughts of bloodshed and murder. He sorrowfully bewailed himself and his fate; his upturned glance seemed to call God to witness his innocence. Distress almost deprived him of power to decide what to do or whither to go; and those around him were of different opinions. At last prevailed the advice of those who urged a speedy flight. We prepared as well as the short notice allowed, and started on our journey; first a troop of horse, next the luggage," &c.

† "*Multos librorum papalium deportaverunt, et litteras bullatas et aliqua registra supplicationum et literarum papalium laniaverunt; et de*

20th of the same month, 3000 Neapolitan soldiers, led by the Count di Troja, entered the porticoes of St. Peter's. Their King soon followed, and took up his lodging in the Vatican. His purposes being now manifest, the Romans showed that, however dissatisfied with Papal, they had no desire to exchange it for Neapolitan rule. The King's troops were plundered as they passed with their pack-horses along the right bank of the Tiber to the Leonine City; the S. Angelo bridge was barricaded with earth-works, and the Neapolitans could not cross to make themselves masters of the river's left bank. Ladislaus held the S. Angelo castle, while the anti-papal party occupied the Capitol. The municipal palace on that hill was the strategic point most hotly contested. It was at last transferred to the pontific authorities through means of Paolo Orsini, who attacked and occupied it by force. The S. Mark tower near it was demolished. A new magistracy was created, and the Senator appointed by the Pope returned to resume his office. Soon after this the Neapolitans were defeated in the Neronian fields, near the Milvian bridge; this proved decisive; the invaders withdrew; the Colonna and Savelli leaders left Rome; and the city, all but the S. Angelo castle, was regained for the Pontificate.

A Roman deputation waited on the Pope at Viterbo, with the keys of their city, which they laid at his feet, praying him to return. He re-entered Rome, received with rejoicings, 13th March, 1406, and presently denounced Ladislaus as the enemy of the Church, &c., declaring him deprived of his kingdom. The S. Angelo castle, held by his garrison, was besieged. At this emergency Ladislaus deemed it wise to submit, and accept the terms offered by

thesaureria papali ultra L volumina librorum exportaverunt."—Theod. de Niem, II. c. 36

the Pope. He ordered his troops to consign the castle to pontific officers, and after this peace prevailed in the city during the brief remaining period of Innocent VII.'s life.

The Antipope, after being besieged by the French troops in his fortress-palace at Avignon, and saving himself by flight, took refuge at Nice, and thence went to Genoa, a city now, through voluntary cession, subject to France. There the governor received him as legitimate pontiff—again recognised as such by Charles VI., who had already changed his mind in favour of Benedict XIII. A pestilence, breaking out at Genoa, induced the latter to settle first at Savona, afterwards at Monaco and Marseilles. He endeavoured hard to persuade the world that he was ready to abdicate so soon as his rival should do alike.

The mild and peaceful Innocent VII. exerted himself to reconcile Guelph and Ghibelline opponents; and used to say, after yielding one point after another to the demands of the Romans: "I have conceded all you have sought from me; and nothing else remains for you to ask, unless you desire to deprive me of the pontific mantle I wear!" The struggle for independent municipal government in his time is almost the counterpart (at least as to ulterior aims) of that which agitated Rome in the time of his predecessor and namesake, Innocent II., 1143. The citizens did not, in either instance, desire the overthrow of the pontific throne, but the free administration of secular affairs under that authority. Leonardo Bruni thus describes the general conditions of Rome as he found them:—"The Roman people have carried to excess the exercise of their lately acquired liberties. The Colonnas and Savelli are most powerful among the nobles; the Orsini are in decline, because suspected by the people, and supposed to favour the Pontiff. The Curia is filled and wealthy; the Cardinals are numerous, and maintain great dignity. The Pope lives

at the Vatican, desiring leisure (*cupidus otii*), and contented with the present state of things, provided he may be allowed to enjoy it. But such the perverse spirit of certain influential persons among the citizens, that tranquillity is not to be obtained. We are continually under arms here; and it is difficult to recollect oneself sufficiently for writing. The capriciousness and perversity of this people have risen to such a point that one cannot find a peaceful spot.”*

The thirteen Cardinals now in Rome, elected (30th November, 1406) the new Pope, Angelo Corrario, a Venetian and bishop of Castello (ancient title of the Venetian See), who took the name of Gregory XII. His first step was to renew the solemn engagement made in the conclave by himself and all the Cardinals, to abdicate if requisite for the peace of the Church; and the Antipope was informed by his letters of that intention. An interview between the two was proposed, at Savona. It soon became evident that neither Gregory nor his rival were sincere; and that an octogenarian (such the age of the former) loved power, or its semblance, more than anything else. Yet this Pontiff's position at Rome was far from agreeable or secure. His poverty obliged him to pawn his tiara for 6000 gold florins to a Florentine merchant, and to sell many books out of the library of the Holy See, for 500 gold florins, to the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples. On the night of the 17th June, Rome was entered with violence through a breach (probably caused by ruin) in the walls, between the Porta Maggiore and the Tiburtine or S. Lorenzo gate. An armed company, whose leaders were the two Colonna brothers, an Orsini, a Savelli, and one of the Normanni

* *Rerum Italicarum Historia*, and Epistles; all but the last sentence of this extract being from the former work, and in the past, which I translate into the present tense—that used in the letters.

family, thus forced their way as far as the now solitary church of S. Bibiana, but a short distance from Porta Maggiore, where they waited till daybreak. This attempt proved fruitless as desperate. None of the citizens rose (as, no doubt, expected) to take part in revolt or combat. The Pope retired to the S. Angelo castle; and presently Paolo Orsini led his soldiers from the Campagna, where they were then on duty, to resist the aggressors. Several were made prisoners, among others the two Colonnas, both released on payment of ransom, and Galeotto Normanni, who was beheaded at the base of the Capitol by order of the Senator. As to the Pope and Antipope, their oft-repeated and never-fulfilled promises, proposals of compromise, and treaties without effect, form an episode both scandalous and contemptible, only deserving the notice of History on account of the opposition excited, the intellectual repugnance aroused against them, and the ecclesiastical efforts which sought to eradicate, not the schism alone, but other abuses with it. Illustrious teachers in the world of thought and theological science appeared as champions of the honour and purity of the Latin Church, and of the primæval rights inherent in her prelacy: Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, and in 1411 Cardinal; Jean Charlier, called Gerson, successor to D'Ailly as Chancellor of the Paris University, (ob. 1429); Nicholas Clemangis (ob. 1440); Nicholas Cusa, Cardinal in 1448; and Zabarella, professor of Canon Law at Padua, Archbishop of Florence, afterwards Cardinal (1339-1417). The opinion of such men on the then condition of Western Christendom, and the remedies suitable for the baleful disease, pertains to History.*

* "In consequence of clerical avarice, simony, and the greed and lust of power in the Popes, the authority of Bishops and inferior ecclesiastics

Gregory and Benedict both became itinerant, seeking protection or flying from danger, and thus mutually discrediting their cause. Meantime the ever restless Ladislaus seized the opportunity of obtaining his cherished object, the conquest of Rome. With a large army he marched by way of Velletri to Ostia; there his fleet cast anchor at the same time, and this ancient seaport was soon taken. On the 16th April, 1408, he sailed with his forces up the Tiber, landed at S. Paul's, threw a bridge of boats across the river near that basilica, and was soon before the walls of Rome. The city was without adequate means of defence, governed by a Cardinal, the Vicar of Gregory XII.,

is completely set aside, so that they seem like mere pictures in the Church, and are well-nigh superfluous."—Gerson, *Opera* (ed. Dupin) II. p. I. 174. The same writer maintains that the Church is infallible, but not the Pope; that the Church can put limits to the powers of the Pope, but the Pope cannot limit those of the Church; that the Church has not the right to chastise with corporeal punishments, unless conceded to her by Princes, &c. Zabarella laments that the Church "had become brutal, a severe prison-house, where only dungeon-air could be breathed—full of hypocrisy and false pretence." "If we consider (he says) the calamities and evils that now overwhelm the Church, we shall be convinced that they have been caused by the cessation of Councils. Formerly it was the usage to decide all difficult affairs in those Councils, which took place frequently. But from the time that certain Popes began to govern the Church rather as temporal princes than successors of the Apostles, there has been no care to convoke such august assemblies. The flatterers desirous to please the Popes have persuaded them for a long time, and still do so, that they are at liberty to do whatever they please, without even excluding things unlawful. This has been the origin of infinite abuses. The Pope has possessed himself of all the rights of subordinate churches, and in consequence their Bishops have been counted for nothing. It is necessary to modify the honours paid to the Pope, and no longer carry them to such excess as to let it appear that as much is rendered to him as to God Himself."

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but without a Senator, that post being vacant. Terms of surrender were stipulated between the Count di Troja, the royal representative, and Paolo Orsini on the pontific side. The Cardinal Governor fled. The King entered amidst popular rejoicings and pomps, 25th April; he passed first to the Capitol, under a canopy of cloth of gold borne by eight Roman barons. During two months he exercised sovereign powers, coined money, appointed a Senator and other magistrates, and raised his marble escutcheon on the Capitoline palace. His thoughts were directed to an imperial crown; and having that highest prize in view, he contented himself with the title, "Illuminator Urbis," to signify his supremacy over Rome. Here he remained till the 23rd (or 28th) of June, and then left, deputing the Count di Troja to act as his Lieutenant.

In 1409, Gregory XII. opened a council at Udine; but so small the number of prelates who attended, that he had soon to prorogue, in fact to dissolve it. From Udine he fled in the disguise of a merchant, and on foot, with two servants, to Gaeta, a retreat desired, at the cost of that long perilous journey, for the sake of the protection now afforded him by Ladislaus, but only for an interval before that king recognised another Pope. After this, Gregory became again a fugitive, and found refuge at Rimini, there protected by Malatesta. While he was at Lucca, before the abortive council, all the Cardinals hitherto faithful to him deserted this Pontiff; and the two last to quit issued a protest to a better-informed Pope, with appeal to a General Council. Universities were consulted, and agreed, after deliberation, in deciding for the right of the Sacred College to provide for the welfare of the Church by convoking such an assembly on its own responsibility. Thirteen Cardinals, formerly of the two obediences, met at Livorno, and concerted together as to the requisite line of

action. At last a Council, by some accepted as œcumenical, met at Pisa. Inaugurated in the cathedral on the 25th March, 1409, it was attended by 24 Cardinals, 3 Patriarchs, 180 Bishops and Archbishops, 300 Abbots and Procurators of Abbots, 280 Theologic Professors, the Deputies of Chapters and Universities, and the Ambassadors of several Sovereigns.* On the first day after, High Mass and a procession, two Archbishops, two Bishops, and two Cardinal Deacons, with certain theologians and votaries, went to the chief portal, and cited Angelo Corrario and Pedro de Luna to appear, then reported their absence, on which the Council ordered in the name of the Church Universal that the schism should be suppressed. Appointed officials accused the two contendants for the Papacy, requiring that both should be declared contumacious, &c. After these formalities had been repeated a second time, and after an adjournment for some days, the Council proceeded to condemn Gregory and Benedict for schism and contumacy—also as heretical, perjured through violation of their oaths, degraded from all dignities, and *ipso facto* separated from the Church; all the faithful being now prohibited under pain of excommunication from recognising and favouring

* According to Cesare Cantu, there were present 24 Cardinals, 4 Patriarchs, 80 Bishops, 26 Archbishops, 86 Abbots, 202 Procurators of monasteries, 300 Doctors of Theology and Canon Law, and the Deputies of more than one hundred Chapters, as well as of 13 Universities. The statistics above are from Ciaconius. In the “*Art de Vérifier les Dates*,” they are given differently: 22 Cardinals, 4 Patriarchs, 12 Archbishops, several Procurators of absent Archbishops, 80 Bishops, and 102 Procurators of Bishops, 87 Abbots, and 202 Procurators of Abbots, 41 Priors, the 4 Generals of the Mendicant Orders, the Grand Master and 16 Knights Commendators of Rhodes, the deputies of at least 13 Universities, and of more than 200 Chapters, more than 300 Doctors in Theology and Canon Law, the Ambassadors of several Kings and of other great Princes.

them. A French theologian read a long discourse maintaining that the Church was superior to the Pope ; and an Italian Prelate reported that such was the opinion of 103 Doctors of the Bologna University. During the sessions a solemn comedy was enacted in another church at Pisa, where certain clerics of the party of Benedict went through the formula of citing all the Cardinals who had deserted him, and were then in that city, to return to him by a given day, under the usual penalties for disobedience. It is needless to add that this availed nothing. Alike was disregarded the protest of the Emperor Robert, whose ambassadors appealed to another General Council, declaring that of Pisa illegitimate because not convoked by himself. On the 15th June, the Cardinals went into conclave, and on the 26th, elected to the theoretically vacant throne, Peter Philargos, said to be a native of Candia, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, and Legate in Lombardy, who now became Pope as Alexander V.

The parties and claims of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were not annihilated by this procedure. The Council had over-rated its strength in imagining that its decree would at once suppress the schism; and instead of two, the Christian world now beheld, for the first time, three Popes, all maintaining their pretensions and "obediences," alike denouncing and reprobating each other !

Yet a great historic momentum cannot be denied to the august assemblage at Pisa. It pronounced the emancipation of the Latin Catholic Church from the spiritual despotism arrogated by a single Prelate ; it put in its protest that the true character of the Christian Hierarchy was not the absolute monarchic, nor its constitution subjected, like Judaism, to the unlimited control of a " Pontifex Maximus."

Alexander V. was crowned in front of the Pisan Duomo, —the first time that majestic temple looked down on rites

so imposing. A singular example of the accessibility of the high places in the Church to learning and merit, the new Pope had owed his rescue from want and ignorance to an Italian Franciscan, who had found him in his Greek island, a friendless boy and literally a beggar dependent on alms.* After confirming all the acts of the Council, his first step was to anathematize Ladislaus, and declare his forfeiture of the Neapolitan crown. A claimant, for some time lost sight of, Louis, Duke of Anjou (the same who was crowned by the Antipope Clement, in 1389, as King of Jerusalem and the Two Sicilies), now re-appears on the historic scene. Embarking at Marseilles with troops and many galleys, he arrived at Pisa, and there received investiture of his kingdom from the Pope, who also appointed him "Gonfaloniere" of the Church. The Florentine Republic, alike dreading the encroachments of Ladislaus, entered into league with the Pontificate against him; and the double object was undertaken by these allies of rescuing Rome from that king's usurpation, and depriving him of his throne for the benefit of another dynasty. Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, legate at Bologna, supposed to have been the influencing mind at the Council of Pisa, and to have indeed directed the choice of the Conclave to Philargos, rather than secure the Papacy (as it was believed he might have done) for himself, had the credit of devising this policy and bringing about the league. That warlike, restless Cardinal, with forces under his command, himself took part in the enterprise, and together with the Florentine general, at the head of

* He had studied at Oxford and Paris, and taught in the latter university. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, impressed by his character and converse, secured to him successively the sees of Vicenza and Novara, before raising him to the higher metropolitan rank; and whilst Lombardy was in a troubled state after the death of that duke, Boniface IX. appointed him Legate.

2000 lances and 1500 foot, joined Louis on his march by way of Orvieto and Viterbo to Rome. Their arrival was anticipated by the Neapolitans; an army, mustered by the Count di Troya at Perugia, reaching the ancient capital before them. The whole of the city on the Tiber's left bank, and the Transtiberine suburb were occupied by the forces of the Colonnese in the interest of the Neapolitan King; but the Leonine City was well defended from the S. Angelo Castle, held by a garrison for the Sacred College. On the 1st of October, 1406, the army of the League appeared at the gates, and entered the Leonine City without resistance, as the chatelain of the fortress had declared himself for Alexander V. After a few encounters between the opponents, without serious results, the leaders of the league determined to attack Rome on the eastern or northern side, and withdrew first to Monte Rotondo, leaving the Borgo quarter alone occupied by Paolo Orsini for the Pope. Their project was abandoned owing to the failure of co-operation, relied upon from those favourable to their cause, within the city. Instead of besieging Rome, the Duke of Anjou and the Legate separated, and withdrew their troops in different directions. The Florentine forces alone remained, encamped at a few miles' distance from the walls. On the 30th December a battle was fought on ground now comprised within the Transtiberine fortifications, but at that time for the most part an exposed suburb, the present Borgo and Trastevere regions. The Neapolitans and the troops under Paolo Orsini here combated with much bloodshed, and the former were totally routed; their defeat and flight were no sooner known than the citizens rose with *vivas* for the "Church and People." A multitude assembled that night in the Campo de' Fiori; and before daybreak the Transtiberine suburb and the bridges were guarded by the soldiers of Paolo Orsini, who pro-

claimed the sovereignty of the Pope.* A few days afterwards the Florentine forces were allowed to enter peacefully, according to accepted terms, and marched into Rome under the banner of the lily. The whole city was re-subjected to the Pontiff, except two gates, the Tiburtine and the Porta Maggiore, which had been developed into strong fortresses with moats and drawbridges added to the Honorian walls. These, in gloomy isolation, were defended by Neapolitan garrisons against attack and bombardment for a whole month, till capitulation was their only resource. Miserable indeed was the condition of Rome after these struggles. The Leonine City was encumbered with ruins; the woodwork of houses and the pavement of streets had been torn up to make barricades; the belfry towers of S. Peter's and S. Spirito were shattered by assault, and beset with machines for bombarding. Sacred offices in that basilica were almost suspended; and the Canons met in chapter at a distant church, *S. Tommaso in Formis*, on the Cœlian hill. Alexander V. never saw Rome in his capacity as her sovereign. Guided in all things by the ambitious Cardinal Cossa, he left Pisa, established him-

* The actual Borgo was comprised partly (not entirely) within the walls of the Leonine City. The Trastevere was then an unprotected suburb, excepting a district south of the Vatican, enclosed within the Honorian walls, which here described almost a triangle, with the Tiber at its base and the Porta S. Pancrazio at its apex. It is not easy to determine whether the battle in question was throughout its action external to the fortifying walls. The Campode' Fiori, now a busy piazza, but far from all gayer centres, near the sites of the theatre and curia of Pompey, owes its name to a meadow where horses and cattle used to graze, till about the middle of the XV. century, on ground now occupied by old-fashioned houses and stalls for petty traffic. As is well known, the walls of the Leonine City are now reduced to picturesque ruin, and the Trastevere and Vatican encircled by fortifications in no part more ancient than the pontificate of Pius IV.

self at Bologna, and died there on the 3rd May, 1410. He used to say to those of his intimacy : "I have been a wealthy Archbishop, a poor Cardinal, and now am a mendicant Pope." The merits and capacities which had raised him successively to so many high posts, did not suffice for the difficult position in which he found himself at the summit of the ecclesiastical scale. With good intentions, he effected no reform ; and his very benevolence led him to exercises of his office that were abusive and confirmatory of abuses.*

On the 17th May the sixteen Cardinals at Bologna, holding conclave in the old Podesta palace, which had been the prison of King Henzius, elected to the Papacy the above-mentioned Baldassare Cossa, of a noble Neapolitan house, who took the name of John XXIII.; and who, not being in priest's orders, was ordained and consecrated as bishop in S. Petronio before his coronation. The dark accusations brought against him—almost every crime that man could commit, including the poisoning of his virtuous predecessor—cannot be proved, nor finally accepted by History, though many of those charges certainly were admitted by an Œcumenical Council. The raising up of such a man, the very personification of that worldliness which had long disgraced the Papal throne and the higher prelacy, at the very crisis when the religious sense of Christendom most urgently demanded the regeneration of a spiritual supremacy so deeply fallen below the ideal of its vocation—this seems truly a step of momentous fatality, or, we might

* "In ejus Papatu nihil penitus reformavit, et omnibus studuit complacere. Tam prodigus fuit in concedendis gratiis beneficialibus quam nullam novit differentiam inter personas quibus illa fecit. Quam ob rem ipsa Curia in tam brevi tempore in magnam confusionem et infamiam, ejusdem Alexandri Papæ causante simplicitate, devenit."—Theod. de Niem, *De Schismate*, c. li.

rather say, guided by the retributive Power which makes evil its own punishment. Heavy was the responsibility taken upon themselves by those Cardinal Electors at Bologna! John XXIII. had indeed talents and great energies, which he had exerted in resubjecting several cities of Romagna, especially those wrested from the dominion of the Church by the Duke of Milan. Leonardo Bruni, who knew him well, says that in temporal things he was great—in spiritual of no account, and utterly inept.* Platina mentions the report that “this election was brought about with violence; for Baldassare, being Legate at Bologna, had troops under his command in the city and district in order to obtain the Papacy by force, should other means have failed.” Other writers state that Gregory XII. not only deprived him of the Cardinalate, but excluded him from the communion of the faithful for having usurped the bishopric of Bologna and subjected that city to his tyranny. In April, 1411, the new Pope arrived at Rome with eight Cardinals; Louis of Anjou, claimant of the Neapolitan crown, accompanying them. On S. George’s day he blessed the banners of the Church and of the Anjou Duke, whom, together with Paolo Orsini, he appointed to the command of the Pontific army. Characteristic of John XXIII. is an episode, the date of which was the next recurring S. Mark’s day at Rome. He concerted with the Florentines to allow their emissaries, for a considerable bribe, to seize and carry away the skull of S. John the Baptist, special treasure of the church called *S. Sylvestro in capite*, which, with other relics, was to be carried in the procession to S. Peter’s on that festival. But the plot transpired; the *Caporioni* magistrates, the Colonnas, and the Nuns of S. Silvestro,

* “In temporalibus quidem magnus, in spiritualibus nullus omnino et ineptus.”

who walked in the procession, took means to guard that sacred head as it passed through the streets; the Pope and the Florentines were baffled.* A Council convoked by Alexander V., was opened at Rome by his successor, about the end of the year 1412, and dissolved in June, 1413. It scarcely occupies a single historic page, and the sole documentary record of its existence is a Bull against the followers of Wycliffe. The attendance of bishops was scanty; for John is said to have taken perfidious measures, in concert with Ladislaus, to obstruct their progress to Rome, not desiring any such reforms as an efficient Council might have decreed. Clemangis gives the anecdote, that at the first session, the Pope had no sooner taken his seat than a large owl flew in, perched opposite, and fixed its eyes full upon him, which caused laughter among the prelates, but so disconcerted his Holiness that he interrupted the proceedings; this occurring a second time, the poor owl was beaten to death. The King of Naples had been anathematized and formally deposed by John XXIII., but as he feigned submission, was received back into favour. How hollow were the professions of Ladislaus, it soon became evident. He invaded and seized many towns in the

* Moroni (*Dizionario*, article "Chiese di Roma,") tries to save the credit of the Pontiff in this transaction. "As it appeared to Pope John XXIII. (he says) that it (the head) was exposed to the danger of being stolen by the Florentines, in 1411, this relic was no longer carried in the procession, conformably with the advice of the Colonnese, benefactors of the church where it is still most carefully preserved." The skull is said to have been brought to Rome from Edessa. In 1283 Martin IV. enshrined it in a silver tabernacle set with gems, on one of which, an emerald, were chiselled scenes from the life of the Baptist. Boniface VIII. placed a precious tiara on that tabernacle; and, when the city was sacked in 1527, the nuns of S. Silvestro saved the relic from profanation by transferring the tiara to another head—either skull or bust—in their church.

Anconitan Marches; and in June, 1413, the intelligence reached Rome that Neapolitan troops were approaching the city, whilst a fleet was sailing towards Ostia. The Pope entrusted the defence to the magistrates and people, enjoining on them to fear neither Ladislaus nor any other foe. "I am ready," he said, "to die for the Church and for Rome." The people, assembled in the Capitol, declared their unanimous resolve to defend the Pontiff and the Church. The next night fifteen hundred Neapolitan soldiers, led by a *Condottiere*, entered Rome through the walls near the S. Croce basilica; and the next morning the invaders were masters of the whole city, the S. Angelo castle alone excepted. The Pope, Cardinals, and courtiers fled to Viterbo; on their way thither some were robbed and murdered by the marauding soldiery; one Cardinal was seized and imprisoned. Ladislaus entered Rome on the 8th of June, lodged at the Lateran palace, and commenced the siege of the castle, which capitulated on the 23rd October. All the towns in the Pontific States north-eastward, as far as the Tuscan frontier, submitted to that King. The Pope meantime resided at Siena and Florence, though for three months he was not allowed to enter the latter city (its authorities fearing to provoke Ladislaus), but inhabited a suburban villa of the Bishop. In the course of conferences held at Florence, he was advised, and adopted the resolution, to secure protection against Ladislaus from the Emperor Sigismund,* who alone could efficiently support him; and also to ingratiate Sigismund by a step, which would, it was argued, be the best proof of the rectitude of his intentions, the convoking

* The son of Charles IV. and brother of the deposed Wenceslaus, had been elected to the imperial throne in 1410, having been King of Hungary since 1386. Sigismund was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle a few days before his arrival at Constance for the General Council.

of a General Council. The Pope sent two Cardinal Legates to propose this; and it was agreed between the Emperor and the Legates that Constance, an Imperial city, should be the site preferred, an arrangement which grieved and alarmed Pope John. He met Sigismund at Lodi, and endeavoured to induce him to fix on another city, but in vain. From Lodi were issued the summons to all concerned, to attend the Council of Constance. The Pope and Emperor travelled together to Cremona, of which Gabrino Fondolo, a successful adventurer, was then lord. It is said that this petty despot, before suffering the death to which he was condemned (with little show of justice) on the scaffold at Milan (1425) for revolt against the Duke Visconti, declared that there was but one thing of which he repented,—that, when accompanying Sigismund and John XXIII. to the summit of the wonderfully lofty and majestic tower which rises above graceful arcades beside the Cremona Cathedral, he had not thrown both those illustrious visitors from the parapet, by which act he might have made his name notorious for all ages!

The sixteenth Œcumenical Council was opened at Constance on the 5th November, 1414, and sat during three years and six months. The Pope arrived on the 28th October, with nine Cardinals and a numerous retinue, about 600 persons in all. Though received with due honours, he came full of forebodings, and when first in sight of the city, as he rode down a mountain, is reported to have said: "Behold the pitfall for catching foxes!" The day after his entry the magistrates waited on him with presents—several barrels of wine, Rhenish, Provençal, Italian, a measure of grain, and a goblet of silver gilt. The history of this famous Council is beyond the geographic limits of the subject undertaken in these pages; but seeing its importance to the range of moral interests

here considered, I may briefly notice its leading acts and circumstances. It was attended by 29 Cardinals (all Italians, except 5 French and 1 Portuguese), 4 Patriarchs (of Constantinople, Antioch, Grado, and Aquileja), about 183 Bishops, 1134 Abbots, 250 Doctors, and 125 Provosts and other ecclesiastical superiors; altogether, according to some writers, 18,000 prelates and other ecclesiastics, and 8000 laymen; the total number of strangers in the city during the sessions being ordinarily 50,000, and at times 100,000. No disturbances occurred; all were well lodged and fed, without rise in the current prices. The city provided 30,000 beds; and about the same number was that of the horses stabled within its walls during the whole time. A gorgeously attended Archbishop of Mayence arrived with 600 horses in his train; and on account of scarcity of straw or fodder, it was ordered that not more than 20 such animals should be kept for the Pope, 10 for each Cardinal, 5 for each Bishop, 4 for each Abbot, and 10 also for Princes. Never had so momentous, nor perhaps so brilliant a drama been enacted in any subordinate city, scarcely in any capital, during mediæval periods. Not alone the power and grandeur, the learning, wisdom, and sanctity of the age were represented at Constance, but comedians, buffoons, mountebanks, the least respectable adventurers of both sexes (according to some writers 346 comedians and jesters) were drawn in by the absorbing stream which flowed from all Europe towards that city, founded by the father of the first Christian Emperor on its romantic lake.*

At the beginning of the deliberations, it was determined that votes should be taken by nations, the five, namely, which were fully represented in the Council: Italian, French, German, Spanish, English; and this system, contrary to the antecedents of such assemblies, gave a great blow to

* According to tradition, Constantius Chlorus was founder of this city, called after him.

the cause of Pope John, who had relied on the support of an Italian majority. One Cardinal (D'Ailly) proposed that in matters not concerning faith, Princes and their Ambassadors should vote; another, that all parish-priests should have the same privilege without restriction. At other Councils, at least in the later ages of Christianity, none below the rank of Bishop or Abbot had been allowed suffrages; but at Pisa, in 1409, Professors and Doctors of Theology voted (v. Milman, b. VI.). At Constance each nation elected deputies, under a President renewed every month, who assembled severally in the intervals between the general meetings of all the deputies; and after agreement on any articles discussed, the aggregate of nations, through their deputies, submitted their decisions in signed and sealed documents to the whole Council at the public session. In the interval between the first and second of those sessions, was presented to the general assembly of nations an anonymous document containing fifty-five (or, as some writers state, seventy) articles of accusation against John XXIII., and, in consequence, certain deputies were sent to recommend to him the inevitable step of abdication.* This he promised under condition that his rivals, Gregory and Benedict, should do alike. At the ensuing public session, Pope John, after celebrating in the cathedral the Mass of the Holy Spirit, read aloud the act of abdication, and quitting his throne, knelt before the altar, pronouncing, with hands clasped on his breast, the words *spondeo, voveo, et juro Deo*. This had a great effect on the august assembly. After the rites, the Emperor Sigismund laid aside his crown, knelt, and kissed the feet of

* The serious nature of the charges against him is more than implied in the words of Theodore de Niem: "*Quidem (ut præsumitur) Italicus multos articulos valde famosos et omnia peccata mortalia . . . continentis contra eundem Balthasarem in eodem concilio exhibuit in scriptis, tamen secretè.*"

the Pope, thanking him fervently for his generous act of self-sacrifice; as did also the Patriarch of Antioch, with the same homage, in the name of the Council.

The above-mentioned Emperor, son of Charles IV. and brother of the deposed Wenceslaus, had arrived in Constance on the Christmas-eve previous; received from the Pope the sword and cap blessed on that occasion, and officiated as Deacon at the Midnight Mass, holding the sacred sword in his hand while he chanted the Gospel of the third nocturn in the Matins: "*Exiit edictum de Cæsare Augusto.*"

John XXIII. might now have retired from the historic scene with dignity. He ruined his credit and his interests (so far as anything was to be hoped for his future) by a flight from Constance to Schaffhausen, there to place himself under the protection of Frederick, Duke of Austria, whose favour he had warily secured by a promised bribe of 6000 florins per annum. The Duke gave a tourney, with much pomp, to distract the attention of the citizens, whilst the Pope made his escape in the disguise of a merchant, or of a groom. Sigismund insisted that this event should not in any way affect the Council, or cause any suspense of its labours for restoring peace and unity to the Church.

In the fourth session it was decreed that the Fathers and Theologians, "being legitimately assembled in the name of the Holy Spirit, forming a General Council which represents the Catholic Church Militant, has received immediately from Jesus Christ a power to which all, of whatever age and condition, even the Pope, must yield obedience in what pertains to faith, to the extirpation of the present schism, and the reform of the Church in her head and in her members." It was also defined that the Pope had neither the right to convoke, nor, without the general ecclesiastical consent, to dissolve an Œcumenical Council; and D'Ailly and Gerson undertook to justify these principles

in writing, before the close of the sessions at Constance. Between the 9th and 10th public sessions, witnesses were admitted to make deposition against Pope John ; and their evidence was repeated in fifty several charges (the more scandalous being omitted) to the full Council. That Pope was thrice cited to appear ; and, after this formality, was solemnly condemned for scandalizing the Church by immoral conduct, disedifying life, systematic simony, &c. The Duke of Austria was required to give him up to the power of the Council, as he did, consenting to become the jailor instead of the protector of the fugitive. After being confined at Freiburg in the Breisgau, the deposed Pope was conducted with an armed escort to a fortified village near Constance, where, whilst he lodged in a hostelry, a deputation of bishops and doctors came to intimate to him the offences of which he was accused, and the act of his deposition. The pontific ring and seal were taken from his hands, and his attendants were commanded to leave him. He became a prisoner for some time in the fort of Ratolfzel, guarded by 300 Hungarian soldiers ; afterwards in the picturesque castle of Heidelberg. Thus, for the first time, was a Pope not only deposed but treated as a criminal by those who had acknowledged the legitimacy of his title.

Gregory XII. voluntarily abdicated, through a noble representative, Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, who appeared for him at the Council, whilst he himself was an honoured guest at that city. When informed of this event at Rimini, the ex-Pope, for the last time, convoked the Cardinals faithful to him, took his seat in pontific vestments, the tiara on his head, laid aside those insignia, and declared that he would never again assume them. The Council rewarded him for his submission ; and, as Cardinal Angelo Corrario, he was thenceforth constituted Dean of the Sacred College and Perpetual Legate in the Anconitan Marches.

The Spanish Antipope, after being thrice cited to appear before the Council, was declared contumacious, perjured, and schismatic; finally deposed by sentence passed in July, 1417. All efforts for inducing the so-called Benedict XIII. to resign, proved fruitless; and it was in vain that the Emperor himself travelled to Aragon for conference with him and with the King of that country. The old man, at last abandoned by his royal protectors in Spain, as elsewhere, kept up the dreary comedy of a pretended Popedom and imitative Curia at a solitary castle—Peniscola—on the Aragonese coast, till the last moment of his life.*

In the eighth session the Council condemned forty-five propositions extracted from the writings of Wycliffe, two hundred of whose works had previously been burnt by the Archbishop of Prague. In another session was passed the decree prohibiting Communion in both kinds, under penalty of excommunication to priests who should so administer that sacrament. The practice had never hitherto been condemned, though gradually falling into general (not total) disuse.† The trial and condemnation of John Hus

* He died, 1424, in his 90th year, and the 30th year of his pretended pontificate. From such duration S. Antoninus seems to draw an additional inference against the legitimacy of his claims—a proof that the phrase *non videbis annos Petri* was current in the XV. century, when that Saint wrote. It has been refuted in the sole instance of Pius IX. among all pontificates of undisputed title.

† Communion in one kind had been gradually admitted, but frequently, and by highest authority, condemned in earlier times. A.D. 445, Pope Leo I. commanded the faithful to receive the holy Eucharist in both kinds; Gelasius I. (A.D. 492) renewed this injunction. In the Council of Clermont, 1095, Urban II. decreed that none should communicate without receiving both kinds. There is no doubt, however, that from a primitive period, and till the VI. century, the hermits of the desert were allowed, as indeed their isolation rendered necessary, to communicate without the chalice; and the almost primitive practice of domiciliary Communion necessitated the same restriction;

induces us to glance at the antecedents of that reformer, and the circumstances which led to his ruin.

John XXIII. had published an indulgence, with the usual sanctions and appeals, for the support of a war to defend himself against the formidable King Ladislaus. When such use of the spiritual keys for the temporal interests of the Pope was proclaimed, and the indulgence sold, with insolent exaggerations of its efficacy, by the Pontific agents in Bohemia, Hus publicly reprobated the practice, and exposed the absurdity of thus applying spiritual powers for temporal objects. His disciple, Jerome of Prague, publicly burnt the Papal Bull (1411) under the gallows in that city. The vendors were insulted and outraged; the magistrates of Prague interfered; tumult ensued; and lives were lost in the streets; the bodies of those slain were honoured, by the party favourable to Hus, like the relics of martyrs. The people took the part of the Reformers; the feeble King Wenceslaus protected him; the Queen Sophia

the consecrated bread alone being taken from the altar, retained, and consumed in private. After the first Crusade communion in one kind became frequent in the West, as it had been much earlier in the Church of Jerusalem. In the XIII. century the twofold communion became generally restricted to priests, and denied to the laity. In the next century, Clement VI. conceded it as a privilege to the King of France, Philip VI., and his Queen, also to the Dukes of Burgundy and Normandy, and to all the Monks of Cluny on the day of the opening of their general chapter. The act, presenting so signal an example of bold departure from the original standard, and modifying of the evangelic law of Christianity, was formalized at Constance in the following terms:—"Licet in primitiva Ecclesiâ hujusmodi Sacramentum reciperetur sub utraque specie, postea a conficientibus sub utraque specie et laicis tantummodo sub specie panis suscipiatur, cum firmissimi credendum sit, et nullatenus dubitandum integrum Christi corpus et sanguineum tam sub specie panis, quam sub specie vini veraciter contineri, unde cum hujusmodi consuetudo ab Ecclesiâ et a sanctis patribus rationaliter introducta et diutissime observata est, habenda est pro lege," &c.

had already appointed him her confessor. Alexander V. cited him to Rome to answer the charges against him. John XXIII. repeated that summons; but in vain, and those who went to Rome in his stead were imprisoned by that Pope's order. After the opposition to the sale of the indulgences, and the burning of the Papal bull, Hus was anathematized, and Prague laid under interdict, for so long as he should remain within its walls. The citizens opposed, the King himself forbade, his departure for Rome. After appealing from the Pope to a General Council, he quitted Prague and went to his native place, Hussinecz. The Archbishop of Prague, who had undertaken to prosecute him, or, at least, put down his doctrines, accepted a profession of faith made by Hus in his presence, and assured the Pope that there was no heresy lingering in his archdiocese. The Council of Constance invited Hus to attend its sessions, and he promptly complied; the King of Bohemia placing him under the protection of three nobles of that country, and the Emperor Sigismund providing him with a safe-conduct, which, however, was nothing more than a passport available for his journey.* Soon after his arrival at Constance (4th November, 1414) he was heard in his own justification by certain Cardinals, and, after that audience, imprisoned by the Pope's order. He refused to recant, and at the last hearing of his cause (6th July, 1415) was condemned to death. The Council gave him over to the secular arm; the Emperor consigned him to the Elector Palatine; and on that day he suffered in the flames. Led to the place of execution by 800 horsemen, and followed by the whole multitude of citizens, he was detained before the Bishop's

* The fact of even such a document having been granted to him is questionable—v. Rohrbacher and Cesare Cantu, who quote his own words: "*Venimus sine salvo conductu.*" *Hist. Eccles.* xxi; *Storia degli Italiani*, cap. cxvii.

palace to see the burning of his own books. Addressing the people in German, he declared that his adversaries had been unable to convince him of any error. On the 1st June, 1416, his disciple, Jerome of Prague, who had first retracted after six months' imprisonment at Constance (11th September, 1415) and nobly revoked that step, reproaching himself for it as the greatest sin he had to repent of, endured the same death by sentence of the Council (26th May previous). The ashes of both these victims were thrown into the Rhine; and at these executions was first used the horrid mockery, afterwards common at the extreme punishment of heretics—paper mitres, painted with figures of devils, on the heads of those condemned to the stake. Poggio Bracciolini, who was present at the trial of Jerome, describes his conduct, and cites his defence as a display of power and eloquence almost unrivalled in any known instance.

At last the Council commenced the urgently demanded task of reform; and the articles to this effect were discussed in the 39th session. It was decreed that another General Council should be held five years after the present, another seven years after the dissolving of that second assembly, and that thenceforth such Councils should be convoked by the Popes, at whatever places they pleased, with the consent of the fathers, every ten years; the Popes being allowed to abridge, but not to prolong, the intervals.

During the discussions, the deputies of the nations decided, after seven days' deliberation, that annates should be abolished for the past, present, and future. John XXIII. had enacted the payment of them, in some instances, several times in the same year from benefices which happened to be more than once vacant during twelve months. The sums obtained by the Popes under this title of annates, were now calculated, and declared to be exorbitant, and

intolerable. From France alone the average had been 697,750 livres per annum; and it was shown that European nations, taxed at the same rate, would have paid nearly seven million livres per annum to the Roman Pontiffs.* Added to this was the yearly revenue of between 60,000 and 80,000 livres received by the Pope and Cardinals from France. The abuses and rapacity carried on under the inauspicious pontificate of John XXIII., induced the Florentine Republic to deprive the Holy See of the collation of benefices in its States during five years. It was decided at Constance that the Pope, as well as other bishops, had sufficient means without any extraordinary supplies; that other Churches might grant contributions to the Roman for particular emergencies, but not as a perpetual imposition, or payment legally due.

Eighteen articles of reform were proposed, and it was enjoined that the future Popes should adopt and carry out the intentions of the Council, embodied in those articles. The Germans and English desired the reformation of the Church to be not only discussed but accomplished *before* the election of the new Pope; the Cardinals, and with them the Italians and French, desired it *after* that step. The English were eventually gained over to the side of the Italians; and some of the German prelates are said to have been won by bribery to what may be called the Latin party at the Council (v. Milman, "Latin Christianity.") In November, 1417, regulations were drawn up for the election to the Supreme See, which had been vacant for two years and five months. It was ordered that six

* The right of the Roman See to appoint to all benefices was unknown till the XII. century. Innocent III. first asserted it for the Papacy in full plenitude; and hence arose the complicated system of reserves, provisions, dispensations, annates, pluralities.—v. Milman, "Latin Christianity," b. vi.

deputies (prelates and other ecclesiastics) for each nation should enter conclave together with the Cardinals; that one-third of the votes of the thirty deputies, and (as usual) two-thirds of those of the Sacred College should be requisite for a full majority. The manners of the day are curiously illustrated by one decree passed on this occasion, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the pillage of the residence, and despoiling of the property of the newly-elect Pontiff—a barbarism common in Rome, and sometimes practised against not only the house and chattels of the Elect, but also those of all the Cardinals in conclave! Twenty-three Cardinals, with their thirty colleagues now met in the municipal palace of Constance, and on the 11th November, 1417, was elected Ottone Colonna, a Cardinal Deacon, then in his forty-ninth year, who took the name of Martin V. His antecedents had been not only respectable but admirable; and in every stage of ecclesiastical preferment he had given the example of moderation, amiable temper, and blameless life. On the evening of the same day he was, after a grand procession, solemnly installed in the cathedral.

Almost the first act of the new Pope was the publication of a Bull against the Hussites, requiring that all suspected of favouring them should swear to accept the decrees of General Councils, especially those passed at Constance. All that had been recently decreed concerning faith and morals was at the same time sanctioned; but in this proceeding Martin V. did not pledge himself to the decision of the superiority of Councils over Popes. It is urged in his justification that, while accepting all the Acts styled "Conciliar," he intended to include those emanating from one or other of the five nations without being voted for by all in the Council. It is owned by impartial historians that he to some degree promoted, however far from carrying

out, or cordially adopting, the principles of that great reform imagined by fervent spirits, advocated by the eloquence of the most learned theologians, and demanded by the moral feeling of the age. He modified the exceptional powers of the Holy See, and offensive privileges of the Roman Curia. Though retaining, he limited the system of reserves, expectatives, dispensations; reduced the annates to a reasonable tax on newly-appointed bishops; abolished reserves and commendams in the case of bishoprics and abbacies; prohibited the alienation of Church property; ordered that prelates and abbots should forfeit a year's revenue if absent during six months, and should lose their sees and benefices if non-resident for two years. Most emphatically did Martin V. prohibit the appeal from Popes to General Councils. He appointed a Commission of six Cardinals, together with certain deputies of nations, for the important task of deciding on those measures requisite for a more thorough reform; but nothing was efficiently accomplished by the Commissioners, who never arrived at agreement on any leading points. The Pope presided at the last four sessions of the Council; convoked the next assemblage at Pavia; and after reading a discourse to the fathers at the 45th session, dissolved this memorable Council, which had sat at Constance during three years and six months. At the close a Cardinal pronounced the valedictory words, *Domini, ite in pace*.

It is generally agreed that Martin V. did not correspond to all that had been expected from him for the true interests of the Church; that he cautiously evaded the full discharge of his promises; and that the great purpose, for which the Council had been convoked, was in the main defeated. Hefele observes justly (*Concilien Geschichte*, b. vii.) that "the liberal party at Constance wished to restore the system of the Church from an absolute monarchy, which it had

become, to a constitutional monarchy, in which the chief authority should lie, not with the Pope, but with the assembled episcopate." Writers judging from the most different points of view are accordant in this,—that the eventful Council was a failure.* It might be likened to a magician who raises a spirit, too strong for the daring mortal, invested with such dangerous powers, himself to cope with: the mightier one overwhelms the subordinate agent; and the master of the spell becomes the servant of the mysterious being evoked. But if the efforts of intellect aiming at a high ideal were vain, if the reforming attempt of the mind of this age was frustrated, such utterances as had been heard at Constance were not wasted like sand thrown to the winds, but destined to germinate in the fertile soil of a Christianity flourishing under brighter skies in more healthful atmosphere.

The triumphal progress of Martin V. through northern Italy to Rome made manifest the reconciled feeling towards the Papacy, thanks to the estimable character of the man now on its throne, as well as the general joy now felt for the extinction of a scandalous schism. The Pope left Con-

* "Martin found means to postpone from day to day the reforms demanded, wasting time in devices and secondary concessions, protesting against the appeals from Popes to Councils, and reconfirming many abuses." (Cesare Cantu, *Storia Degli Italiani*, cap. cxvii.) "Martin V., before being elected, had pledged himself by oath, as had done all the Sacred College, to make exertions in the Council for the reform of the Church in her head and in her members; a promise he was induced to renew, but the fulfilment of which he had always care to evade." (*Art de Vérifier les Dates*.) "The Council gave its sanction to the whole dominant creed of Christendom, and the complete indefeasible hierarchic system,—declared war against all who should revolt, not only from the doctrines but the discipline of the Church. The slightest emancipation from the rule of this sacerdotal order entered not into the thoughts, hardly the apprehension, of the fathers at Constance."—Milman, "Latin Christianity," b. vi.

stance (16th May, 1418) with a gorgeous cavalcade of about 40,000 persons, who accompanied him to Gottleben, where he embarked on the Rhine for Schaffhausen. With the tiara on his head, and pontifically vested, he rode on a white palfrey under a canopy supported by four Counts of the Empire, the Emperor Sigismund and the Elector of Brandenburg holding the reins, four Princes lifting up the rich trappings of his horse, the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria following. In the rear were led twelve other horses with scarlet housings; after the Cardinals came a priest on a white palfrey, carrying the Sacred Host under a baldacchino, surrounded by torch-bearers; the Clergy and Magistrates of the city, all with torches, next in order; a multitude of nobles and ecclesiastics bringing up the rear. At Milan the Pope was received with much honour by the Duke Filippo Maria Visconti; here he consecrated the high altar of the cathedral, and in memory of that event, a statue was erected to him in the same glorious temple. At Florence the reception was still more magnificent. Outside the Porta S. Croce the Pope was met at the monastery of S. Salvi, where he had passed the night, by the chief citizens and the magistrates of the Guelphic party; thus escorted, he made his entry on a white horse with red silk housings, the Host being borne before him amidst blazing tapers, the clergy in procession carrying relics, the magistrates and magnates following in splendid costumes, all with laurel wreaths on their heads and olive branches in their hands.

Repairing first to the cathedral, the whole procession walked for some distance along an elevated stage of wood-work hung with silk, up to the church doors. Martin V. was lodged in apartments prepared expressly for him at the great Dominican convent of S. Maria Novella. During his stay he consecrated the high altar of that church, and

erected the Florentine See, hitherto only a Bishopric, to metropolitan rank. Having blessed the Golden Rose on the appointed Sunday in Lent, he bestowed that graceful gift on the Republic through the person of its Gonfaloniere. Another arrival which made a sensation among the citizens was that of the ex-Pope, who had obtained his freedom at the price of 30,000 ducats, advanced for him by Giovanni de Medici, the father of Cosmo, to the Emperor; and now came, submissive and in lowly guise, to throw himself at the feet of his fortunate successor. Many were moved to tears at this spectacle of vicissitudes in the "strange eventful history" of a man whose misfortunes threw a veil over his errors. Martin received him in the midst of the Cardinals with great benignity, bestowed on him the red hat anew, and appointed him Dean of the Sacred College, with the privilege of occupying an elevated seat, next to his throne, in the Consistory and at ceremonies. Baldassare Cossa did not live long to enjoy these honours. He died at Florence, 22nd November, 1419, and was buried in the Baptistery after funereal pomps, kept up for nine days, in the cathedral, as at the obsequies of a legitimate Pope. During the stay of Martin V. at Florence, several cities, lost to the Pontific States during the wars and troubles of preceding years, were recovered; Civitavecchia, Orvieto, and Terni being now re-subjected to the tiara; but Perugia, Assisi, Todi, the Duchy of Spoleto, and a great part of the Viterbo province, were still left under the sway of the victorious captain Braccio da Montone, who defied excommunications, haughtily disregarding the interdict under which were laid all the districts governed by him.

The Greek empire was now tottering on the verge of ruin, and its Autocrats adopted the miserable expedient of offering to sacrifice their own and their people's faith, so far as submission to Rome and acceptance of all the dis-

puted doctrines in which the two Churches were at issue involved such sacrifice, on condition of receiving material aid from the Popes, and, through their influence, from other Princes. Ambassadors from the Emperor, Manuel Palaeologus, brought letters from both that Sovereign and the Patriarch, proposing a General Council for the re-union of the East and West, to be convoked by the Emperor himself at Constantinople. Martin received the envoys with much honour, and, together with his answer, sent rich gifts to Manuel; also another singularly-imagined token of good will—a bevy of high-born young ladies, to be given in marriage to Greek nobles! A cardinal was appointed Legate to the eastern capital, where, for thirty years, no Papal representative had been seen; but before sending so dignified a personage, the Pope confided to a humbler agent—a Franciscan Doctor of Theology—the mission of ascertaining the real temper of the Greek Court and Clergy, and arranging the time and place for the Council, which he consented should be held in the East. He also published indulgences for those European princes who should co-operate in the defence of the *hexamila*, the wall raised to protect the Peloponnesus against invaders, but which bulwark was soon afterwards destroyed by the Turks. In a second letter, replying to the Pope's missive, Manuel announced that he was ready to enter the communion of the Roman Church, almost without conditions, and to comply with all the decrees of the future Council, provided they should accord in principle with those of the first seven Œcumenical Councils; that at present it was impossible to hold such an assemblage at Constantinople; but even amidst the perils and troubles of the times, he would consent to its being convoked there, if the Pope would oblige all Christian Princes, under penalty of excommunication, to declare war against the Moslems for the cause of the declining empire!

All this resulted as might have been foreseen, and as is well-known.

Martin V. arrived in Rome the 28th September, 1420, and made his state ingress the next day after passing a night at the monastery of S. Maria del Popolo, close to the Flaminian gate. Rejoicings, illuminations, &c., were kept up for several days and nights, and after dark riders went about the streets, brandishing torches, with shouts of *viva* for "Papa Martino." The city had not been at peace during the long vacancy of the Pontific throne. Independent civic government was established after the departure of John XXIII., but soon afterwards suppressed by a Legate sent on the mission of installing a Senator nominated by the absent Pope. Two leaders of the popular party, considered as in revolt, were beheaded as traitors. The S. Angelo castle had been long held by a Neapolitan garrison for the Queen Joanna II., who had succeeded to her brother Ladislaus. Braccio di Montone had attempted to take that fortress, himself commanding the siege; but Sforza, a Captain in the Queen's service, marched with troops from Naples, raised the siege, and compelled Braccio to retreat. Before the Pope's arrival the castle had been consigned to his officers. So also Ostia and Civitavecchia, alike held for the Queen, but which she had promised to surrender to the lawful sovereign. The desolate state of Rome at this time is described by contemporary writers: almost reduced to ruin by pestilence, famine, fire, and sedition. Platina (in the same century) draws the gloomy picture with details: "the city so completely ruinous that it had no longer the aspect of a habitable town, but rather of a desert; on every side buildings seen falling into decay; the streets and lanes deserted, without passengers and covered with mud; an extreme penury of all things needful; no sign of social life,

or of any civilization." The Pope applied himself earnestly to the work of restoration, both moral and material. He created a commission of Cardinals and Bishops for visiting all the churches in Rome, and assigned a fund for such repairs as were requisite. He bestowed precious sacramental vessels and priestly vestments for the altars. The portico of S. Peter's was rebuilt; and among public works of secular character was the rebuilding of the Colonna Palace, which Martin V. thenceforth inhabited, preferring it to the Vatican. The Cardinals followed the example, and emulated each other in repairing, or rebuilding, the churches from which they took their titles. Platina eulogises the energetic Pope for his zeal, not only in adorning and improving the city, but in "reforming the corrupt state of morals then prevailing;" and this writer assures us that Martin V. was not merely called the Supreme Pontiff, but also, and deservedly, the "father of his country." The laudable intention to carry out, at least to some degree, the projects and desires announced at Constance, is most apparent in the edict passed by him for regulating the life and conduct of the Cardinals. It enjoined on all members of the Sacred College not to assume the protectorate of kings, princes, or other secular personages; not to receive payment for the protection of Religious Orders; not to let themselves be accompanied by more than twenty domestics on horseback, and those to be clerics, excepting the secular servants accustomed to attend them; to procure the repair of their titular churches according to the best of their means, and see to the suitable and edifying administration of those churches;*

* Procurent reparationem Ecclesiarum suorum Titulorum juxta posse suum, in iisque Divinum cultum per Religiosos devotos, ac honestos Clericos perfici, ac augeri faciant, ne sanctorum loca, in quibus ipsi

to provide a sufficient number of Monks and Canons for Divine Worship in churches and monasteries recommended to their care ; and to preserve in prosperous state the buildings, possessions, and privileges of those establishments. Other edicts ordered the diminution of taxes and fees, as affecting the poorer classes, in the procedure of the Curia, the Chancery, and the legal profession generally. No word was so frequently in the mouth of Martin V. as *justice* ; and his favourite citation, in briefs addressed to the judges of different towns, was the text, “*Diligite justitiam, omnes qui judicatis terram.*” He conferred benefits and privileges on many public schools and universities, especially the institutions of the latter class at Rome, Perugia, Pavia, and Siena. Yet this Pontiff, otherwise animated by such pure intentions, gave way to the weakness of family pride and partiality, setting an early example of the nepotism carried to such abusive extent by his successors. He obtained for one of his brothers the Dukedom of Amalfi and the Princedom of Salerno ; for another, the Margravate of Alba ; the Colonnas, whilst he sat on the throne, became lords of Marino, Frascati, Rocca di Papa, Ardea, Soriano, Nettuno, Palliano,—in short, the greatest part of Latium, together with those picturesque towns now so often visited by tourists from Rome. A formidable usurper of the Pontific provinces, and representative of feudal antagonism against the Papacy, Braccio di Montone, was removed by death in 1424. He had for thirteen months been encamped before Aquila, whose citizens resisted even when pressed by famine. The Pope and the Queen of Naples united their forces against that common foe ; a Colonna commanding the Pontific, a

commode residere nequeunt, per negligentiam desertas remaneant.—*v. Ciacconius.*

Sforza the Neapolitan troops. A battle before the walls, joined by the besieged in a vigorous sortie, resulted in the defeat of Braccio, who was taken prisoner, wounded, though not, it seems, mortally; but he refused surgical aid, never spoke again, and died the next day. His body was brought to Rome, and buried without Christian rites outside the Tiburtine gate. Peace and security were at last restored to the Pontific states, and to that hitherto troubled and danger-beset region—the Roman Campagna. Several aristocratic robbers, who used to descend from their fastnesses, and steal sheep or cattle, or more seriously molest travellers on the few highways, were attacked and dislodged; the castles of some were destroyed; others, among them the lord of Monte Rotondo,* were brought prisoners to Rome and beheaded.

Conformably with the engagements made at Constance, the Pope sent his Legates, an Archbishop, an Abbot, and the Father-General of the Dominicans, to open the Council at Pavia, 22nd June, 1423. The sessions did not begin till two months later, and closed on the 26th February in the following year. The attendance was scanty; and a visitation of pestilence soon induced the transfer to Siena, where the number of prelates became more considerable.

* That picturesque little town, with a huge baronial palace, whose tower is far-seen across the Campagna, has acquired recent historic fame, after being besieged and occupied by Garibaldi with his volunteers, a few days before the battle of Mentana, fought in the valley between Monte Rotondo and the village so named.

It is said by a chronicler of the time that, under the pontificate of Martin V., any one might have travelled with gold in his hand, fearless of danger, to the distance of 200 miles round Rome; that it might be believed the age of Augustus had returned, "*ut Octaviani Principis tempora venisse crederes.*"—Gregorovius, *Geschichte d. Stadt Rom.* vii. c. 1.

Alfonso, King of Aragon, embittered against Martin V. because he had supported the claims of the Anjou Louis to the Neapolitan crown, sent emissaries with the evil object of reviving the schism and again bringing forward the almost forgotten Antipope, Pedro de Luna. Martin V., naturally alarmed at this, hastened to dissolve the Council, and the prelates were ordered to return to their dioceses. The plurality of them complained loudly that the Pope had prevented the desired accomplishment of Church Reform. The Legates answered that the Council was only prorogued, and that the requisite reform should be promoted by those who had presided over it (namely, themselves), in concert with the deputies of nations. It was determined that another Council, the continuance of that of Siena, should be held at Basle, after the lapse of seven years. The assemblage dispersed without effecting ought of importance, or even discussing the desired reforms; only passing decrees against the heresies condemned at Constance, and against all persons who should give any support to the followers of Wycliffe or Hus. This frustration of an undertaking, looked for as the renewal of the efforts made at Constance to realize the exalted ideal of a regenerate Church, directs our attention to the darker aspect of the Roman Pontificate in the XV. century, to its short-sighted and fatal policy of promoting its immediate and narrow interests at the sacrifice of the ulterior, the nobler, and truly Catholic interest. Martin V. is accused of causing the Council to be adjourned before it had occupied itself with the reform of the Church, lest that assembly should make regulations contrary to the privileges of the Roman Curia. A few months before the Pope's death, was found one morning, on an outer wall of the Vatican, a document threatening him and all Cardinals with deposition and the severities due to heretics if they

should fail to promote the assemblies of the Church in General Councils.

Martin V. died of apoplexy in the Colonna Palace, 21st February, 1431. We are informed of particulars curiously illustrating the moral and religious conditions of Rome in his time. An unfortunate, perhaps innocent, woman was publicly burnt as a witch and a poisoner. A less odious *auto da fe* took place on the Capitol, by advice and through the act of S. Bernardino of Siena, whose preaching had been attended with salutary effects in this city as elsewhere—the conversion of Jews, the reconciling of foes, &c. Anticipating the similar crusade against vanities by Savonarola, he induced his hearers to consign heaps of profane things, gaming tables, obscene songs, implements used for incantation, (*brevia, sortes*), false hair, used by women, it is said, for superstitious purposes (?), that a general bonfire might be made thereof—trophy of the Saint's eloquence and of his hearers' repentance, at least for the time being.

A compilation from more than a hundred inedited letters, written by ambassadors or procurators of the Teutonic Order at Rome during this pontificate, displays the worldliness of the "Curia," and the total failure, in that sphere at least, of the reforms demanded at Constance.* The representatives of that once wealthy and powerful Order at the Papal Court lived in splendour, and were in constant intercourse with the Cardinals, one of whom was their chosen Protector, and as such had to be propitiated by frequent and costly gifts, plate, jewellery, horses, &c. "He who gives most there (at Rome), is most in credit,"†

* *Stimmen aus Rom, über dem päpstlichen Hof im XV. Jahrhundert*, in Voigt, *Histor. Taschenbuch*, 1833.

† "Wer da mehr giebt, der hat mehr Recht."

says one of these letters. The Pope received every year an offering of 400 ducats from the Knights. On one occasion he said thrice to their envoy, "Come to me alone, without your Cardinal"—an intimation understood, and responded to with a handsome present. Martin V. claimed the right of appointing the Grand Master of the Order; and was jealous of presentations to benefices, within their gift, in Prussia or Livonia; he wanted (says one writer) "to have either those benefices or their worth in money." A list of Christmas-boxes to the Pope, the Cardinals, and the servants of the Vatican, includes great variety of items: to the holy father, a piece of blue velvet, worth 88 ducats, and a gold goblet worth 64 ducats; to his chamberlains, 13 silver spoons, at the total value of 117 ducats; to his chief groom, a horse worth 30 ducats, and 3 ducats as fee; to the Sacred College, confectionary at the price of 70 ducats. The Pope had so subdued the Cardinals (we are told) that "they never spoke save in accordance with his sentiments; and whilst they spake with him, alternately blushed and turned pale."*

The history of the next pontificate might convince us, if other proof were wanting, that no effectual improvement, ecclesiastical or political, had been wrought in the character and action of the Papacy through the decrees or protestations of Councils. The Conclave, consisting of but thirteen Cardinals, met in the Dominican Convent still commonly called "La Minerva," the piazza before which was barricaded during their sessions. On the second day,

* Similar and even more severe testimony against the venality of the Roman Curia, in this century, is borne by one who lived to become Pope as Pius II.: "Nihil est quod absque argento Romana Curia dedit: Nam et ipsae manus impositiones et Spiritus Sanctus dona venduntur. Nec peccatorum venia nisi nummatis impenditur."—Æneas S. Piccolomini, *Hist. Europ.*

3rd March, 1431, they elected from their own body a Venetian, Gabriele Condulmero, who took the name of Eugenius IV. His antecedents had been not merely respectable but sanctified. After the death of his parents, who were of the patrician class, he dispensed in charities all they had left him, 40,000 ducats, and entered the Order of Celestine Canons in his native city. Gregory XII., who was his uncle, made him pontific treasurer, and soon afterwards, when his age was only twenty-four, bishop of Siena. Not much more than a month had passed after his election before Rome and its environs were plunged in the miseries of civil war. The Pope was led to suspect that the nephews of Martin V.—Cardinal Prospero Colonna, Antonio Prince of Salerno and Palestrina, and Odoardo Count di Celano—had seized the large treasure left by their uncle, and intended by him for defraying the expenses of the Greeks invited to the recently convoked Council.*

As first step towards the overthrow of that powerful family, Eugenius ordered the arrest of the late Pope's Vice-Chancellor by Stefano Colonna, commander of his troops, who was not (it seems) involved in the same suspicions with the rest of his house. He was charged to bring the Vice-Chancellor to the Vatican without violence or insult; but instead of obeying this part of his orders, Stefano led both that accused person, and the bishop of Trieste, who had been chamberlain to the late Pope, in ignominious plight, like common prisoners, through the streets. Eugenius was highly displeased; he upbraided and threatened Stefano for this offensive proceeding. The latter, deeming himself in danger, fled to the strongest castle of his relatives, at Palestrina, and there induced the Prince Colonna to enter into

* Also (v. Raynaldus) for carrying on the war to protect the Greek Empire against the Turks.

a conspiracy, the rumoured object of which was to dethrone Eugenius IV., and either put him to death or drive him into exile. The Colonnas and their armed retainers seized the Appian gate (Porta S. Sebastiano) on the 23rd April; and on the next day entered the city. Combat ensued on the piazzas Colonna and S. Marco; many were slain, many made prisoners on both sides; the citizens took part with the Pontiff's troops against the unpopular family; the Colonnas were worsted; but did not quit without securing much prey in cattle and horses,—particularly the former, the numerous herds, now kept by proprietors within the city, being mentioned by Infessura.* The attack was a signal for a general outbreak of fury against the Colonnas; their palaces, even that where Martin V. had spent his last days, and the houses of other persons in the service of that Pope, were pillaged. After the invaders had withdrawn from the streets, they still continued to hold the towered Appian gateway for several days, and the fighting was from time to time renewed. None could venture beyond the walls without being robbed and molested. In the meantime all usual occupations were suspended; the streets were barricaded; the citizens went about in arms.† On the 31st May the Porta S. Sebastiano was taken from Stefano Colonna; but the leader who now seized it was also an enemy of the Pope, as appears from the order given, a few days afterwards, by Eugenius IV., that his house in the city should be destroyed. Infessura states that the Pope was poisoned by one of his servants through the machinations of the Colonnas, and that one of his sides became paralyzed when the poison took

* “Perche in Roma vi era di molto bestiaime,” says Infessura—from which fact we may infer how little of the area within the walls was occupied by the habitations of the city.

† “Lo popolo di Roma stava sospeso, e non faceva niente; es fu tebarato tutta Roma, e givano i Romani tutti armati.”—*Diary of Infessura*.

effect. For this revolt and conspiracy more than two hundred persons suffered death, either on the scaffold or through hardships endured in prison. So inauspiciously began the sacerdotal reign of a pious and austere monk !

A brief interval of tranquillity ensued during an imperial visit for one of those coronations still deemed requisite for the full sanction, through consecrating rites at S. Peter's, of the title conferred on the German potentates. Sigismund, after receiving the iron crown at Milan, arrived in Rome on the 21st May, 1433, and on the last day of that month was crowned by the Pope at the basilica with all accustomed pomp. He had entered the city, near the S. Angelo castle, riding on a white horse, under a canopy of cloth-of-gold, and in this state passed to the front of S. Peter's, where the Pope and Cardinals were waiting to receive him on the outer staircase. The two sovereigns left that church together, after the coronation; and the Romans were struck by seeing an Emperor, with the golden diadem on his head, hold the stirrup for the Pope to mount, and lead his palfrey for a few paces on the way to the S. Angelo bridge, where Sigismund conferred knighthood on a multitude of eager claimants. The Emperor proceeded to the Lateran church, there received a benediction and kissed the high altar; dined at the convent of the *SS. Quattro Coronati*, between the Lateran and the Forum, and returned in the evening to his lodgings at the canonical residence near S. Peter's. He confirmed the Constitutions of other Emperors in all things touching the privileges of the Roman Church and the Clergy; and the "golden ball" of Sigismund bore the legend "*Roma caput mundi.*"

More serious dangers, a more tremendous onset than the attack of rebels led by the Colonnas, now threatened the safety of the Pontific throne. Niccolo Fortebraccio,

nephew of Braccio di Montone, had entered the service of the Pope, and reduced some rebellious towns to his dominion; but was alienated by the unwise refusal of Eugenius IV. to settle arrears of payment due to him, now withheld on the pretext that this mercenary captain had been sufficiently recompensed by the booty seized at the towns he had subjected, Vico, Vitrella, and Civitavecchia. Urged by the Duke Visconti, the disappointed Condottiere appeared in arms against his former employer; marched rapidly through Sabina; took the Milvian bridge, and on the same day the bridges over the Anio (the Salarian and Noomentan) within a few miles of Rome; his soldiery made prey close to the Flaminian gate, seizing those at work in the fields or vineyards, driving away cattle, &c. These ravages lasted (as Infessura tells us) for nine months.* Fortebraccio marched to Subiaco, and occupied the Benedictine abbey with his troops; thence to Tivoli, which he held and defended from the October of 1433 till the June of 1434, thence directing a prolonged siege against Rome, whilst proudly styling himself the "Executor of the holy Council"—namely, that of Basle, whose sessions had commenced. The Pope left the Vatican to take refuge in the S. Angelo castle; afterwards, in the palace adjoining *S. Lorenzo in Damaso*. He summoned to his aid the famous Prelate-warrior, Giovanni Vitelleschi. Francesco Sforza, now in the service of the Visconti, and the chosen husband of the Duke of Milan's daughter, asked leave to pass with his troops through the Anconitan Marches; and, once there, threw off the mask of amity towards the Papal government. Ancona, in that province, and other cities in Umbria received him with acclamations—so ready were their inhabitants for revolt against the tiara! Sforza marched on Rome; which was

* "Durò questa *tenebra* (the *Diarist* picturesquely describes) nove mesi."

now beset by two armies, under the two *Condottieri*, who fought and made prey on both sides of the Tiber. Soon appeared a third leader, Piccinino, who joined his troops to those of Sforza on the desolated Campagna. Fortebraccio obtained victory over the Papal troops, led by Vitelleschi, near Genazzano—the romantic little town now famous for its shrine of the Madonna, much frequented by pilgrims, among the mountains near Palestrina. The fortune of battle was favourable to the Pontific cause in another engagement at Mentana, after Fortebraccio had gallantly repulsed the troops sent to drive him from Monte Rotondo. This warfare, so long raging almost within sight from Rome's walls, had such effect on the popular mind that a conspiracy was formed against the Pope, now considered mainly responsible for the evil. It was in vain that Eugenius IV. recognised the Basle Council, and revoked the three bulls he had passed against it in the December of 1433. Urged by the sense of danger, he appointed Sforza Gonfaloniere of the Church and his Vicar in the Anconitan Marches. That leader, like Fortebraccio, had affected to act under authority of the Council while making war against the Pope, but now became the devoted ally of Eugenius, and, after withdrawing from the Campagna, sent his brother Leo to fight for the Papal cause. Filippo Maria Visconti, his former employer, styled himself "Vicar of the Council in Italy." That assembly at Basle, opened and presided over by a distinguished and saintly Cardinal, Giuliano Cesarini, had been sanctioned from the first by the Pope, who, alarmed by its attack against his own prerogatives, resisted till the crisis of danger induced his acquiescence. Remarkable are the indications of a dominant idea: that the Basle Council represented and expressed the desires of the Italian people and true interests of the Church; the Roman pontificate asserted its own limited interests, the privileges

and aggrandizement of the Curia ! The disaffected Romans determined to seize the Pope in the name of the Council, and compel him to comply with all they demanded. On the 29th May, 1434, the people rose in revolt to the cries, *Popolo—Libertá !* The Capitoline palace was stormed ; the Senator surrendered after being wounded in the attempt to resist. Republican government was proclaimed ; the chief authority conferred on seven magistrates, like the “ *Banderesi*” of former times, but with the title of “ *Gubernatores*.” These magistrates went to the Pope, who had taken up his residence near the basilica of *S. Maria in Trastevere* ; required him to abdicate, to consign the S. Angelo castle and Ostia to them, and also to give up his nephew as their hostage. He answered only to refuse. On the 4th June, at noonday, Eugenius effected his escape from the Transtiberine quarter and from Rome, with a Benedictine monk, both in the garb of monks of that order. The fugitives embarked on the Tiber in a skiff ; they were pursued by the people, who, running along the river side, others following in a boat, hurled darts, spears, and stones at imminent peril to the life of the Pope, had he not been sheltered as he lay covered up at the oarsman’s feet. They reached Ostia unobserved, and there passed the night in a trireme supplied by a pirate from Ischia, so disreputable a personage being engaged, and doing his duty well, for the rescue of the Head of the Church. On the 12th June the voyagers reached the port of Pisa ; and on the 23rd Eugenius IV. found himself surrounded by honours and in full enjoyment of liberty at Florence.

The Seventeenth Œcumenical Council, convoked by Martin V., was opened at Basle, 23rd July, 1431, though its regular sessions did not commence till the 14th December following. Its main objects were, as formally declared, the reunion of Eastern and Western Christendom, and the

reform of the Church in her head and members—this last declaration implying the avowal that the efforts made at Constance had proved a failure. It is urged that the Fathers at this new Council had no precise ideas of what they ought to undertake, or practically carry out; that they wanted alike such definite views as to their own powers and the restrictions legally to be imposed on the Papacy, whose absolutism they desired to limit; that they attacked abuses, but did not propose efficient remedies.* At an early stage of their proceedings, they listened to counsels, offered through his envoy by the German Emperor, for the abolition of ecclesiastical celibacy; and one Cardinal went so far as to advise that the liberty of marriage should be restored (*restitui*) to priests and deacons; but this suggestion led to nothing; postponed to a future day, the subject was at last dropped. Eugenius IV. twice endeavoured to dissolve the Council; but the Fathers held to their rights, insisting on the now frequently admitted (though not indeed unopposed) doctrine of the superiority of Œcumenical Councils over Popes.

Eugenius, finding himself (as we have seen) surrounded by dangers which threatened his temporal, as the proceedings at Basle threatened his spiritual sovereignty, approved of the Council, and sent his Legates to preside together with Cardinal Cesarini. The former were first required by oath to observe all the decrees of this as well as of other General Councils, and especially that of Constance; and it was stipulated that those representatives of the Pope should have no coactive jurisdiction, and should comply with all the regulations already made at Basle; also that the acts of the Council should be passed and published in its own name alone. In subsequent sessions was confirmed

* Cantu, *Storia degli Italiani*, c. cxvii.

the decree of Constance regarding the superiority of Councils over all other powers, and all persons, in the Church. Certain measures of reform were voted ; among others, the total abolition of annates, the annulling of all "expectative graces," mandates, reserves, hitherto such a source of revenue to the Roman Church. The opposition of the Legates was baffled. A profession of faith was drawn up, to be subscribed by every Pope on the day of his election. It was declared that the new Pope ought solemnly to pledge himself to the frequent convocation of Councils ; that the number of Cardinals should not exceed twenty-four, chosen from all Christian nations. In the 30th session, Communion in both kinds was conceded, with certain restrictions, conformably to the demand of the Bohemians ; but only to that people and to the Moravians, under the condition that priests, before so administering the sacramental species, should admonish the people that Christ's Body was truly and completely present in each kind, under the forms of bread and wine alike,—*sub qualibet specie est integer et totus Christus*. Other decrees of the Council display that spirit of intelligent beneficence which so often shines forth in the Church, even amidst the darkest social circumstances. It was defined that excommunicated persons need not be avoided, or refused ordinary services by others ; that interdicts should be observed only when publicly proclaimed and rendered notorious ; that at Universities at least two professors of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic should be appointed. The Fathers forbade dramatic representations (the Mysteries still popular), and also profane music, in churches ; they exhorted bishops to depute preachers for addressing the Jews, and (with less commendable zeal) ordered all of that nationality to wear a particular garb, and, where possible, to be restricted to separate quarters in Christian cities.

After the terms of union with the Greeks had been discussed another Council was convoked, and with sanction from the Pontiff, for effecting such object. Eugenius sent his Legates to Constantinople with galleys to bring the Greek Emperor, the Patriarch, and other chief prelates to Italy. The Council also sent galleys and invitations in its own name to the Byzantine Church and Court; but the pontific vessels arrived first in the harbour of the eastern capital. After some hesitation, John Palæologus* decided to prefer the hospitalities of the Pope. Embarking on the 27th November, 1437, he reached Venice on the 8th February, and there spent fifteen days before his departure for Ferrara. The squadron of nine galleys, which brought him and his suite to Italy, had been equipped at Venice and in Candia; and the Autocrat of the East came with the Byzantine Patriarch Joseph, the Primate of Russia, twenty bishops, the five dignitaries called "Cross-bearers of S. Sophia," certain monks and "philosophers," and the deputies ("genuine or fictitious," as Gibbon sarcastically says) of the Patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria; also a select band of singers, and a supply of precious vessels from the altars of the Byzantine cathedral. The Emperor's brother Demetrius, and several nobles accompanied him. Their reception at Venice brought into relief the traditional regards for the ancient Empire, even at the last stage of its decline. Seated on a high throne at the poop of his galley, Palæologus, before landing, received the homage of the Doge and Senators; and was then escorted in the bucentaur up the grand canal, with a procession of gondolas, steered by men clad in silk and gold, while the

* This Emperor succeeded to his father Manuel in 1425; reigned till 1448; and left the fatal inheritance of a crown with a ruined state to his brother, Constantine XII., the fourth son of Manuel, and last of the Byzantine Caesars.

air resounded to joyous music, and the Roman eagles were blended, amidst emblems and pageantry, with the lion of S. Mark.

The Basle Council and the Pope were now in open hostility. The Fathers cited Eugenius to appear before them under penalty of severest canonical censures. For disobeying them they condemned him as contumacious, rejected his bull for convoking a Council at Ferrara, declared his last creation of Cardinals null and void ; and in the 34th session (25th June, 1439), went so far as to pronounce the deposition of Eugenius IV. On this the Legates and the Cardinal Cesarini quitted Basle, obeying the summons to Ferrara. One Cardinal only, the Archbishop of Arles, remained, and thenceforth presided at the sessions. From the 23rd session to the last, no Spanish, and only two Italian bishops took part, though theological doctors of both those countries still kept their places. The Cardinal, now presiding, made a memorable protest against Papal absolution implied in the question: "What at this day are bishops but a set of shadows? What have they left to them but a staff and mitre? Can they be called shepherds, whilst without sheep, and unable to do anything for those placed under them?"* On the 5th of November, thirty-three electors appointed by the Council, the above-named Archbishop being the only Cardinal among them, went into conclave, and elected to the Papal throne, now deemed vacant, Amadeus, the abdicated Duke of Savoy, who took the name of Felix V. After the 45th session (May, 1443) the Fathers dispersed, having first announced that the Council was not dissolved, but prorogued, and transferred either to Lyons or Lausaune. European Sovereigns were

* Cited in Pusey's "Eirenicon." Raynaldus can only state that *some* of the prelates at Basle, together with the Cardinal Cesarini, obeyed the Pope by quitting that city and repairing to Ferrara.

divided as to the claims and procedure of this Council and its contest with Eugenius IV. Charles VII. of France forbade the bishops of his kingdom to appear at Ferrara. The Emperor Sigismund having died during the session (1437), the German Electors decided to recognize both the Pope and the Council, but not to accept any act of mutual hostility between those contending parties. They sent deputies, as did also the Duke of Milan, to recommend postponement of the extreme measures against Eugenius. Felix V. was recognised as Pope by the Sovereigns of Aragon and Hungary, and by the universities of Paris, Cracow, and Germany, which learned bodies proved themselves true to their avowed doctrine of the superiority of Œcumenical Councils. The other Princes acted differently; and even the Duke of Milan, who had married a daughter of Amadeus, refused to own his father-in-law as Pope.

Amadeus VIII., called "the Pacific," succeeded to his father, when a child of but eight years, 1391. After assuming the reins of government as Count of Savoy, he acquired the city and province of Geneva by cession from the last Count, Otho de Villars; and in 1417 became first Duke of Savoy, through diploma conceded by the Emperor Sigismund, who solemnly invested Amadeus with his duchy, at Chambery, in the same year. In 1418 the Sovereign Duke became Count of Piedmont, through succession to Count Louis of Savoy, deceased without issue, and soon afterwards acquired the lordship of Nice, Villafranca, and the adjacent sea-coast, ceded to him by Yolande of Aragon, Duchess of Anjou, mother and guardian to Louis III., titular King of Naples. The city and province of Vercelli were annexed to his States through a treaty of peace with Filippo Maria Visconti, concluded under the influence of Martin V., after a threatened war, and the invasion of the Milanese by

Amadeus at the head of 14,000 men. Being left a widower, weary of the world, or of the cares of State, this Duke abdicated in 1434, and retired to the priorate of Ripaille, founded by himself, near the lake of Geneva. Here his first step (so far as known) was to convoke the nobles of his dominions, institute the chivalrous Order of the Annunciation (or that of S. Maurice, according to some writers), and create his son, Louis, Prince of Piedmont and Lieutenant-General of the Savoy Dukedom. He then retired to a more solitary retreat, a hermitage built by himself for his use, near a cloister of the Augustinian Eremites in the same neighbourhood, under the spiritual direction of which fathers he desired to place himself and his companions. Here six of the newly-created "Knights of the Annunciation" (or of S. Maurice), all widowers and past their sixtieth year, were his companions. The aristocratic recluses allowed their beards to grow, and wore long white vestments of fine cloth, a scarlet cap, a gold cincture round the waist, and a gold cross hung from the neck. The life they led in that romantic region was not one of ascetic observance or remorsefully imposed penances; but rather that of contemplative Christian philosophers, seeking the peace which the world denies to so many.* It might be

* Piccolomini, who visited him in this retreat, thought the life he and his companions were leading: "*Magis voluptuosam quam pœnitentialem.*" Another eye-witness, Cardinal Nicolo Albergati, was more favourably impressed by this example of eremite calm preferred to the royal state: "*Spectaculo digna res: Princeps sæculi potentissimus, Gallis, atque Italis metuendus, — nunc sex tantum Eremitis præcedentibus, et paucis sequentibus sacerdotis in veste vili et abjecta Legatum Apostolicum exceperit. Crucem auream Eremitæ in pictore gestarunt: id tantum nobilitatis signum retinere, cætera contemptum sæculi præseferabant. Venere in amplexum Cardinalis, et Amadeus, ac multa se invicem charitate sunt deosculati: nec satis Cardinalis aut admirari, aut collaudare Principem poterat.*"—See Oldoinus, who mentions the suspicion of some that the Papal tiara was the prize in view, with the hope

considered an expression of the comparatively modern instinct in the Church, adopting a more human and facile standard of Christian duty than that severely maintained by the ascetics of old time. When twenty-five deputies, one a Cardinal, arrived at Ripaille with the extraordinary intelligence from Basle, the ex-Duke hesitated long, and finally, not without many tears, accepted the proffered tiara. He first received homage as Pope in the church of Ripaille; thence proceeding to Basle, was ordained priest, consecrated as bishop, and crowned by the Cardinal of Arles, 24th July, 1440. The dubious pontificate secured to him, it seems, neither outward nor inward tranquillity. He transferred his residence from one city to another—Basle, Lausanne, and Geneva. After maintaining an unequal and profitless struggle with two Popes for nine years, the Hermit Duke had the good sense to abdicate, 1449, and again withdrew to his happier solitude, though now invested, through the generosity of Nicholas V., with the rank of Cardinal Bishop, Dean of the Sacred College, perpetual Legate and Vicar of the Holy See in Savoy and Piedmont, in the territories of Lausanne, Basle, Augsburg, and Constance. He died, in esteem for sanctity, at Geneva, 1451.*

The Council of Ferrara opened under the presidency of Cardinal Albergati, on the 10th January, 1438. At the second session the Pope presided, and solemnly excommunicated the fathers at Basle.

of which Amadeus had been filled from the time of his abdication—a scarcely admissible calumny.

* "Profiting well by the clemency of Nicholas V., after his abdication he returned to the solitude of Ripaille, where he gave himself entirely to contemplation, and, according to what is reported, no more even remembered the Pontificate. He died a pious death, in much repute for sanctity, either in January, 1450, or in 1451—according to some, in 1452."—Moroni, *Dizionario*, article *Antipapa* xxxix.

The anathematizing bull was read from a pulpit by the Bishop of Forlì, after the solemn Mass by which the proceedings were placed under heavenly direction. In the whole history of spiritual despotism, it would be difficult to find a more monstrous abuse of sacerdotal power, or more outrageous violation of charity in the name and for the interests of faith. All the members and adherents of the Basle Council were degraded from their ranks and offices, whether lay or ecclesiastical, and deprived of their benefices if of the latter class. The magistrates of that city were commanded to expel the prelates and other participants in the Council within thirty days, unless the latter should depart of their own accord; in case of disobedience, all the authorities and public officers of Basle were to be excommunicated, and their city laid under interdict. Travellers were forbidden to enter that city; merchants were forbidden to supply its inhabitants with any articles of commerce or necessities of life. If, after the disobedience of the magistrates beyond thirty days, merchants also should disregard the Papal mandate, the latter might be despoiled of their commodities by any of the faithful, who were permitted to appropriate such confiscated wares, seeing (his Holiness adds) that it is said in Scripture: "The righteous have despoiled the ungodly." A clause setting forth the benignity of the Church assures those who should repent, and retract within thirty days, of pardon and exemption from censures.*

* "Nullus post dictum terminum ad dictam civitatem Basileensem accedat, sed ipsis (*i. e.*, the inhabitants) denegat mercimonia, et cuncta ad usum hominum necessaria. — Mercatores sub eadem excommunicationis pœna inde omnino discedant. — Si vero hæc nostra mandata contempserint, elapso dicto termino, Basileensibus in contumaciis persistentibus, aliqua forsitan portare præsumentes, cum scriptum sit, *Iusti tulerunt spolia impiorum*, possent tales hujusce modi a quibuscumque Christi fidelibus impune spoliari, bonaque ipsa prius capientium dominio cedant."—In Raynald, *anno* 1438.

The interdiction was prospectively laid upon all cities whose hospitality or support should be offered to the offending prelates. From the 9th April the sessions at Florence were attended by the Greek Emperor, the Patriarch, and Byzantine prelates; but the representation of the Latin Church was far from considerable: only 5 archbishops, 18 bishops, and 10 abbots; the Duke of Burgundy being the only western sovereign who appeared. John Palæologus made his entry into Ferrara on a black horse, a white steed, with gold-embroidered eagles on its trappings, being led before him, and a canopy borne over his head by kinsmen of Duke Niccolò d'Este. The Pope met him at the door of his apartment; "refused his proffered genuflexion" (says Gibbon), and after a paternal embrace, conducted him to a seat on his left hand. The Patriarch, who arrived later, would not even disembark until the ceremonial of his reception had been stipulated: the Primate of the West was to salute the Primate of the East with the kiss of peace and union; the Greek ecclesiastics were to be exempted from the homage of kissing the foot.* After the 16th session, a bull was published for transferring the Council to Florence, 10th January, 1439, on account of the plague which had broken out at Ferrara. Eugenius IV. set out for the former city,

* An eye-witness thus describes this famous meeting: "The Greek Emperor entered Ferrara with a numerous suite on horseback. All the Cardinals then at Ferrara went to meet him outside the city, accompanied by a large body of prelates. The Emperor was conducted under a golden canopy to the Apostolic palace, and rode on horseback up to the Pope's chamber, along a way made in that palace, in ancient time, by the Marquises of Ferrara." (Cardinal di S. Croce, in Raynaldus, *an.* 1438.) The Byzantine historian Phrantzes says: "When the Pope heard that the Emperor had reached the gate, he rose up, and took a walk; and as he was walking up and down, the Emperor accidentally came upon him, and when he would have fallen on his knees, the Pope would not permit him."

the sacred Host being borne before him under a canopy surrounded by attendants with torches.

The eighteenth Œcumenical Council, a continuation of the one at Ferrara, opened at Florence on the 26th February, 1439.* A contemporary and witness describes the imposing scene in the glorious Duomo, where the Pope presided, the Byzantine Emperor was enthroned opposite to him, and 140 bishops of the Latin and Greek communions attended. After a majestic procession, and High Mass celebrated by his Holiness, Eugenius took his seat, pontifically vested, on the Gospel side of the high altar, the Cardinals and Latin Prelates in copes and mitres being seated near him; on the Epistle side sat the Greek Autocrat, in long vestments of richest silk brocade, with the small pointed cap of Greek costume, and a precious gem at its apex—"a very beautiful man (says the same writer), with beard according to the Greek fashion."† The silk vestments of the Oriental clergy seemed to the Florentines more dignified than those of the Western prelates. In the group around Palæologus there were many nobles, all superbly clad, who had accompanied him on his journey. The Gospel and the Epistle were chanted as at the Papal High Mass in Rome. In the private sessions at the S. Maria Novella convent, where Eugenius IV. resided, were discussed the points of difference between the two Churches. At last was drawn up the celebrated Decree of Union. After the Emperor had signed it, the Greek prelates repaired to the papal apartments to sign on a day fixed, all except the Archbishop of Ephesus, who openly resisted, the Archbishop of Stauro-

* Some writers reckon this as the Sixteenth General Council, and a continuation of that of Basle, which ceased to be legitimate after the departure of the Legates.

† "Era uno bellissimo uomo colla barba al modo Greco." — Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vita di Eugenio IV.*

polis, who had secretly left Florence, and the Archbishop of Heraclea, who was prevented by illness, but signed, without hesitation, on his sick-bed. The venerable Patriarch of Constantinople had died during the sessions, and the Patriarch of Alexandria was represented by the invalid Archbishop. The Vicars of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, who had attended the Council, signed for those dignitaries. All the Latin prelates affixed their signatures after the Greeks, and lastly the Pope, who carefully examined the Greek signatures. On the 6th of July the decree was published, first in Latin by Cardinal Cesarini, next in Greek by Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Bessarion. After each perusal it was asked if all present approved? Assent having been signified, all the prelates embraced each other, and High Mass was celebrated by the Pope; the *Te Deum* chanted in Greek.

The Decree of Union defines, that the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father as from one principle and through one *spiration* ;* that in the Eucharistic Sacrament the Body of Christ is consecrated and present alike in unleavened as in leavened bread; that the souls of the truly penitent, who have died in grace before bearing such worthy fruits of repentance as can expiate their sins, are purified by the pains of Purgatory, which may be alleviated by the suffrages of the faithful; that the holy Apostolic See of the Roman Pontiff possesses the primacy over the entire Church and Christian world.† When the Emperor and the Greek

* *Hæc fidei veritas ab omnibus credatur et suscipiatur — quod Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre et Filio æternaliter est, et essentiam suam suumque esse subsistens habet ex Patre et Filio, et ex utroque æternaliter tanquam ab uno principio et una spiratione procedit.*

† *Definimus Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere Primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorum esse B. Petri Principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem et*

clergy were about to leave Florence, the Pope required them to sign five other copies of the Decree destined for the Princes faithful to the cause of the legitimate Head of the Church.* The Greeks refused to sign till they had received the arrears of the payment promised by Eugenius for their maintenance at Florence and their journey homeward. Syropulos asserts that this refusal was dictated by the Emperor; but that Palæologus at last required them to sign four copies, with which the Pope now declared himself satisfied.† All left Florence in August, the Emperor and his attendants last; and the outstanding debts were settled immediately before the embarkation of the prelates.‡ During the sessions Palæologus treated with the Pope for

doctorem existere, et ipsi a B. Petro pascendi, regendi, et gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino Nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse.—After this it is defined that the Patriarchate of Constantinople ranks next to the Roman Pontificate; the Patriarchate of Alexandria, third; that of Antioch, fourth; that of Jerusalem, fifth—with the clause, “*Salvis privilegiis omnibus et juribus eorum*,” *i.e.*, of the five eastern Patriarchs.

* Syropulos, “*Vera Historia Unionis non veri*,”—the writer being one of the “cross-bearers” of S. Sophia, who came to Florence.

† Vespasiano states that Cardinal Cesarini consigned all the originals of the Decree, in a velvet covered coffer set with silver, to the “Signoria” of Florence, to be by them preserved *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Yet, according to Gibbon, “None of the original Acts of Union can at present be produced: of the ten MSS. that are preserved (five at Rome, the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic, M. de Berquigny, who condemns them for the variety of imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet several of these may be considered as authentic copies, which were signed at Florence before the final separation of the Pope and Emperor.” The Despot Demetrius sternly refused to sign, and was rewarded by popularity in his native country.

‡ The Pope ordered the profits of an indulgence, published in the States of the Duke of Burgundy, to be applied for the succour of the Greeks.—*v. Raynaldus, an. 1439.*

those political interests, which, obviously, had been paramount in the minds of the laic, however influential, or otherwise, over the ecclesiastical party from Constantinople. Eugenius undertook to defray the costs of the journey for the Emperor as well as the clergy; for three years to maintain 300 soldiers and two galleys for the defence of the Byzantine Empire (or rather for its capital alone); and whenever the Emperor should desire, to supply twenty galleys for six months, or ten for a year; moreover, to urge all Western Princes to send troops, at emergencies, for defending the imperilled city and State.

It is well known what utter failure was the result of this attempted reunion between the two Churches. After the Emperor and prelates had returned to Constantinople, the rest of the Greek clergy refused to communicate with those who had signed the Decree. The name of John Palæologus was struck off the sacred diptychs; he ought no longer to be prayed for according to the charity of fanaticism! The new Patriarch was speedily, because favourable to the union, denounced as schismatic; all his efforts for peace were vain; neither the unyielding clergy nor the frivolous people would hold communion with him; several who had given their signatures at Florence finally retracted. The Emperor John died without seeing any accomplishment of the union so solemnly accepted and proclaimed. His successor held a Council at S. Sophia, in which the Patriarch was deposed, and the acts of the Florence assembly were rejected. Soon afterwards all the prelates who had signed the Decree gave in their retraction. The Greek Empire, involved in theologic contests, hastened to and prepared its ruin.* In the sessions held after the departure of the Greeks,

* "The Despot Demetrius raised the standard of Greek orthodoxy in direct rebellion against his brother. It was openly said that they (the

the Fathers at Basle and all their adherents were again denounced as heretical and schismatic. A decree was passed, the Pope speaking in his own name alone, for the reunion of the Armenian with the Latin Church.* The Anti-pope and all his party were condemned as guilty of leze-majesty, as well as heresy and schism ; but forgiveness was promised by Eugenius to those who should retract within fifty days. In the last session (26th April, 1442) was proclaimed the transfer of the Council to Rome. During his stay in Florence the Pope consecrated the cathedral with much picturesque pomp and popular rejoicing, vividly described by the biographer and eye-witness Vespasiano. The same writer, and another contemporary, S. Antoninus, mention the exertions made by Eugenius for the reform of religious Orders, and for the general advantage of the Church in Tuscany ; also giving account of the deplorable abuses discovered by him in Florentine cloisters. The zealous Pontiff found it necessary to suppress several communities of nuns, whose life was most scandalous ; and the sisterhood in some

signers of the decree) ‘Judas-like, had received money, and sold the Lord.’ The churches where they officiated, not merely in the metropolis, but in the villages around, were deserted by their flocks. Even in Russia, the Cardinal Isidore was met by the same contemptuous, inflexible resistance.” (Milman, Book XIII., c. xiv.) The latter, Archbishop of Kiow, was made Cardinal, together with the learned Bassarion and fifteen others, by Eugenius IV. at Florence. Isidore lived to witness the siege and capture of Constantinople, to escape, after most perilous adventures, from the Turks, to vote at the elections of three Popes, and finally died at Rome as titular Patriarch of the Greek metropolis.

* The arrival at Florence of a person pretending to be a chief abbot of the Ethiopian Church, and bearer of letters from “Prester John,” whom he represented as about to visit Italy, is rejected by some historians (v. Dupin) as a pseudo-mission, unauthorized, and without enduring effect. A deputy from the Patriarch of Armenia arrived with credentials from that dignitary, in whose name he accepted a formula of Catholic faith presented in one of the public sessions.

instances were distributed over other convents, where they could be kept under control. We have, however, the testimony of the saintly Archbishop Antoninus, as to the edifying example set by the nuns of the Murate convent (on the site now occupied by the great prisons), where a community of more than a hundred maintained themselves by their labour, and could afford, out of their earnings, to dispense much in alms; they kept up continual psalmody in their church, and were veritable models of strict observance (S. Anton., *Chronic. anno* 1435). Several monasteries, which could not be reduced under wholesome restraint, were suppressed; those not incorrigible, reformed and preserved.* The Sylvestrine monks at S. Marco were among the reprobate; and to that convent the Pope transferred the Dominicans from another cloister, at the request of Cosmo de' Medici, who (says Vespasiano) promised his Holiness to spend 10,000 ducats on the restoration of the S. Marco church and convent, and actually went to the expense of 40,000 on those works, after which that renowned Dominican church was consecrated by Eugenius. The Florentine "Badia" (Benedictine) was also reformed; and the Pope abolished the perpetual tenure of the abbacy, substituting the system of annual election to that office. A similar reform was effected at S. Salvi, the Vallombrosan monastery now desecrated and forlorn, but still known to tourists through Andrea del Sarto's beautiful fresco of the Last Supper in its refectory. Another extramural abbey, Settimo, once inhabited by forty to fifty monks of the Cistercian reform of S. Bernard, but now containing only two brethren, and deprived of almost all its lands and farms, which had been sold by an unworthy abbot, was consigned by the Pope to the cares of an estim-

* "Più monisteri ch' erano per la terra in varii luoghi, che non si potevano ridurre, gli disfece—Dove potè riducerli a viver bene, lo fecee."—Vespasiano, *Eugenio IV.*

able Cardinal, Domenico Capranica, who recovered the lost properties and revenues, invited Benedictine monks from the "Badia" to establish themselves here, and assume the Cistercian habit, so that before long a community of more than forty brethren brought back life and influence to that decayed cloister. Eugenius wished to suppress all the conventual friars (*i. e.* those living on their own property), and reduce them to the faithful observance of the rules prescribed by S. Dominick and S. Francis. This reform was carried out at Alvernia, at Aracoeli in Rome, and generally throughout the Roman States. Whatever may be thought of the acts of Eugenius IV. as Supreme Pontiff or as temporal Ruler, his private life presents a venerable example of austere virtues, self-denial, studious pursuits, and most generous liberality in disposing of this world's goods. He personified that excellence which the Catholic Religion is eminently suited to produce, the fruit of ecclesiastical education matured by inspiring principles of habitual obedience and concentrated self-command. The report by Vespasiano of the impression made by him, and the popular feeling manifested towards him at Florence, is truly affecting. Not only a tribute to the virtues of the man, but to the sanctity of the Pontificate did the pious Florentines render to that Pope when he appeared in public—these citizens, no doubt, being the organs of utterance for a sentiment still deeply rooted in the Italian mind. One scene is described by that writer with a graphic simplicity only to be appreciated in his quaint original words: "I recollect that several times the Pope was with the Cardinals on a balcony near the portal of the cloister of S. Maria Novella; and the piazza of S. Maria Novella was full, not only it, but all the ways leading to it being crowded; and so great was the devotion of the people who came that all remained stupified in beholding him (Eugenius); and not a single person was heard to

speak, but all turned towards the Pontiff. And when he began, according to the custom of the Pontiffs, with these words, *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*, one heard how the piazza was full of weeping and lamenting, many calling upon God for mercy, through the great devotion the people felt on seeing his Holiness ; for not only did it appear to them that they saw the Vicar of Christ on earth, but His Divinity.—Truly at this time, he (the Pope) appeared to be the One he represented.”

On the 28th September, 1443, Eugenius IV. re-entered Rome after an absence of more than nine years. He was received with rejoicings ; and after passing the night at the monastery close to the Flaminian gate, rode to S. Peter's through streets hung with rich draperies ; hearing a cry raised from the crowd, complaining of a new tax on wine, he commanded silence, and instantly abolished that imposition. Many had been the vicissitudes, and deeply depressed the conditions of the city during his absence. For some time after the Pope's flight, the S. Angelo castle was held by his troops, and after being attacked, kept up a vigorous bombardment, spreading havoc and death around its sullen walls. The people invited Fortebraccio from his camp, and he entered the city (1434) with some show of military triumph. But in the meantime Vitelleschi was recruiting his forces after defeat ; and Sforza, led by the natural *condottiere* instinct, was changing sides, finding it better to fight for the Pope than against him in a profitless league. In the October of that year, Vitelleschi, Sforza, the Orsini and pontific commissaries arrived with a sufficient army for their purposes ; entered the Borgo quarters near S. Peter's, and the next day were masters of the Transtiberine suburb as well as the Leonine City. The cry “ La Chiesa ! ” was raised in the streets. Combat ensued ; Vitelleschi stormed the Capitol whilst the Chatelain of S. Angelo made

a vigorous sortie; the seven "Gubernatores" fled, unable to defend themselves in the Capitoline palace lately rebuilt; the Republic was overthrown, and Papal authority restored, after scarcely nine months of that adverse government.

Vitelleschi now applied himself to exterminate with fire and sword the marauding soldiery who were devastating and pursuing their brigand courses over the Campagna and Sabina; also to put down the hardly less lawless violence of the baronial leaders. Palestrina was destroyed, not even the cathedral being spared; and the work of demolition was continued for a whole month by order of this Prelate-Captain.* The Colonna castle, on its rocky height above that town, was left standing till the next year (1438), when, Lorenzo Colonna having ventured to return, that stronghold of his family was also destroyed. The prettily-situated Zagarolo, in the valley below Palestrina, shared the same fate. The Savelli castle near Albano was razed to the ground.† The Prefect, Del Vico, was besieged at Vetralla, and after the taking of that fortress, sent to the castle of Soriano to suffer death. With him became extinct that family, of German origin, which had held the hereditary office of Prefect of Rome since the XII. century; and subsequently the prefecture was bestowed by the Popes at pleasure, with much limitation of its former attributes. The moral conditions and police of Rome were, at this time, the worst

* The church-bells were taken to Corneto; the marbles of the cathedral doors to the same town, for adorning the magnificent palace of the Vitelleschi family, still extant, and now serving as the principal hotel of Corneto.

† Mentioned in the XI. century, and rebuilt about the end of the XII. by the nephews of Honorius III., this castle was again restored by Pius II, but finally deserted, owing to want of water, in 1640. Its ruins, on a woody knoll, form a picturesque object seen from the road to Albano.

possible; robbery, murder, and sanguinary vengeance stalked abroad, the unchecked demons of a corrupt people and feeble state! The churches, even principal basilicas, were so often robbed that the Pope issued a bull (1436) against such sacrilege. At the Lateran the silver busts, containing the supposed skulls of S. Peter and Paul, were deprived of their most precious jewels by two beneficed clergymen of that chapter, who, as well as a canon, convicted only of the offence of receiving some of those stolen gems, suffered a horrible death; brought from their prison to the *Campo di Fiori*, with paper mitres on their head, the canon seated on a mule, the other two dragged at the tails of horses, the former was hanged to a tree before the Lateran basilica, the two latter were burnt alive after their right hands had been cut off; and this ghastly scene was commemorated in a picture painted on a wall either of the church or the adjacent palace.* The robbery had been twice perpetrated, at Easter and on the festival of the two Apostles. Those jewels, soon recovered, were brought back to the Lateran by the Senator with all the magistrates in procession; there, at the high altar, that chief officer read the excommunication threatened by Urban V., who had deposited the jewelled busts in their shrine, against all sacrilegious despoilers.

After his successful onset against petty despots, and brigand-soldiery on the Campagna, Vitelleschi entered Rome in triumph, received with pomp, and from the arch of Gallienus (near S. Maria Maggiore) was attended by the magistrates with olive branches in their hands, a canopy borne over his head as he rode through the streets by torchlight, to the palace of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. The people shouted *vivas* for "the Patriarch, the father of the city!" On the same

* As Infessura, not very clearly, reports: "painted on the side where one enters the church of S. Giovanni, on the right, high up."

night a deputation waited on him, and presented a goblet full of gold pieces. The obsequious Senate and magistrates, in a civic assembly on the Capitol, voted the erection of an equestrian statue to his honour, with the epigraph : *Joanni Vitellescho, Patriarchæ Alexandrino, tertio a Romulo Romanæ Urbis Parenti*—to be placed on the Capitol, where, however, no such sculptured monument was ever seen. This mitred warrior commanded 4000 horse and 2000 foot soldiery ; had his garrisons at Corneto, Ostia, Civitavecchia. Most characteristic of the blending of opposite offices and dignities in his person, and of the natural fruit of such anomaly, was one of the rewards he promised to his soldiers : an indulgence of a hundred days for every olive-tree cut down on land they were devastating ! But his career was drawing towards a tragic close. He was accused to the Pope of intent to subject to his own power the cities he had reconquered for the tiara ; of holding secret treaties with Piccinnino, the captain of Duke Visconti's forces, etc. Cardinal Scarampo, an ambitious and intriguing man, counselled Eugenius to have him put under arrest. One day when Vitelleschi was passing by the S. Angelo castle at the head of his troops, about to march into Tuscany, he was treacherously seized by the Chatelain, Rido, who pretended to enter into friendly discourse with him at the angle between the gate of that fortress and the bridge. Finding himself surrounded and made a prisoner inside the iron gate now closed behind him, he valiantly resisted till wounded in the neck and right arm. He died in the castle, a few days afterwards (1440), either of wounds, or (as suspected) of poison ; and the remains of this once great and dreaded leader, Cardinal Patriarch and Chief Commander of the pontific armies, were insultingly exposed, naked and unhonoured, in the church of *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, for an interval before his relatives were allowed to remove them to Corneto.

His career is a striking example of the strange confusion, which highest ecclesiastical authorities are responsible for, between things sacred and profane. When pontific hands bestowed the mitre and the command of troops, the sword and the crozier, upon the same individual, what standard of ecclesiastical duties could be kept up, or consistently adopted and maintained? Eugenius IV. made Vitelleschi "Captain-General of the Holy Church," and, in the same year, Bishop of two Sees, Macerata and Recanati; in the next year, Archbishop of Florence and titular Patriarch of Alexandria; two years afterwards he raised him to the cardinalate; and during that Pope's absence from Rome, Cardinal Vitelleschi was appointed Governor and Vice-Chancellor. At different periods he had been Legate to several Italian states and cities; and was once sent with forces into the Neapolitan kingdom to support René d'Anjou in his struggle against Alphonso of Arragon for the crown. Apologists, who own that "he wielded more frequently the sword than the crozier, and seldom resided in his dioceses," have made good his claim to praise for well employed energies. Excellent regulations were passed by him to promote the welfare of his flocks, who seldom saw their warlike pastor, and to secure the good conduct of the clergy subject to him in his dioceses. Corneto was erected into a bishopric by his counsel; and out of regard for him the Roman Senate bestowed their own citizenship on all the inhabitants of that town. This Cardinal's nephew, who was Bishop of Corneto at the time of his death, fled on hearing of his uncle's tragic fate; was deprived of his See, made Cardinal by the Antipope, and finally restored to his bishopric by Nicholas V. Eugenius, in a brief to the "Cornetani," represented their illustrious townsman's captivity and death as the consequences of an accident in a quarrel between him and the Chatelain; but it is certain that the Pope liberally re-

warded Rido for his base services. Cardinal Scarampo succeeded to the offices and honours of the unfortunate Vitelleschi.

Contemporary writers describe the ruinous desolation of Rome—symbolic of its moral decline—at this period, and during the nine years' exile of the Pope. Æneas Piccolomini observes that the city, deprived of the government of its pontiffs, appeared more like a vast and deserted cavern than a metropolis.* Another writer found it like a village of cowherds rather than a civilized city; its inhabitants being dressed, as we may suppose were peasants on the Campagna at this time, in coarse cloaks (*capperoni*) and long boots; where once had been shops and stalls, sheep and cattle now wandered about; and one sign of improved circumstances was that, after the return of Eugenius IV., the impoverished people put on better clothes.† Poggio saw the Capitoline hill covered with vineyards, and of all its monumental grandeur nothing left save the massive time-defying ruins of the Tabularium, the great vaulted corridor of which was then utilized as a salt magazine. Flavio Biondo mentions the practice, then common, of burning the travertine and marble, torn from classic ruins, in limekilns. Ambrogio Traversari (visiting this city in 1432) says: "One cannot walk in any direction without having to observe some work of antique art, either lying on the ground or set into some wall like a useless old stone. Fragments of marble or porphyry columns are seen strewn on the earth; and many such, still preserved erect, serve to support the most miserable sort of porches."

In 1441 arrived visitors who made a sensation, and whose appearance in Rome is commemorated among the

* "Romam sine pontificis cura non tam urbem quam vastam ac desertam speluncam, etc."

† "Si rivestirono e rassettarono la maggior parte." Vespasiano.

reliefs on the bronze doors of S. Peter's: an Egyptian abbot, named Antony, with about twelve Ethiopian monks, that superior representing himself to be in the confidence of the Emperor of Ethiopia. They were received at the gates by the Senator, the Governor and other magistrates; were lodged in the palace of *S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, and escorted by officials to see the principal churches and expositions of relics. The object of their mission is but vaguely indicated; though Ciaconius brings it into connection with that of the "orators" from Armenia and Ethiopia, who appeared at Florence during the Council, professing their readiness to submit to the decisions of that assembly and to the authority of the Pope; requesting also to be supplied, as they promptly were, with a norma for doctrine and discipline in the true Church, to which they desired to pertain. Gibbon, admitting the fact of their mission, questions their credentials, and doubts the reality of the nominal reunion between the Churches.*

While Felix V., neglected and scarcely formidable, was keeping up the semblance of a pontifical court at Lausanne, the German Empire still continued neutral, as ever since the Council of Basle had commenced. Anonymous writings

* "The deputies of the Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites of Syria and Egypt successively kissed the foot of Eugenius IV., and announced the obedience and orthodoxy of the East." These Oriental embassies, (he infers) were unknown in the countries they presumed to represent. "So nugatory, or rather so fabulous (he adds), were these reunions of the Nestorians and Jacobites, that I have turned over, without success, the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemanus, a faithful slave of the Vatican." (*Decline and Fall*, c. LXVI.) A contemporary, Vespasiano, assumes that this mission had its practical importance, so at least his own simple words imply:—"Letti i privilegi de' Greci, e autenticati e confermati in pubblico di volontà delle parti, si lessero poi quegli degli Armeni e Jacobiti ed Etiopi"—that is, at the Florence Council.

were circulated calling on the nation to cast off an inglorious neutrality, and espouse the cause of religious freedom by acknowledging that Council. Eugenius IV. arbitrarily deposed the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, and intrusted other ecclesiastics, not even Germans, with those princely sees. Six of the Electors entered into a league, and threatened that if the Pope did not annul his bull of deposition against the Archbishops, and submit to the decrees of Constance, they would cast off the neutrality, acknowledge the Council of Basle and Felix V. as legitimately raised to the pontificate. The Emperor, ruled by his secretary, the eloquent Æneas Sylvius, whom Eugenius had recently appointed his own secretary also, sent tidings of this league to Rome, and intrusted to the same accomplished agent the task of persuading the Pope to grant restitution to the two Archbishops. Æneas succeeded in his difficult mission; the deposed prelates were restored; the Emperor and several of the German Princes forswore the neutrality and submitted to Eugenius. A concordat was drawn up (1447) between Frederick III. and the Legate, Cardinal Carvajal, and accepted the same year by a Diet, importing—That canonical election should be restored to the capitular clergy; that the Pope should no more grant provisions or expectatives in the Empire, but should nominate to German benefices left vacant through the translation of incumbents or the annulling by the Holy See of previous nominations; that he should appoint to canonicates, alternately with the Chapters, for six months; that a tax, payable by the recipients of benefices within two years, should be substituted for the abolished annates. To Frederick III. is imputed the responsibility of having sold to Rome the cause of reform in the German Church for the sum of 200,000 florins, coupled with the promise of an

imperial coronation, and certain concessions of ecclesiastical favours in his hereditary states.*

Æneas Sylvius was the bearer to Rome of the intelligence that the Diet at Frankfort had accepted the terms offered by the Pope, and that the Emperor was satisfied with his concessions. The Concordat was celebrated in the former city, like a victory, with rejoicings and illuminations. Eugenius just lived long enough to issue the apostolic bulls, and reward the services of Æneas Sylvius with a bishopric. Fourteen days afterwards he breathed his last, 23rd February, 1447.

The last days and words of this Pontiff have a touching solemnity, as reported by contemporaries and by one who saw him on his death-bed.† Eugenius asserted that in his youth, whilst he dwelt in his quiet monastery at Venice, the supreme pontificate, its peculiar trials in his case, its duration, and consequently the term of his life, had been prophesied to him by a mysterious hermit, whom he saw but once. His death was calm and holy; but one utterance, at that moment when illusions fade before the closing eyes, expressed a profound feeling of self-reproach at the retrospect of his career since highest honours had accumulated on his head:—"O Gabriel (he exclaimed), how much better had it been for thy soul's salvation if thou hadst never been either Pope or Cardinal, but left to die a simple monk!"‡

* Gregorovius, B. XIII. c. 1. The anonymous author of "Janus" says, in this reference: "Damit war in Deutschland die Sache des Concils und der Kirchenreformation verloren, und sank die Deutsche Kirche Schritt für Schritt in die frühere Knechtschaft zurück." Yet assuredly the points conceded in the Concordat had their importance, participating of the nature of disciplinary reform.

† The same Piccolomini, named Æneas.

‡ "O Gabriello, quanto sarebbe suto meglio per la salute dell' anima

Eugenius IV., notwithstanding many virtues, had not elevation of mind to perceive that the true interests of the Papacy were identical with those of the Church; and that acquiescence in demands advanced by the wise, the thoughtful and learned, for temperate reform, would have strengthened instead of weakening the throne he filled. He strove for the interests of the Roman Curia, and for his own prerogatives and claims understood in that exaggerated sense which the intellect and religious feeling of the age were beginning to dispute, or openly deny, to the Roman See. He left to his successors a sad inheritance—a confirmed antagonism between the Papal power and the Apostolic institutions of primitive Christianity. “Had he made a better use of his talents,” it is observed by an ecclesiastical historian, “he might have restored to the Church a part at least of her pristine splendour.” (*Art. de Vérifier les Dates.*)

tua, che tu non fussi mai suto nè papa nè cardinale, ma fussiti morto nella tua religione.”—*Vespasiano.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, 1447 TO 1500.

DURING the conclave, which met in the Dominican convent of "La Minerva," after the death of Eugenius IV., Alfonso of Aragon, who had obtained the Neapolitan crown in 1443, appeared at the head of troops on the Campagna, and took up his quarters at Tivoli. His presence there contributed to protect the pontific cause during the interregnum, whilst an effort was made by Stefano Porcario, a citizen of the higher class and of cultivated mind, to rouse the people to revolt. Now, he argued, was the favourable moment, the throne being vacant, to claim their rights and emancipate themselves from the sacerdotal sway which it was disgraceful to endure. Thus did this bold demagogue address a multitude assembled in the church of Aracœli on the Capitol; but his appeals were fruitless; the spirit and efforts of Rienzo could not be revived, and the prelate who governed Rome during the seclusion of the Cardinals had strength to put down the abortive revolution which failed before passing into the phase of incipient action. On the 6th March, 1447, issued forth from the Minerva convent a procession escorting the new Pope, with customary pomps, to S. Peter's; and the Romans now saw, mounted on a white palfrey, the little, feeble, insignificant-looking man, whom seventeen Cardinals had elected to the Papal throne, and who took the name of Nicholas V.

Tomaso da Sarzana, the son of a surgeon in a Tuscan village, had studied at Bologna, and began his career as a

private tutor at Florence. Winning his way through merits and learning to the various high offices of the Church, he became, in the course of eighteen months, Bishop of Bologna, Cardinal, and Sovereign Pontiff. He had accompanied his patron, Cardinal Albergati, on several important missions to France, England, and Burgundy; had been subsequently sent by Eugenius IV. into countries where he represented the Holy See without dependence on another. In him the world had soon to recognise one of the most learned and beneficent of Popes. At a time when the ardent desire for knowledge prevailed throughout Italy, and an eager interest in classical literature was increasing, when novel and bold ideas were obtaining ground, when the deference towards the Church and the Papacy was declining, and many old things were passing away from mind or belief, this Pontiff became the chief instrument for unlocking to the European intellect, thus already stimulated, the treasures of Antiquity, its Philosophy, its History, and its Thought; he re-asserted for the Papacy an intellectual headship, and a character in which it worthily sustained the higher character and vocation of the Latin Church. He was the founder of the Vatican Library, a nucleus of which, the remnant of the more ancient Papal library brought back from Avignon, had been left at the now deserted Lateran, but was transferred by Nicholas to the more modern palace, where in the course of his pontificate of eight years, that collection swelled to the number of 5000 volumes. He sent missionaries over distant countries to search among the remnants of Byzantine libraries, or the obscurest monasteries of Germany and Britain for the dusty MSS., which were to him the most prized of earthly treasures. He caused to be made known, either in the originals or through Latin translation, the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, and all the discoverable

writings of Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian, Theophrastus, Philo, Ptolemy. The patristic Greek Literature was not forgotten ; and translators of the works of Chrysostom, Cyril, Eusebius were liberally rewarded. Gianozzo Manetti, invited to Rome from Florence, was made pontific Secretary, with a double salary for his services, while employed in literary undertakings, in translating and composing. To Lorenzo Valle was assigned the task of translating Herodotus and Thucydides ; to Poggio, that of rendering Xenophon and Diodorus into Latin. The Pope promised 10,000 gold florins to Francesco Filelfo for a poetic version of Homer (never, unfortunately, finished), after first giving that writer a purse of 500 ducats, on hearing him read his once famous Satires. One emissary brought from Germany the long lost "Germania" of Tacitus, and the "De Viris illustribus" of Suetonius. Classic MSS. were the tribute of the world to this crowned Mecænas, of whom Gibbon says that in him "the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the Pope ;" that "the fame of Nicholas V. has not been adequate to his deserts." He habitually kept 1000 scribes engaged in copying the ancient codes thus carefully acquired, and 100 learned writers to translate into Latin from those that were in Greek. The literary men, monks and savants, driven from the Eastern Empire by Moslem invasion, found refuge and encouragement in Rome. Throughout his pontificate, Nicholas V. was not only a patron of the learned, but munificent in the undertaking of public works ; he used to say that there were two objects for which he desired to spend money : books and buildings. In his relations with Princes, his aims and policy were always pacific ; hence the gradually restored amity between European governments and the Holy See ; and hence the abandonment of the cause of the last among Antipopes, the

Duke of Savoy, called Felix V., who had the wisdom to renounce his ill-supported claims (1449), and owed to the magnanimity of Nicholas not only forgiveness, but the highest ecclesiastical honours that could be bestowed. Rejoicings and illuminations celebrated this event at Rome. It appeared, says Vespasiano, in his life of Nicholas V., "that such a Pontiff had been sent by Divine mercy to restore peace to Italy, after the wars and evils of so many years." It was his hope "that he should never have to use any other arms than that which Christ had given him for his defence—the Cross ; *that* was the weapon he wished to wield throughout his pontificate."*

The jubilee of 1450 is said to have attracted more pilgrims to Rome than any other celebration of the "holy year ;" but it was concluded by tragic disasters. One day when a multitude were returning from S. Peter's, after the exposition of the "Volto Santo," some trifling obstacle on the S. Angelo bridge caused a panic and general arrest of the moving throng ; numbers were thrown over the parapet into the river ; many were suffocated in the pressure ; altogether, 200 perished, and 136 were buried with the solemn funeral, ordered by the Pope, at the adjacent church of S. Celso, while eighteen carts bore the rest of the dead to a public cemetery. To provide against such dangers for the future, many houses, which encumbered the narrow ways leading to the bridge, were thrown down ;

* "He had not only knowledge of the modern, but of all ancient men of learning (*dottori*), as well Greek as Latin ; and there were few writers in the Greek and Latin languages whose works he had not seen ; and he had the Bible entirely by heart (*tutta a mente*), and always could quote from it appropriately. His intellect seemed divine ; and divine was his memory of all things." Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his quaint fifteenth-century Italian, thus eulogizes the estimable Pope, whose character he could bear witness to from personal acquaintance.

and two chapels were erected at the entrance to it from the left bank of the river for joint commemoration of those who lost their lives on that fatal day.

Neither this disaster, nor the plague which had been raging in Italy, and had reached Rome, in 1449, caused any interruption to the sacred observances. Nicholas V. set the example of piety and zeal; and the spectacle of this learned Pope daily visiting the churches of the "Stations" with all his Cardinals, walking barefooted in the processions led by him, and going through all the devotions prescribed to the pilgrims, might have seemed a symbol or embodiment of the alliance between faith and intellect, between ancient Catholicism and a world now rapidly submitting to the influences which were transforming it.

The Pope took measures to provide for the welfare of the pilgrims by prescribing an average of prices in the provision markets; he procured from different countries seventy ship-loads of corn for the Roman mills; and supplied not only physical comforts but regulations of police for checking the audacious brigandage on the Campagna.

In the records of ceremonial the coronation of a German Emperor at Rome, after the imperial progress undertaken expressly to receive the diadem from Papal hands at S. Peter's, is memorable as being the last such occurrence, the last instance of acknowledgment by the German Empire of the traditionary rights of the Papacy to set its seal and sanction on the choice of the Teutonic Electors. In March, 1452, Frederick III., and his bride Eleonora of Portugal, made their ingress into this city with much pomp by the Porta di Castello. On the next day, the Pope blessed the nuptials of this Emperor and the Portuguese Princess; and eight days afterwards took place the coronation, at which were used the crown, sceptre, sword,

and golden globe, brought from Nuremburg, and said to be the identical objects used at the coronation of Charlemagne. At the nuptials Nicholas placed another crown on the Emperor's head, that of the Italian kingdom ; but a silver diadem, brought also from Nuremburg, supplied the place of that iron crown which could only be obtained at Milan. After the final ceremony, the imperial cavalcade passed, as usual, to the Lateran, the young Empress (aged sixteen) carrying in her hand the Golden Rose, presented to her by the Pope : and at the S. Angelo bridge the Emperor had to go through the weary task of bestowing knighthood on 265 claimants. Nicholas V. had been alarmed, apprehending some encroachment on his prerogatives, when the arrival of Frederick was announced. In the interval, he caused the S. Angelo castle to be repaired, and the Capitoline Palace fortified ; took into his pay 1000 soldiers, and invited the barons to quit their strongholds on the Campagna, and support him by their presence during the imperial visit. On his way to Rome, Frederick III. encountered personal danger at Viterbo, through the rude eagerness of the populace to avail themselves of the ancient privileges of seizing the horse ridden by and the canopy carried above a sovereign on his entry into Italian cities. They tore down with hooks the canopy borne over his imperial head, and attempted to draw his horse from under him before he stopt to alight. Fortunately his German majesty was strong enough to defend himself, and manfully belaboured the assailants with blows which sufficed to repel them. The strangers were not disturbed, nor the cause of disturbance, at Rome. Frederick returned thither on his way from Naples, and spent fifteen days at the Vatican as the guest of the Pope ; on which occasion, we are told, all the civic officers, from highest to lowest, were provided with new garments, at

least as much as three and a half yards of red cloth for each, at the expense of His Holiness! *

In the January of 1453, Stefano Porcaro made the second attempt against pontifical rule, which proved fatal to himself and his accomplices. The revival of classic literature, and the new ideas, the republican and Platonic theories thus germinating in awakened minds, may probably have stimulated antipathy against sacerdotal power, notwithstanding the blameless and respectable character of the individual now worthily representing it at the Vatican. Porcaro had been mildly dealt with after his first attempt; banished to Bologna, he had been detained not as a prisoner but under the obligation of showing himself every day to the governor of that city, and never venturing into Rome.

* Maximilian, the son and successor (1493) of Frederick III., set out at the beginning of the year 1508 for a journey to obtain the same coronation at Rome, but oppositions offered by Venice induced him to return beyond the Alps and abandon the intent of receiving a crown from Papal hands. By circular letters he required all the states of the Empire to give him the title of Roman Emperor Elect, subsequently assumed by all his successors in ascending the throne, and approved of, in the case of Maximilian, by Julius II. Scarcely could the most indulgent among Popes have acquiesced in the other title strangely assumed by Maximilian, of "Pontifex Maximus," the German, thus imitating the Roman and Pagan (a few also of the early Christian) Emperors. When Charles V. desired the crowns of the German Empire and Italy, a Pope, Clement VII., had to travel to Bologna for performance of the ceremonies, 1530, instead of receiving the imperial applicant at Rome. Ferdinand, the brother and successor in Empire (1556) of Charles V., was denounced by Paul IV., and prohibited to assume the imperial titles, because neither at his election nor at the abdication of Charles had the Pontiff in any manner intervened. Ferdinand protested against this act of the Pope; and thenceforth the German potentates ceased to apply for any sanction from the Holy See. Thus did the indispensable coronation and ratification pass away among things "silently gone out of mind!"

He contrived to escape, and returned, invited by his friends, to renew the struggle. The co-operation of 400 exiles was reckoned upon for the success of a revolt in which it was proposed to throw fire into the Vatican stables, and during the panic ensuing to seize the persons of the Pope and Cardinals, and occupy the S. Angelo fortress. It was said that Stefano had provided himself with a gold chain for the captive Pontiff; and the conspirators expected to find at least a million gold florins in the Papal treasury, the palaces of the Cardinals and banks of the money-changers. The Epiphany was the day fixed; but by the vigil of that festival the whole plot had been discovered. On that evening, the Senators, accompanied by many soldiers, surprised Stefano, with the other conspirators, at the Porcaro Palace, where 300 armed men were found concealed. The ringleader escaped to the house of his sister, but was soon seized in his hiding place, a chest, in which he lay for a time; he suffered death by hanging from the battlements of S. Angelo. Platina and other historians state that three of his accomplices were executed in the same manner on the Capitol; but Vespasiano da Bisticci declares, with eulogies on the clemency of the Pope, that the lives of all the other conspirators were spared.*

Every day at noon the church-bells throughout Italy invite to the prayer of the "Angelus," or Ave Maria, a devotion added to the morning and evening observance, with the same formula, by Callixtus III., successor to Nicholas V., for enjoining on the faithful to invoke the Divine protection against Moslem conquest, the progress of which, threaten-

* The house of the Porcaro family still stands, though modernized. A collection of antique epigraphs within its walls, formed by Stefano and others of his race, was presented by Prince Doria, heir of the property after the extinction of that family, to the Pope, and placed in the Vatican, where we still see it in the "galleria lapidaria."

ing to raise the Crescent above the Cross from the Holy Sepulchre to the shrine of S. Peter at Rome, caused terror to all Christendom in this century. Perhaps few, amidst the din and distractions of city-life, pass in thought along the historic chain of memories and tragedies linked with the sound of that holy bell. A catastrophe, which is believed to have eventually promoted rather than checked the progress of culture and civilization in western Europe, occurred on the 29th May, 1453, when the Greek Empire was overthrown, through the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. This event had been almost prophesied of by Nicholas V. Two years previously the last unfortunate sovereign of the Palæologus dynasty had renewed, through envoys sent to Rome, the oft-repeated, and now transparently hollow offers of the submission of the Greeks to the Papal supremacy, and of reunion between the two divided Churches, as inducement and price, or condition at least, for that material succour vainly relied upon for the rescue of the falling Empire.

The only Princes who had conscientiously and with consistent earnestness endeavoured to avert that ruin, foreseen its approach, and anticipated its results of danger to western Christendom, were the Roman Pontiffs. The last effort made from the Vatican was through the mission of a Greek Cardinal, Isidore, Archbishop of Kioff, sent as legate with the answer of Nicholas V. to the letters of the last Greek Emperor: it was necessary (the Pope observed) to see whether the fig-tree, hitherto cultivated in vain, could yet produce fruit; for three years that stricken tree might be left, but if it still proved barren at the end of that time, it must be torn up by the roots. The legate found the Emperor, the clergy, and chief nobles of Constantinople apparently eager to promote that object so much desired by the Pope and the Latin Church. The Decree of Union, drawn up

at the Council of Florence, was again accepted and solemnly ratified, but with the proviso, that after it had pleased God to restore peace to the Empire, and rescue the imperilled capital, that document should be maturely examined, and emended, as deemed advisable, by competent persons. But ceremonies and public professions were no signs of moral realities in this case. Fanaticism and the hereditary force of the *odium theologicum* prevailed at the Eastern metropolis; and the Cardinal Isidore had to listen not only to a chorus of anathemas from monks in their cloisters, but to the rude tumult of the low populace, amidst the orgies of the tavern, cursing over their wine cups the Roman Pontiff who had endeavoured to protect their sovereign and state, and especially denouncing, in scorn and hatred, the *azimites*, namely, those guilty of the horrible sacrilege of communicating in the Holy Eucharist on unleavened bread!

The self-devoting heroism of the doomed Emperor, who has been well apostrophized as the “last and noblest Constantine,” excites the profoundest pity and admiration; and the sublimity of his hopeless struggle redeems the honour of an imperial line otherwise so fatally perverse and misguided.* But the history of the Greek Empire’s decline and fall reminds us of the mysterious legend associated with the catastrophe of Jerusalem,—how, shortly

* But thou, that on thy ramparts proudly dying,
As a crowned leader in such hours should die,
Upon thy pyre of shivered spears art lying
With the heavens o’er thee for a canopy,
And banners for thy shroud! No tear, no sigh
Shall mingle with thy dirge; for thou art now
Beyond vicissitude! Lo! reared on high,
The Crescent blazes while the Cross must bow;
But where no change can reach, there, Constantine, art thou!

The Last Constantine.

before the capture by the Roman armies, angels spread their wings to abandon the temple of the ancient Covenant, and were heard to exclaim, amidst the silence of night, "Let us depart hence!" The intelligence of the fall of Constantinople overclouded the few remaining years, and perhaps shortened the life of Nicholas V., who, it is said, was never again seen to laugh after hearing of that great disaster. His contemporary and biographer gives an affecting account of his last days and private sorrows. He had invited two Carthusian monks, one from the Certosa near Florence, the other being Prior of the monastery near Pisa, to attend him, and give him the benefit of their good counsels; and so much was he impressed by their sanctity and converse that he desired these holy men to remain at the Vatican, lodged in an apartment communicating with his own. In one of their frequent colloquies, he asked these Carthusians whether there could be found on earth a more unhappy man than he—the Sovereign of the Church? adding that, among the other afflictions of his lot, was this, his particular misfortune, that none who crossed the threshold of his chamber ever told him the truth, that no one ever uttered to him his real thoughts on things that were known; and that he (the Pope himself) was consequently in such perturbation of spirit, that, if it could comport with his duties, he would willingly renounce the pontificate, to become once more plain "Maestro Tomaso da Sarzana," returning to the life in which he had enjoyed more happiness during a single day than in a whole year on the Papal throne; "and he complained to them (the monks) infinitely, almost shedding tears while he spoke thus with them."*

* "Dolsesi con loro infinitamente, infino quasi che ne venivano le lagrime."—Bisticci, "Nicola V., Papa."

Alfonso Borgia, Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia, was elected Pope (8th April, 1455), at the age of seventy-eight, and took the name of Callixtus III. His pontificate of three years is signalized by the first appearance on the historic scene of a Spanish family notorious for ambition, by the renewed effort to raise the Papacy to a rank among belligerent powers, and by the more worthy enterprise of a Crusade, supported by all the influence and means of the tiara, against the Turks. The establishment of the Moslem power at Constantinople gave rise to a new idea in the Christian mind, substituted for the long-cherished project of recovering the Holy Sepulchre: the paramount duty of rescuing the lost Empire from infidel invaders. The Spanish Pope had, and it seems long before his election, recorded a vow to dedicate all his efforts to that cause. Platina gives the very words from his memorandum-book, and tells us how much astonishment was excited when it became known that, long before obtaining the tiara, Cardinal Borgia had confidently styled himself Pontiff in his private record, though already a decrepid old man. In his earlier career, before being either bishop or cardinal, he had rendered good service to the Church by counselling, and mainly contributing to induce, the abdication of a phantasm antipope, raised up by two Cardinals, the solitary adherents to the last hour of the obstinate nonogenarian Pedro de Luna, at the lone castle of Peniscola on the Aragonese coast. This creature of a shadowy conclave was a canon of Barcelona, named Egidius Munoz, who now called himself Clement VIII., but renounced his pretended Popedom (1429), after four years, and rendered homage to Martin V., through a Cardinal Legate, as did at the same time, three pseudo-Cardinals.* Martin V. generously rewarded Munoz with the bishopric of Majorca.

* The Legate who received homage for the Pope on this occasion.

One of Callixtus III.'s first proceedings was to send eloquent preachers through different countries to proclaim, and rouse up nations to unite in the Crusade. For promoting this object, he emptied the treasury, in which Nicholas V. left 200,000 ducats; pawned the jewels of the tiara, sold church property, and even removed the silver bindings from books collected by his learned predecessor in the Vatican library. Through such efforts he was able to create a pontific fleet—a phenomenon long unseen,—consisting of sixteen triremes, the command of which was entrusted to Cardinal Scarampo, Archbishop of Florence and Patriarch of Aquileja.* This fleet sailed from Ostia for the Ægean sea, certain islands in which were taken; and during three years pontific soldiery continued at intervals to descend from those Roman ships on the coast of Asia Minor with more or less damage to the Moslem inhabitants. Alfonso of Naples and the Duke of Burgundy “took the Cross” for this holy war; but neither risked his own person nor co-operated in any efficient manner.

Amidst these enterprises and the increasing alarms which had urged to such efforts, the religious agency employed to act on the popular mind, and avowedly to appease the invisible powers, was characteristic of the spirit now dominant at Rome. An image of the Virgin was carried through the streets in grand procession, under a canopy

was Cardinal de Foix, the same who now recovered, and restored to Rome, many precious vestments and revered relics, among others, the mitre said to have been given by Constantine to S. Sylvester, and also a number of pontific registers, which had been carried away from Avignon to Spain by the Antipope calling himself Benedict XIII.

v. Moroni, *Dizionario*, article Antipapa XXXVII.

* The same Cardinal had been deputed to the command of an army sent against the Turks into Hungary. Ciacconius, noticing the qualities which recommended him to high ecclesiastical preferment, naively observes, “*eâ tempestate Romæ plus arma quam toga valerent.*”

amidst blazing tapers. A blazing comet terrified the ignorant and suggested the usual forebodings of ill; the Pope appointed solemn prayers during seven days for averting the wrath of Heaven, and (as Ciaconius says) "in case any calamity were impending over mankind, to avert it totally, directing it against the Turks, the enemies of the Christian name." It is needless to comment on the religious idea expressing itself thus!

Now occurred the first great success for the Christian in conflict with the Moslem cause, the first decided check to the victorious arms of Mohammed II. That Sultan laid siege to Belgrade in the July of 1456; the Vaivod John Huniades hastened to succour by land and by water; his fleet obtained advantage over that of the Turks on the Danube; his host attacked the assailants under the walls and raised the siege, defying the thunder of 300 cannons, and leaving 40,000 Moslems dead or wounded on the field before Belgrade, 22nd July. In the September following, Huniades died, and the whole of Servia was eventually subjected to the invaders so gallantly repulsed. The heterogeneous army which achieved that brilliant victory (a great blow, assuredly, to the Turkish power in Europe), might have been compared to some of the crusading bands of the XIII. century, and its ranks were animated, one might say inspired, by a leader who seemed another Peter the Hermit,—an enthusiast whose appearance demands attention, whose successes were among the marvels of the historic stage.

Giovanni di Capistrano, a native of the province of Aquila, had followed the legal profession and been promoted to the office of Judge in the grand court of the Vicaria at Naples. He renounced that career in disgust when required by King Ladislaus to acquiesce (as basely did the other judges) in the iniquitous sentence of death

against not only a powerful baron, the culprit legally condemned, but also, at the King's capricious desire, against his innocent first-born son. Giovanni abandoned fortune and prospects to become a Franciscan friar.* Several important negotiations were intrusted to him by Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. After the most alarming encroachments of Turkish invasion, he was associated with S. Bernardino of Siena in the mission of preaching and promoting the holy war. In Hungary, Bohemia, and several German provinces, as far as Vienna, the voice of Giovanni di Capistrano was listened to with wrapt attention, and he obtained repute not only as a converter of sinners, but a worker of stupendous miracles. Moved by his words, multitudes brought cards, dice, and other frivolous things to be burnt in his presence, as tokens of the abnegation of folly or vice to which his eloquence had induced them. This Franciscan missionary succeeded in mustering for the desired Crusade a host, not of nobles or mail-clad knights like the red-cross champions led by Godfrey and Tancred, but of the common people, mendicant friars, students, and peasants armed with clubs, slings, &c. Such the heterogeneous force, in want of an experienced leader for the

* The circumstances which led to the conversion of Giovanni da Capistrano are narrated differently by some writers, who state that he was led to abandon a secular life through his meditations during an imprisonment unjustly suffered by him at Perugia, being there suspected of favouring the cause of the Neapolitan king, at war with that city. He was associated, on his missions for the Crusade in Germany and Hungary, not only with S. Bernardino of Siena, but also with S. Giacomo della Marca, another Franciscan renowned for eloquence and for reputed miracles, whose figure becomes familiar in the art of a period not much later than that in which he lived. Giovanni died at a convent near Sirmich (Sirmium), aged 71, in 1456, and was canonized by Benedict XIII. 1724. Giacomo closed his days at the age of 90 at a convent near Naples, 1479, and was canonized by the same Pope, 1726.

practical matters of warfare, which the heroic Huniades undertook to command and to discipline; and by such an army—not indeed without other elements, the Hungarian and pontific contingents,—was the great Sultan defeated before Belgrade. Cardinal Scarampo was also on the field of that victory. The Pope, desiring to perpetuate the memory of the event, appointed a festival not on the real but the conventionally observed day of its commemoration, the 6th August, thenceforth celebrated not only by the Roman Catholic but by other Churches as the Feast of the Transfiguration, the office for which was composed by Callixtus himself.

Though a pious, charitable, and generally estimable man, this Pontiff carried the weakness of nepotism and national partiality to scandalous excess—preparing the way for the evil that was to come after him. Having given the Cardinal's hat to one of his nephews, he created another Duke of Spoleto and Prefect of Rome, reviving for his honour in the latter capacity the olden ceremonial of coronation with “a silver diadem.”* But Borgia ambition was not satisfied with this. An Italian kingdom was the aim of the octogenarian Pope for his favourite nephew. The Aragonese King of Naples, Alfonso, had died, leaving his throne to an illegitimate son; and Callixtus decreed that that

* Don Pedro Luis de Mila was only twenty-three years old when made Gonfaloniere of the Church and Prefect of Rome. The bestowal of the silver fillet was a usage of the time of Otho III. The Pope's other nephew, made Cardinal at the age of twenty-two, bore the name of Lençol, which his uncle changed into that of Borgia. A chronicler describes the lawless state of Rome at this time and the ubiquitous presence of the unpopular Spaniards: “Tutto quel tempo che regno (Callisto) mai fu veduto lo più tristo governo di rubarie—ogni dì homicidii et questioni per Roma, ne si vedevano se non Catalani.”—Paolo di Ponte, *anno* 1458.

kingdom, being legally his own, had devolved as a fief to the Holy See. He tried to induce the Duke of Milan to join him in the attempt to despoil Ferdinand, the now recognized King of the Neapolitan States, promising to Francesco Sforza a share in the prey; but that Duke was too prudent to commit himself. Callixtus made preparations for war; so did Ferdinand. Death soon cut short the projects and schemes of pontifical ambition; and Callixtus III. left 115,000 gold ducats from his economies for promoting the more justifiable war against the Turks.

His successor was a truly representative man, one of those in whom we see reflected the spirit of an age. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, of a noble but impoverished Siennese family, had been renowned for learning and eloquence, for the successes of a brilliant and adventurous career, and for numerous writings, the latter so versatile as to include a love story, unique among literary contributions of that class from such an exalted sphere of authorship. Among all ever raised to the Papal throne he seems the most genial character, the one with whom personal acquaintance would have been most agreeable; and he is the only Pope who has given us, in the record of his own times, the image of his mind, together with biographic details referring to the period both before and after his elevation to highest rank. In his numerous journeys, for discharge of important missions, he had seen regions as far north as Scotland and Norway; had been assailed and despoiled by robbers, thrown into prison, and about twenty times in imminent danger. During a war between Florence and Siena, he had to leave the latter city with a provision of six ducats, all his father could give him, and on this he lived till appointed secretary to a Cardinal.* Whilst holding the

* Domenico Capranica, a learned and virtuous man, who built the

same office under another Cardinal, Albergati, the saintly Bishop of Bologna, he was sent by the latter to Scotland, on the mission of bringing about peace between the King of that country, James II., and Henry VI. of England. The Antipope Felix also engaged him as secretary; but when the cause of that pretender was waning, the Emperor Frederick appointed Æneas Sylvius his envoy to offer submission and amity to Eugenius IV. That Pope's death occurred soon after the ambassador's arrival at Rome; and Nicholas V. was so favourably impressed by his talents and character, that he made him apostolic secretary, Bishop of Trieste, and in 1450 Archbishop of Siena. Having been raised to the cardinalate by Callixtus III., Piccolomini was elected Pope at the age of fifty-three, 27th August, 1458, and took the name of Pius II.

It is interesting to learn from his own words the impression made on his discursive mind by such contemporary events as the Councils of Basle and Florence, and the fall of the Greek Empire; the Wars of the Roses, the struggle between France and England, and the heroic episode of the Maid of Orleans. While acting as secretary to the Cardinal Capranica, at Basle, he had espoused and defended with his pen the boldest tenets concerning the powers of Œcumenical Councils, and their superiority over Popes; but all these opinions he condemned and retracted—first, as Bishop of Trieste, and, finally, with more emphatic disavowal, in a Papal bull. The writings of Æneas Sylvius embrace the interval from 1405 to 1463. His “Commentaries” were dictated by him in his later years, and after he had become Pope; but this work was, unfortunately, polished up, and even altered—not without omis-

Capranica palace, and endowed it as a college for ecclesiastical students, at Rome.

sions—by his favourite amanuensis, and finally published under the name of Gobelinus, a priest of Bonn. It refers to the real author's career in earlier and later life; in many passages it is full of interest to the archæologist, for the writer describes with enthusiasm and intelligence his visits to ancient cities and classical sites. His feeling for the beautiful and romantic in nature is quite accordant with modern inspirations, and might remind us of the tourist literature of our own times. It is justly said of this illustrious author that, "in him first appeared the sign of a transitionary age."* His historical works belong to the period of his pontificate; and his "Europa" is only a sketch of an undertaking never completed.

One aim and interest occupied the thoughts of this eminent man on the pontific throne: the Crusade against the Turks, and the recovery of Constantinople. Though feeble and broken down by fatigues and maladies, he left Rome in the depth of winter to attend a congress of princes and ambassadors, convoked by himself, at Mantua, for the furtherance of this great object. A celebrated German cardinal, Cusa, was appointed to act as his Legate at Rome during his absence; six other cardinals were chosen to accompany the Pope; and, after spending a night at the palace contiguous to S. Maria Maggiore, Pius II. having first blessed the people, and taken leave of them with tears, set out on his journey, 5th January, 1459. Travelling by way of Siena, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, he reached Mantua on the 27th May, received with all possible honours and pomps by the Marquis Louis Gonzaga III. We have the Pope's own description of this ingress; and, in the long stately procession of digni-

* In eo primum apparuit—seculi mutati signum." Paolo Cortese, *De Cardinalatu*. See also a just estimate and analysis of Piccolomini's writings by Gregorovius.

taries and officials, the holy Eucharist was borne in a golden shrine on a white palfrey, under a silken baldacchino, surrounded by torches. On the 1st of June, after a solemn Mass before all the assembled dignitaries in the Cathedral, the Pope pronounced an eloquent discourse, insisting on the supreme importance of the Crusade, complaining of the coldness of European princes in their response to his appeals, and declaring his purpose to remain at Mantua till apprised of the intentions of all those potentates, and enabled to form a league with them for the welfare of Christendom. The Congress was not opened till September. At the first session, Francesco Filelfo spoke with the ability which distinguished him in the name of the Duke of Milan; and, at the end, the Pope pronounced a speech of three hours' duration, only interrupted by his tears, and attended with thrilling effect on his audience.* His counsels were accepted with approval by all the ambassadors present. Few were the reigning princes seen at these sessions, though all the others sent their representatives. A multitude of fugitive Greeks attended, and deputies from the Morea depicted the atrocities committed by the Turks, the miseries of those enslaved under their dominion. The honour of commanding the Crusade was offered to, and accepted by, the Duke of Burgundy. It was expected that an army of 30,000 foot, and 10,000 horse could be raised in Germany; the maintenance of this force to be at the charge of France, Spain, and Italy. Venice promised to supply mariners and naval captains. The Pope taxed his own treasury to the amount of 100,000

* Female eloquence also exerted itself, and to an admiring audience, at this assembly. The crusading enterprise was recommended with oratoric skill by two illustrious ladies, Ippolita Sforza, daughter of Francesco, Duke of Milan, and wife of Alfonso II., of Naples, and Isotta Nogarola, whom Cantu describes as "filosofessa, teologante, letterata."

florins, and the other Italian powers promised their contributions in the amounts respectively of 100,000 florins from Venice; 80,000 from the King of Naples; 70,000 from the Duke of Milan; 50,000 from Florence; 20,000 from the Duke of Modena; 10,000 from the Duke of Mantua; 15,000 from Siena; 8,000 from Lucca; 5,000 from the Duke of Monferrato. The crafty Louis XI. had received from the Pope the consecrated sword and cap sent to inspire him with zeal for the holy war, but he did nothing to promote it; he even compelled Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to break his solemn promise of personal co-operation. Soon after the opening of the Congress, Sigismund, Duke of Austria, and Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, arrived at Mantua. In the second session, the Pope decreed that, for the maintenance of the promised army, should be imposed on the clergy a contribution of one-tenth, on the laity one-thirtieth, and on the Jews one-twentieth. This all the Italian States agreed to, the Venetian and Florentine excepted. The French ambassadors being asked to promise assistance from their government, required as condition that a pontific Legate should be deputed to make peace between France and England, at the same time complaining against the investiture given by the Pope to Ferdinand of Aragon, instead of to René d'Anjou, who claimed the Neapolitan kingdom. Pius II., prevented by infirmities from immediately answering, justified himself a few days afterwards in a speech of three hours' length. The ambassadors of the Emperor requested that a Legate should be sent with the army raised in the German States, and the Cardinal Bessarion was appointed to that office. On the 15th January, 1460, the Pope published a bull, announcing to the world the resolutions of the Congress, ordering public prayers for the Crusade, and conceding indulgences, with remission of sins, to all who should

co-operate either in person, or through other means. Before the dissolution of the Congress, he published a constitution against appeals from the Pope to General Councils. Towards the end of January the Congress was closed, and Pius set out for Siena.

Ecclesiastical writers and the Pope's own pages give ample space to the history of the consignment and reception at Rome of the head of S. Andrew, a sacred treasure ceded to Pius II. by Thomas, Despot of Morea, and nephew to Constantine XII. That Greek prince had brought the relic with him from Patras, where the Apostle is supposed to have suffered martyrdom; and in 1462 he sailed from Corfu to Ancona, after consenting to the Pope's request that S. Andrew's head should be placed beside the body of the apostolic brother in Rome's great basilica. Other European princes had offered large sums to Thomas Palæologus for this relic, but he would listen only to the propositions of the Pope, who liberally rewarded him; for the despoiled despot found a home and honourable maintenance till his death under the shadow of the Vatican. Pius II. assigned to him a residence near the S. Spirito hospital, and a revenue of 500 scudi per month—300 contributed by the Pontiff, the rest by the cardinals. The famous relic was consigned to a cardinal sent as Legate *à latere* to Ancona, and thence brought with religious honours to Narni, where it lay for a time in the castle. From Narni it was brought to Rome by three cardinals, one being the learned Greek, Bessarion. On Palm Sunday, 1462, it was deposited in the tower guarding the Milvian Bridge. There the Pope arrived with all the cardinals and prelates the next day. Pius II. with his own hands exposed the head to the people, an immense multitude, from an elevated stage near that bridge, whilst all the high dignitaries of the Roman Church stood around him. With

his own hands did Pius II. carry the silver urn containing that relic to the Flaminian Gate, passing through ranks of torch-bearers—30,000 lights, we are told—the whole way back to the city ; and, after remaining for the night at the Convent of S. Maria del Popolo, the relic being deposited in that church, the Pope took part the next day in, perhaps, the most splendid of devotional pomps ever beheld even in Rome. Such the honours with which the head of S. Andrew was carried to S. Peter's by Pius II., and finally enshrined above an altar in a chapel of the ancient church where that Pontiff and his nephew, Pius III., had sepulture, till the remains and monuments of both were transferred to the church of the Theatines, S. Andrea della Valle. Never was the reverence for relics, or the notion of their importance as guarantees of the favour of Heaven, and of the localized presence of Divine influences, more strikingly expressed than in the superb pageantry of this occasion, ordered, and vividly narrated for our benefit by one of the most learned and intellectual among Popes. Very different was another, a lugubrious ceremony ordered by Pius II., and curiously illustrating the temper and traditions of the Roman Court at this time. Sigismund Malatesta, lord of Rimini, who had incurred the highest displeasure as well of Calixtus III. as of his successor, and had made war against Ferdinand of Naples on behalf of the Anjou pretender, was denounced before Pius in the consistory as stained with almost all imaginable crimes, deserving of the punishment due to heresy and leze-majesty, and of the death of a felon. A strange *auto da fe* was exhibited on those stairs before S. Peter's which Pius II. had restored and adorned with statues of the two chief apostles ; there, on the highest landing-place, was erected a pyre of combustible material, and on the summit of this lay an effigy of Sigismund, a

perfect likeness, we are told, with a label issuing from the mouth, inscribed : *Sigismundus hic ego sum Malatesta, filius Pandulphi, rex proditorum, Deo atque hominibus infestus, sacri censura senatus igni damnatus*. While eager spectators gazed, with what feelings we know not, on this scene, fire was applied, and combustibles and effigy sank into ashes. The Pope attacked Malatesta both with the temporal and spiritual sword. During two years his States were invaded by pontific troops, under Federico, Count of Urbino, with a Cardinal Legate in the camp ; the City of Rimini resisted too firmly to be captured, and, after peace concluded in 1463 between the Aragonese and Anjou parties, at Naples, Sigismund was allowed to retain, as vassal of the Papacy, the vicariate of Rimini, with a few miles of environs, on condition of ceding all the other towns occupied during the war by the pontific forces.

Not long afterwards the Court and citizens of Rome, and, indeed, all European nations were amazed by the announcement that Pius II., sinking under premature old age, and scarcely able to travel, had resolved himself to head the Crusade, and embark with the army at Ancona for the eastern campaign ; not intending himself to appear in the combat, but to pray, like Moses on Horeb, with the holy Eucharist before his eyes, for Christian victories over the infidel.* “Perhaps,” he said, “when they shall see their father, the Roman Pontiff and Vicar of Christ, aged and infirm as he is, setting out for the holy war, they will be ashamed to remain at home, and will embrace with courage

* He embarked near the Milvian Bridge, and made the voyage up the river as far as Fiano, the ancient Flavianum, now a poor village ; thence he visited the monastery high on Mount Soracte ; again pursued the voyage to a point near Otricoli, a miserable little town on an eminence ; and thence went by land to Narni, passing by Spoleto, Assisi, Fabriano and Loreto to Ancona.

the defence of our holy religion." In June, 1464, he left Rome, embarking for the first stage of the journey on the Tiber, and for the rest carried in a litter through the Sabina, the Umbrian and Anconitan provinces, and thus reaching the seaport on the Adriatic after a month spent in the progress. Not one vessel had reached the harbour, two pontific galleys excepted, when the Pope arrived, though on the journey he had met numerous bands of soldiery from the German States, France and Spain, marching under the banner of the Crusade.* After some days were seen the sails of the Venetian squadron, consisting of only eleven triremes, in which the Doge, Cristoforo Moro, came with the naval forces promised by that Republic; but the active brain and ardent mind which had planned, and, up to this stage, organized the Crusade, were now overshadowed by the mists of death. Pius II. could not even receive the Doge; and two days after the Venetian ships had cast anchor he expired (15th August, 1464), his last moments being placid and edifying. It was probably the general reverence and interest excited by his life which led to the report that a Camaldulense hermit, the Beato Pietro Cornelio, at his vigils in a monastery among the Tuscan Apennines, had seen the soul of Pius II. ascending, accompanied by choirs of angels heavenward, on the same night, and at the very hour of that tranquil death in the Episcopal Palace at Ancona. This self-devoting Pontiff misunderstood the spirit of his age; he could not revive the glories or heroism of the mediæval Crusades; but we must revere his memory, and acknowledge that in his case the poet's words are true, that—

A noble end is as a noble deed—

* "In itinere magnam vim hominum—venientum ad bellum Turcis indictum, offendit: quorum magnam partem absolutam à peccatis, Germanorum potissimum, in patriam remisit, quod minus idonei bello gerendo essent."—Ciaconius.

through the whole history of the persistent efforts and generous sacrifices of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Platina gives a selection from the apothegms, "useful," he thinks, "for the guidance of human life," written or uttered by Pius II. Not all of these are above the average of wise maxims; but a few, his opinions on the scientific tendencies, or ecclesiastical characteristics of his time, are noteworthy, *e.g.*, "Those who are occupied with measuring the heavens and the earth show themselves more audacious than truthful—Literature ought to be for the people in place of silver; for the nobility in place of gold; and for princes in place of gems—As all rivers flow into the sea, so do all vices meet in the courts of the great—The king who does not render justice to his people, is unworthy to receive the revenues of his kingdom; and so alike is he (the priest) who does not take part in the spiritual cure or sacramental rites of his church, unworthy to obtain the revenues of his benefice—The vagabond monk is a servant of the Devil—With great reason were the clergy formerly forbidden to take wives; and there is still greater reason now for permitting them to marry." In the extensive correspondence of this Pontiff, his letters to Mohammed II., as well as the Sultan's answers, should be remembered.

During one of this Pope's many journeys and absences from Rome, occurred an episode of outrage and crime, showing what evils prevailed and how feebly the social safety was protected in that oft-distracted city. Two desperate young men, Tiburzio and Valeriano, brothers, took advantage of the notorious weakness of magisterial authorities, and collected a band of adventurers like themselves, or still worse malefactors trained in guilt; for some time every species of outrage, rapine, incendiarism, insult to women, and murder of wives and maidens who resisted, took place with complete impunity. The citizens waited

to see what would be done by the Senator and Governor; and those functionaries remained inert, the latter quitting his official residence to take refuge in the Vatican. A leader, called by the rest of the gang "Innamorato," was at last arrested by the soldiers of the magistracy; he was nearly rescued, and a servant of the Senator seized in the scuffle on that occasion. The conspirators (they now assumed more formidable character and plans) fortified themselves in the Pantheon, there holding out for several days, being supplied with food by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who hoped thus to exempt themselves from pillage. The authorities at last condescended so far as to come to terms, and consented to give up "Innamorato" in exchange for Caro, the Senator's servant! The city was again exposed to the same horrors and licentiousness. The conspirators disarmed and put to flight the few soldiers organised for resistance by the Senator; they presently took possession of a tower near *S. Lorenzo in Lucina*, and soon afterwards of a more aristocratic residence, the recently built Capranica palace. Antonio, the Pope's nephew, hearing of their occupation of the old tower, left the Vatican with some mounted foreign soldiery and entered the city by the Flaminian gate, avoiding the S. Angelo bridge; but he did not deem it safe to advance so far as the palazzo Capranica, around which the streets were narrow, and the disposition of the people could not be relied on—still less, considering that Antonio led foreign troops. Tiburzio became, in place of "Innamorato," absolute lord and captain of the conspirators. The Capranica palace was long a den of thieves in the worst possible sense, where every species of crime was plotted, days were spent in riotous feasting and gambling, and nights in deeds of violence by those issuing after dark from its walls.* At last

* "Illic consilia de rapinis, de patrandis adulteriis capiebant; con-

the Roman nobles, indignant at the inertness of their magistrates, went in a body to that stronghold of iniquity, and *requested* Tiburzio to leave the city, representing to him the danger to himself and his followers should stronger forces be brought to bear against them, should the Pope return and restore order by means at his disposal. Tiburzio yielded, and made his exit like a great prince on a state progress, riding through the streets between one of the chief magistrates and an Apostolic Protonotary. But the evil was not efficiently put down by this feeble expedient. Nine of the gang, soon afterwards, entered the extramural S. Agnes monastery, then occupied by nuns, in the night, and there committed every species of outrage, robbery, and sacrilege. The Pope, informed of this last crime, determined to return to Rome, and sent notice that he might be expected within twenty days; an intelligence publicly celebrated with rejoicing. Soon after the Pontific ingress it was ascertained that Valeriano and six other conspirators had returned, and were lying in concealment within the city. They were tracked out, but saved themselves by flight, one alone excepted. Tiburzio, now at Palombara, a small town in the Sabina, hearing of this and also of the capture, erroneously reported, of his brother, concerted the desperate plot, in which he was assisted by the Savelli at Palombara, of entering Rome with a band of armed robbers, rousing the citizens to revolt, and overthrowing the established government. The invaders, thus mustered for the frantic attempt, entered the city by night through a breach in the ruinous walls near the *Thermæ of Diocletian*, where the high ground of the Viminal and Esquiline hills was then, no doubt, almost uninhabited, as it has continued

viviaque simul agitabant, noctes latrocinii, dies ludis dantes.”—Comment. Pii Papæ II., l. iv.

till a very recent date.* Passing through the streets in the early morning, they endeavoured to stimulate the people by the usual watchwords, or appeals, to urge them to cast off the yoke of priestly sway and regain the sacred rights of Roman citizens. None responded, and the attempt utterly failed. At a last emergency the invaders made their way to a point near the centre of the city, S. Eustachio, and entered a building near that church described as answering to the purposes of a custom-house,† where they seized a young man, known to be of Siena, and therefore likely to be ransomed at a handsome amount—such we may suppose the inference—by the Pope, who was also a Siennese. Panic now prevailed; report exaggerated realities; and it was rumoured that formidable bands of conspirators were within the city, or approaching. The Pope, hearing of all these things, maintained perfect presence of mind, and ordered two Cardinals to ride through the streets, and call on the citizens to arm against the brigand-invaders. Those orders were anticipated by the Senator, the Major-domo of the Vatican, and other leading persons, who arrayed themselves for attack, and soon scared away Tiburzio and his followers. The whole gang fled and lay concealed for a time in a *canneto*, one of those beds of tall, densely growing reeds which form a feature of the Campagna and offer convenient hiding-places; thence they were soon dragged out by the feet and brought into Rome, exposed to the derision and rage of the people as they passed. Tiburzio made a full confession before the torture had been applied to him, and his disclosures showed how much co-operation had been relied upon, how desperate the

* In the "Commentaries" it is stated that the band led by Tiburzio numbered only about fourteen (?).

† "Prope domus adsunt, in quis merces deponuntur, et vectigal exitur."—Comment. l. v.

projects of the conspirators, even against the life of the Pope. They had been assured, he said, by diviners, that in that same year sacerdotal government would come to an end. The leader and seven others were hanged; but Pius II. had the humanity to forbid the infliction of death with prolonged agonies, which the Senator desired, at Tiburzio's execution.

That "Pragmatic Sanction" which Bossuet considered the foundation of sound discipline in the Gallican Church, was suppressed by a stroke of policy for which Pius II. highly congratulates himself in his writings. In 1438, during the discussions between Eugenius IV. and the Council of Basle, that charter of Gallican privileges was drawn up by an assembly of French prelates at Bourges, and in the following year registered by a parliament. The document was founded upon certain articles relating to ecclesiastical reform approved by the Council, and sent by the fathers from Basle to the French King, Charles VII. Conformably to its terms, the freedom of election to bishoprics and benefices was restored; annates, reserves, expectatives, &c. were abolished. But soon after the accession of Louis XI. (1461), that king yielded to the persuasions of Pius II., backed by the subtle arguments of the Bishop of Arras, and consented to revoke the Sanction. The same prelate was sent to Rome with the original document, now to be consigned to the Pope and cancelled. A Cardinal's hat was the bishop's reward; the sword consecrated at Christmas, in a sheath adorned with gold and gems, was the token of pontific gratitude to the king. But the triumph of the Pope was incomplete; for when Louis found that he had been deceived by the bishop, his envoy, who affected to have forgotten to secure the Pope's support for René d'Anjou in his struggle to obtain the Neapolitan crown, and also to demand the appointment of a Legate in the

French kingdom, he refused to permit the act of revocation to be registered or officially ratified. The ecclesiastical affairs of France remained almost in the same state as before this transaction.

The twenty Cardinals now in Rome met in the new buildings of the Vatican, commenced by Nicholas V., and held their votation in the small chapel of S. Lorenzo. On the 31st August, 1464, the conclave terminated with the election of a Venetian, Pietro Barbo, nephew of Eugenius IV. by the mother's side; who took the name of Paul II. A "constitution," binding upon the new Pope, was drawn up in this conclave, each member of the sacred college pledging himself by oath to observe it—its import being: That the Elect, raised to the Holy See, should prosecute the war against the Turks by all means at the disposal of the Papacy, and should apply to the costs of that war the entire profits of the alum mines lately discovered at La Tolfa, among the mountains above the coast near Civita Vecchia and Corneto; that the manners, &c. of the Curia were to be reformed, and reduced to the standard of ancient discipline; that a General Council was to be convoked within three years in order to secure the co-operation of European powers for the defence of religion, and for remedy of the evils afflicting the Church; that the number of Cardinals was never to exceed twenty-four, and none should be raised to that dignity before completing the 30th year of age, nor unless having previously professed either canon or civil law, or sacred literature; that no bishop or abbot could be deposed by the Pope at the request of any sovereign save on legal grounds, and with the right of a hearing for the accused; that the command of the pontifical army was never to be given to any relative of the Pope,* &c.

* *Lapsos Curialium mores ad Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Patrum disciplinam restringeret, etc. etc. Concilium generale Christianorum*

Before the proclamation of Paul II., those constitutions were formally presented to him by the Cardinals. He immediately took a pen, subscribed, and vowed to observe them—*servaturumque se eas juravit, ac vovit*, says Ciaconius.

It soon became sufficiently evident that it was the intention of the new Pope to break that vow and violate those engagements. He laid another set of articles, essentially different from those drawn up in conclave, before the several members of the college, and required them to sign, which, with more or less of reluctance and protest, the Cardinals eventually did, all except one, the aged Spanish Cardinal, Carvajal, who had the dignity and firmness to refuse. An authentic account of this perfidious proceeding, and of the manner in which Paul II. overcame resistance and silenced the most grave objections, is before us in a reproachful letter addressed to him by one of those who yielded, Cardinal Jacopo Amanato, Bishop of Pavia.*

The promise to promote the war against the Moslem, henceforth the main object of Papal policy, was not forgotten by this Pontiff, otherwise so regardless of his oaths. He exerted himself to bring about peace between European princes, as preparatory to a league for that desired “Cru-

intra triennium cogeret, in quo et Principes sæculi ad tuendam religionis causam accenderentur, ægræque partes Ecclesiæ communi medicamento sanitatem reciperent!

* “Vovisti Cardinalis, vovisti et Pontifex servaturum te leges, quæ in Conclavi sunt editæ ad salutem publicam utiles: votis tui duobus in libellis chirographum extat: dixisti cum scriberes, etiam sine voto servaturum te eas fuisse Sperabamus respiraturam Ecclesiam, futurum Pontificatum qualem a Petro non vidimus. Quid nunc dicam? aut quid potius non dicam? commutasti tu eas in leges inanes, mille effugiis plenas, quibus in hanc sententiam præfari nos cogis, quia priores bonæ non erant O bone Jesu, quæ præcipitatio hæc est? et quæ intemperies mentis?”—Ciaconius, *Additio* August. Oldoini.

sade;" but had little success. France, Spain, England, Germany, were absorbed by other interests, or engaged in other contests. The island of Negropont was attacked by the Turks; and soon came intelligence that almost the whole of Epirus had been subjected to the Sultan. Extraordinary devotions were ordered at Rome; the most famous images and relics were carried about in procession; the Pope himself carried the "Volto Santo" through the streets; the picture of the Virgin ascribed to S. Luke (still at S. Maria del Popolo), the head of S. Andrew, and that of S. John the Baptist were removed from their shrines to be displayed in these penitential processions appointed for the emergency of danger to all Christendom. Another Madonna picture, painted on a wall near the south side of the Tarpeian rock, was said to be working miracles—a usual notion begot by popular credulity during times of excitement or panic; that thaumaturgic image was removed, and a church built at the expense of the citizens to receive it—*S. Maria della Consolazione*, consecrated 1471—where it still hangs over the high altar. More lugubrious solemnities ensued. In the July of 1467 eight heretics, with paper mitres on their heads, were exposed on a stage on the summit of the Capitol, and thence led into the church of Aracoeli, where the Pope's vicar and five other prelates preached to them; those who were converted by this overwhelming eloquence were again led to the Capitol, clad in black linen vestments, with white crosses before and behind, to be publicly reconciled. Paul II. had a passion for pomp, and a more laudable taste for public works, for magnificence in building, etc., attested to this day by the noble (though unfinished) palace founded by him before he became Pope, and his favourite residence subsequently, the *Palazzo di Venezia*, as that castellated edifice is now called. He ordered a tiara, the most splendid and costly

yet worn on any pontific head; and we are told that the use of that symbol of sovereignty had for some time been almost discontinued.* Platina accuses him of inordinate vanity, and of painting his face whenever he had to appear at ceremonies. To his fondness for shows and amusements the Romans owe the development of Carnival-races, and their localization in the Corso, where this pleasure-loving Pope could enjoy them from the windows of his palace. As re-ordered by him, the competitors in those races for the *pallium*, given as prize each day, were not only horses, asses, buffaloes, but old men, boys, and unfortunate Jews. Still more exciting, and, indeed, superior to the more modern follies of the Roman Carnival, was the pageant display in which mythologic and historic groups passed in gorgeous cars through the street: gods and goddesses, Diana, Cupid, Bacchus, Cleopatra and Augustus, etc.; consuls, senators, and magistrates, and the soldiers of ancient Rome in battle-array, represented by 160 masquerading youths. Besides the adornment of his own handsome person, Paul II. added to the insignia of the Cardinals the scarlet *berretta*, and all that was wanting to the fulness of their costume in that imperial colour—the *sacra porpora*. He permitted them to use the damask mitre, and to go abroad with scarlet trappings on their horses. His love of festal shows was gratified by the arrival in Rome of the Emperor Frederick, bent on the fulfilment of a vow by pious pilgrimage; and for the fêtes on this occasion the Pope spent 18,000 gold florins. The Marquis of Ferrara, Borso d'Este, who came with a splendid retinue: many noblemen, hundreds of guards, a hundred grooms, and 150 mules caparisoned with velvet and embroidered cloth. This accomplished prince, one of the distinguished patrons of art and letters in the Italy of his time, was

* Not that the tiara had disappeared from the crown jewels of the Papacy; but the occasions for assuming it were rare.

invested by the Pope with the title of Duke on Easter Day, in S. Peter's Church. He died the same year, 1471.

Whilst the magnificence of ceremonial and worship was carried to its greatest height, and Rome was assuming a new aspect through public works and improvements under Paul II., another event of immense, though in this city, as it seems, long unrecognized importance, signalized the pontificate now before our consideration: the first appearance in Italy, and establishment in this capital, of the printing press. Two German typographers, Schweinheim and Pannartz, settled here with their apparatus, either in 1464 or 1465; but met with so little encouragement that they removed (probably invited by the Benedictine monks) to Subiaco, where they found support and hospitality at the abbey of S. Scolastica, some of whose inmates were also Germans. In that celebrated cloister they printed the first book produced from a press south of the Alps—a work by the now forgotten grammarian of the 4th century, Ælius Donatus, and the Institutes of Lactantius, 1465. Two years afterwards they returned to Rome, where they were allowed to set up their types in the palace of Pietro de' Massimi; and here appeared the first volume from a Roman press, the “Familiar Epistles” of Cicero.*

* The first edition has the address *in domo Petri de Maximis*. The “Palazzino Massimi,” as the building is now called, still stands contiguous to the larger palace of Prince Massimi, built by Baldassare Peruzzi.

Tiraboschi supplies the chronology of the printing press in Italy as successively introduced in the principal, and also in some minor cities during this century: next to Rome on the list comes Venice, where a press was set up in 1469; next Foligno, 1470—Naples, Pavia, Bologna, Florence, Ferrara, Trevigi, 1471—Padua, Mantua, 1472—Turin, Genoa, Modena, and Vicenza, 1474—Cagli and Udine, 1476—Palermo, Perugia, Bergamo, 1477—Urbino, 1481—Pisa, 1482—Siena, 1484—Rimini, 1486—Forli, 1495. Visiting Subiaco in the spring of 1871, I begged to have a sight of the Lactantius, long displayed among the treasures of S. Scolastica, but was sorry to learn from the lord Abbot that this

Another collabourer, who had joined them at S. Scolastica, Ulrich Hahn, established a separate office in this city. Little else is known of these enterprising men except that they fell into extreme poverty, much to the discredit of those who might have assisted them, and a fact which betrays the low state of literary culture in the Papal metropolis at this time. After the death of Schweinheim, in 1476, nothing is heard more of his companion; but we read of another German typographer, named Lauer, who established a press in this city at S. Eusebio, then a monastery of Celestine monks, who protected him--now a convent of Jesuits. Something like the splendours and largesses of the Cæsars was revived by Paul II. At the great church-festivals he caused all the prisons to be thrown open, and all except murderers and the worst malefactors released from their bonds. He gave banquets in the open air before the S. Mark's basilica (or, more probably, in the wider space before the contiguous palace, his residence), entertaining most sumptuously the magistrates, all those in office, and a multitude of other citizens, the humblest populace being allowed to carry away the residues of fish, fowl, and flesh from the well spread tables; after which, his Holiness amused himself by scattering silver coins from a window, and seeing the scramble to obtain them. His charities were more laudably exercised, and though he is accused of amassing wealth by simoniac means--the sale of bishopries, &c., (see Platina)--it is also shown that the bounties of the Vatican now flowed in a copious stream; that necessitous prelates, decayed families, widows and orphans were constantly relieved by the Pope. To the famous Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, he gave 300 gold flo-

princeps edition was no longer in the monastery; nor could I ascertain more as to its fate, but only conjecture its removal, since the change of government, to the Vatican.

rius on his arrival in Rome, and, soon afterwards, the nobler gift of the sword and cap consecrated at Christmas. On the orphan daughters of Thomas, Despot of Morea, and brother to the last Constantine, he settled a pension in the amount of 200 gold florins per month, and their education was provided for through his care. It was consistent with the temper of such a Pontiff to maintain the highest theories and claims of the prerogatives and powers of the Holy See. A king of Bohemia, George Podiebrad, accused of heresy, was publicly excommunicated and declared to have forfeited his crown by sentence twice pronounced, once after the rites of Christmas, at S. Peter's, by the Pope's own lips. An invader was invited to occupy the Bohemian states, and hence ensued many years of warfare between the anathematized king and Matthias Corvinus, monarch of Hungary, who was proclaimed King of Bohemia in 1469.*

* George Podiebrad, elected 1458, demanded from Pius II. the confirmation of his title, and the ratifying of the compact made with Bohemia by the Basle Council, and in virtue of which communion in both kinds was conceded to that nation. Pius positively refused such sacramental privilege, and eluded the rest of the demand. Irritated at this, the King, with the assent and support of the Archbishop of Prague, maintained the validity of the compact, and thenceforth began to persecute the Catholics among his subjects, identifying himself in fact with the Hussites and "Calixtine" party. Pius II. anathematized him, 1463; and the act of Paul II. was but a continuance of the same spiritual hostilities with exercise of the deposing power affected by the Holy See. Podiebrad died (1471), amidst the contests and tumults after the invasion of his states and recognition of the claims of a rival to his throne. The successor he had named, Ladislaus, son of Casimir IV. of Poland, was finally obliged to share his title with Matthias, and cede to the latter, (1478), the provinces of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia, which had been incorporated with the Bohemian kingdom. They were, however, re-acquired by him after the death of the King of Hungary without heirs, and according to the convention between these two competitors, in 1490.

Paul II., himself an imperfectly educated man, and not originally brought up for the ecclesiastical career, conceived suspicions against the *savans* who surrounded him ; suppressed the college of pontifical "Abbreviatori," created by Pius II., and whose members were learned men. The academy founded by Pomponio Leto, at his own house on the Quirinal hill, met with the same treatment. In the Carnival of 1468, twenty academicians were arrested by the Pope's orders, and Platina, the historian, was dragged from the table of Cardinal Gonzaga to prison. Pomponio Leto came from Naples, voluntarily he tells us, to answer the charges against him, and being imprisoned, drew up a defence, in which he declares that he had always revered and spoke respectfully of Paul II.* He was soon released ; but the less fortunate Platina remained long in prison, altogether sixteen months. This is the first instance of antagonism between the Papacy and the genius of the Renaissance now accused of reviving Pagan philosophy and Platonic theories to the prejudice of Christianity. The above-named historian of the Popes, who

* The Academy was restored by sanction of Sixtus IV., its members having been declared free from all taint of heresy by a committee of theologians. Pomponio Leto, on his first re-appearance in his cathedra after his imprisonment, was hailed with triumphant welcome. The Emperor Frederick III. granted privileges to the Academy by a diploma which was read with rejoicing on occasion of the first celebration by the learned academicians of the anniversary of Rome, 21st April, 1483—a historic fête still* kept up, celebrated in different ways, both under the Papal and under the recently established constitutional government in this city. That academic body, which comprised many distinguished members, as Bembo, Sadoletto, Vida, Paolo Giovio, ended its career at the fatal catastrophe of the siege and sack of Rome, 1527. Pomponio Leto died 1498, and had the honours of a grand funeral, attended by forty bishops and several ambassadors, at Aracocli on the Capitol.

was one of the Abbreviators deprived of office, gives a vivid account of his sufferings, and reveals to us the horrors of a Roman dungeon, and the more dreadful secrets of the torture-room, with unintentional but crushing accusation against the judicial procedure in Rome at this time.* He had imprudently written to the Pope, protesting against the arbitrary deprivation of the Abbreviators, and threatening to appeal to European princes, who might convoke a Council, and call his Holiness to account for his injustice. This naturally provoked implacable wrath, and arrest and torture were the consequences to the audacious Platina. After his first imprisonment, being released at the request of Cardinal Gonzaga, he was forbidden to quit Rome, and some time afterwards was again arrested under suspicion of complicity in a plot against Paul II., the reality of which was never proved. After ten months imprisonment he and his fellow-captives were visited by the Pontiff,

* "On the first and second day many were tortured, and among them the greater number fainted from agony. So terribly did the vaults of the castle (S. Angelo) resound and re-echo to the cries of the miserable young men, that one might have supposed this fortress to be converted into the bull of Phalaris. The executioners became tired before being satiated with their task, for on that day about twenty were tortured by them. I also was summoned with the rest to my punishment. They prepare the cord, strip me of my clothes, lacerate, and frequently hoist me, lifting and lowering me like a thief or highway assassin." Platina describes the sufferings from the cord, and expresses his indignation at seeing a prelate, the vice-chancellor, sent by the Pope to preside over these atrocities, interrogate the agonized victims, and, as he reports, conduct himself with the most unfeeling levity. This was after Platina's second arrest, when accused of a conspiracy against Paul II. On his first arrest he was (he tells us) "bound with the heaviest irons, and left in the midst of winter, without fire, in a lofty tower, exposed to all the winds during four months." Some of his companions, he tells us, were thrown into a subterranean dungeon.

who violently upbraided them, accused them of denying or doubting the immortality of the soul, but more especially vented his wrath against Platina, accusing him of conspiracy, heresy, ingratitude, &c. Curious is the historian's report of this dialogue in the prison—the antagonism between narrow-souled orthodoxy in power and self-emanipated intelligence in disgrace. But a feeling profoundly sorrowful is awakened when we contrast the Papacy, personified by Paul II., with the Papacy amid the light shed around it by sanctity and charities from such men as S. Gregory or S. Leo I. Platina and his fellow prisoners were not released till long after this pontific visit, which did not come to them with pardon or mercy. They had to complete an entire year in captivity; at last being transferred to the Vatican, they were confined for twenty days to their apartments in that palace; subsequently allowed the range of its ample premises, till, at the intercession of the cardinals, all were left at large.*

The conclave elected with unanimous votes, twelve days after the death of Paul II. (9th August, 1471), a Franciscan Cardinal and father-general of that Order, named Francesco della Rovere, fifty-seven years of age, who henceforth becomes known as Sixtus IV. With his pontificate may be said to open, though not indeed unanticipated by the acts and characters of some of his predecessors, that phase of the Papacy, continued during the next eighty years, when the main objects proposed to themselves by the occupants of its throne were the consolidation of temporal power, political aggrandisement, or (still less justifiable)

* The valuable work of Platina closes with the biography of Paul II, to whom he may have been unjust, as other historians consider; yet even in writing about the sovereign through whose capricious suspicions he had suffered so cruelly, he bears testimony to merits and to the brighter side of that Pope's character.

the promotion of the honours, wealth, and glories of a single house, the fortunate nephews or illegitimate children of the reigning Pope. Thus did the Roman See lose more and more of its pristine lustre, recede further and further from the apostolic norma, and desert the standard of its high vocation to a degree almost unparalleled in the annals of other Christian bishoprics. Sixtus IV. is one of those mainly responsible for subjecting a once truly venerable and truly sanctified dominion to this fatally unspiritualizing process. Almost his first act betrayed that nepotism, the consequences of which proved the great scandal of his career as Pope. He gave the Cardinal's hat to two young men his nephews, Giuliano della Rovere (who lived to be his successor as Julius II.), and Pietro Riario (perhaps his own son), who, raised suddenly from an obscure Franciscan convent, became by rapid strides Archbishop of Florence, titular Patriarch of Constantinople, Legate for all Italy, as well as Cardinal, and in the course of two years held seven bishoprics besides his other more brilliant promotions! For the brother of this young man, Girolamo, was obtained the lordship of Imola and Forlì, purchased at the price of 40,000 gold ducats from a ruler expelled by popular violence, Taddeo Manfredi. Another fortunate nephew, Leonardo della Rovere, was appointed Prefect of Rome, and ultimately obtained the hand of a natural daughter of Ferrante (or Ferdinand), the Aragonese King of Naples, on occasion of which union the Pope exempted the Neapolitan crown from the obligation of annual census to the Holy See, though still requiring the "china," or white palfrey, to be presented, as formerly, on S. Peter's day in the Apostle's basilica; and imposing the condition of that king's assistance in the war against the Turks.

Other European princes soon felt the error they had committed in leaving the Greek Empire to fall under the sway of the Sultan. Sixtus IV. had nothing of the high-souled enthusiasm of Pius II ; but he exerted himself and expended large sums for the furtherance of the " Crusades." He deputed Cardinal Legates, Rodriguez Borgia in Spain, Bessarion in France, Barbo in the German and Hungarian states, to incite rulers to coalesce in the first step requisite, a league for that common cause. A fleet was equipped ; the Pope himself supplying as many galleys as he possibly could ; the Venetians fifty, the Neapolitan king fourteen such vessels,* and in two different enterprises, the expenditure from the pontific treasury was 100,000 and 75,000 ducats ! On the festival of Corpus Christi, 1472, the Pope went with many prelates and courtiers to S. Paul's, near which basilica his ships were moored on the Tiber ; solemnly blessed the fleet, the command of which he had given to a Cardinal Legate, Caraffa, bestowed on its crew a hundred standards, and granted plenary indulgence to all who should join this Crusade. The fleet of the allies caused some damage, but nothing that did permanent injury to the Turkish power, in Asia Minor. They attacked and set fire to Smyrna, making many prisoners among its citizens. They besieged Salatia, or Adalia, now a commercial town of some importance, on the southern coast of what was once Pamphilia, and carried away from its port the chains which, brought to Rome, were hung up as trophies at S. Peter's. Cardinal Caraffa had the honours of a public triumph on his return to that city, where he made his entry with twelve camels bearing the spoils on their backs, and twenty-five Turkish captives.

* Muratori says that the pontific galleys were thirty-four in number. Panvinio makes them fourteen ; other writers, twenty-nine.

Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, in the double capacity of Legate and general, suppressed by armed force certain tumults, a Guelph and Ghibelline struggle, in the Umbrian city of Todi; and after this first apprenticeship and achievement in the military career, for which he showed decided predilection even when seated on the Papal throne, led his forces to Città di Castello, at that time (1474) under the domination of the Vitelli, the chief family of the place. Federico di Montefeltro, lately invested by the Pope with the rank of Duke (formerly Count) of Urbino, joined this expedition, and took the command, under the Legate, of the pontific troops. After a siege of three months, Nicolo Vitelli surrendered, and that fortified city on the Tiber was given up to the Legate, who took possession in the name of the Pope. Some time afterwards Vitelli returned, found support among the citizens, again assumed the lordship of Città di Castello, and demolished the castle built by order of Sixtus IV. Lorenzo de' Medici assisted the Vitelli family in their resistance, and supplied them with means for maintaining that independent power which was almost sovereignty. Hence the origin of the enmity and indignation of the Pope against the Medici. The ambitious designs of Sixtus IV. centred in his favourite nephew, Count Girolamo, for whom it was his darling object to obtain an Italian principedom. He entered into alliance with a Florentine faction opposed to the ascendancy of the Medici; and the conspiracy of the Pazzi, aiming at the overthrow of that wealthy and hitherto well-deserving family by the removal—if necessary through assassination—of the two brothers Lorenzo and Giuliano, was confided to, sanctioned and in part directed by the Pope, who, however, had the decency to withhold his formal assent from all projects of murderous import. Count Girolamo hated Lorenzo de' Medici for having opposed his elevation to the lordship

of Imola ; and the fondness of the Pope for his nephew pre-disposed him for that complicity in a crime which has deeply compromised the reputation of Sixtus IV. Francesco and Jacopo de' Pazzi, Girolamo della Rovere, and Francesco Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, were the principal leaders who concerted their plans in Rome, and with full cognisance of the Pope.* The day chosen was Easter Sunday, 26th April, 1478 ; the place (the Medici villa at Fiesole having been proposed, but found unsuitable) the cathedral of Florence, and the moment for the murderous deed, that of the communion at High Mass. The Pope sent 2000 soldiers with a captain in his service to be ready at the Florentine frontier for support of the conspirators at whatever emergency ; he also desired his grand-nephew, Cardinal Raffaello Riario, to repair to Florence from Pisa, directing him to conform to the counsels of the Archbishop

* The foreknowledge and approval of the conspiracy by Sixtus IV., albeit with reserve of all express sanction for the murder, is set in the clearest light by a document which has been cited, strange to say, in the Pope's justification—the confession, namely, of Giambattista da Montesecco, a *condottiere* in the pontific service, who was urged to take part with other hired assassins, but refused. This witness repeats the discourse held at the Vatican between the Pope, Count Girolamo, the Archbishop Salviati, and himself. Reporting his own words, “ Holy Father (he said) these things cannot be done without the death of Lorenzo and of Giuliano, and perhaps of others also. His Holiness answered him : I do not desire the death of any one on any account ; nor is it our office to consent to the death of any one ; and though Lorenzo be a villain, and has behaved ill towards us, I by no means desire his death, but only the change of the government (*mutazione dello stato*). And the Count answered: ‘ All that can be done shall be done, in order to prevent this from happening, but should it happen, your Holiness will assuredly pardon those who have committed it (*la Vostra Santità perdonarà bene a chi ’l fesse*).’ The Pope replied to the Count : ‘ Thou art a fool (*tu sia una bestia*). I tell thee that I desire not the death of any one, but only the change of government.’ ”

Salviati.* The young Cardinal was "assisting" in state at the mass, celebrated by a canon, on the morning appointed. How the conspiracy was thwarted, and the life of Giuliano de' Medici alone sacrificed by sacrilegious murder, one of the assassins being a priest, in the holy place, is well-known. The power of the Medici was only strengthened, and Lorenzo rose higher than ever in popularity and influence after his rescue from this danger.† Almost immediately after the terrific scene in the cathedral, the Archbishop Salviati, Jacopo and Francesco de' Pazzi, and Jacopo Poggio, son of the celebrated writer, were hanged from the balcony of the Palazzo della Signoria, now called "Palazzo Vecchio." Cardinal Riario, who, in his terror at the popular fury which threatened his life, clung to the high altar amidst the tumultuous agitation of multitudes, was rescued through the protection of Lorenzo, who believed him innocent, and after being detained for a short time under a strong guard, was allowed to leave in safety. At the intelligence of these events the Pope was most indignant. He formed a league with the King of Naples against the Florentine Republic. He took the pretext of the extra-legal execution of an Archbishop and captivity of a Cardinal, to fulminate anathemas against Lorenzo de' Medici and the Florentine magistrates, and lay their city under interdict. In the July of that year a synod of Tuscan prelates and theologians, presided over by the

* This Cardinal, only eighteen years old at the time, became celebrated as the founder and owner of the vast majestic palace, raised with Bramante's architecture in Rome, since known as the Cancelleria. He seems to have had no share in the Pazzi conspiracy, nor even been informed of what was to take place that day. The impression of terror was such, after the scene in the Florence Duomo, that he is said to have been pale in the face for the rest of his life.

† A bronze medal was struck with a design by Pallaiuolo, representing the murder of one and escape of the other brother, with the legend : *Salus publica, luctus publicus.*

Bishop of Arezzo, accused the Pope of having instigated the murderous conspiracy, rejected his excommunications, and launched a similar sentence against him on their own authority.

Lami (*Lezioni di Antichità Toscane*) says of this memorable proceeding: "If inquiry were made at the present time in Florence for any one who had seen a printed copy of the counter-excommunication (*Contra scomunica del Clero Fiorentino fulminata contra il Summo Pontefice Sisto IV.*), surprise would be excited, and belief would be expressed that no such document can be in existence. The fact, however, is most true; and there is at this day a copy of it extant in a certain library at Florence."*

Both Sixtus and Ferdinand availed themselves of the sanction of the interdict to confiscate the money and possessions of such unfortunate Florentines as were then residing either at Rome or in the Neapolitan States. An embassy sent to appease the enraged Pontiff, had no success. Other Florentine envoys, charged to secure the alliance of Venice and Milan for the war now threatening that republic, protested against "the imperious temper and injustice of the Pope;" declared that "he had ill-exercised the pontific sovereignty which he had acquired by bad means; had sent persons raised by him to high episcopal rank, in company with traitors and parricides, to commit treason in the temple of God, and in the midst of the divine offices' (Machiavelli, "History of Florence"). The Pontific and Neapolitan forces invaded the States of the Republic on the side of the Val di Chiana. Louis XI., the Regency of Milan, the Venetians, the Duke of Ferrara and the Malatesta of Rimini declared for Florence against the Pope and

* The learned antiquarian does not say in which library. That sentence of the bishops' was printed for distribution throughout Christendom. v. Trollope, "Commonwealth of Florence."

King Ferdinand. The Florentines obtained a victory on the shores of the Thrasymene lake, but were defeated near Poggibonsi by the forces under the Duke of Calabria. Lorenzo de' Medici of his own accord set out for Naples to propose terms of peace to Ferdinand; and his eloquence had such effect that the war was brought to a close, and the king concluded a league with Florence against his other enemies.

We must go back to a period earlier than these events to notice the "Holy Year," 1475, celebrated by Sixtus IV., and henceforth, if not sooner, called the "Jubilee" in common parlance. Paul II. had altered by bull (1470) the prescriptions of his predecessors respecting this observance, and decreed that, in consideration of the shortness of human life, and in order that each generation might have the chance of benefiting by the spiritual treasures of the Church bestowed in their plenitude at such sacred seasons, the Holy Year should thenceforth be celebrated not once or twice only, but four times in each century, and consequently every twenty-fifth year should be one of Jubilee. Sixtus IV., magnificent and enterprising in public works, ordered on this occasion many restorations of buildings, churches, and hospitals in Rome, especially with a view to the reception and entertainment of pilgrims. A bridge over the Tiber was now restored, and called after his name, "Ponte Sisto." Royal personages came among the pilgrims: King Ferdinand of Naples, attended by many barons and lords, with domestics bringing ever so many falcons for the chase in the Campagna; and Catherine, Queen of Bosnia, who died at Rome, 1488, and whose monument we see in the Aracoeli church; she, on her journey hither for the Jubilee, being attended by forty knights. The arrival of the King of Sweden is reported by some writers, but uncertainly. The devotional visit of

Christian I. of Denmark is assigned by Ciaconius to the date 1473, not to the Jubilee year, when other writers suppose that he undertook that pilgrimage. But the aggregate of devout visitors was comparatively low; the pilgrimage was impeded by political troubles, by wars in France, Germany, Spain, Poland and Hungary; and the dangers of the highways, beset by brigands and marauders, were known enough to be dreaded. On this account the Pope deemed it prudent to make another innovation by extending the Jubilee to Bologna, with the same privileges and indulgences, four churches in that city being raised to parity with the four patriarchal basilicas of Rome; the Bolognese Jubilee to last from the 12th May till the end of the year. The material improvements of Rome, commenced by Paul II. and continued by Sixtus IV., were promoted through the advice given by the Neapolitan King to the latter in this year. Ferdinand observed the gloomy condition of the streets, shut in by projecting porticoes and overshadowed by the balconies of fortress-like houses, or huge castles. He pointed out to the Pope the strategic objections; the difficulty of sending troops through this inconvenient city, where their movements could not be free, and the ill-affected people might hurl stones, &c., upon them from above—the soldiery thus exposed, the citizens protected. Sixtus took the hint; porticoes and balconies (*porticali e mignani*, says Infessura,) were removed, and the necessity for paving the streets, for the first time, with brick, was alleged as the real—it might well have been one—object for which this demolition was preparatory.

In 1480, Italy, and regions beyond the Alps not less than Italy, felt the terror of the shock caused by the hostile descent of Moslems on the southern coast of this peninsula. An invasion, led by the Grand Vizier, overwhelmed the town of Otranto, for which the most dread-

ful fate was reserved : 12,000 inhabitants, among whom was the Bishop, with all the clergy and friars, were massacred, and 10,000 carried away into slavery. The Pope thought of flight—of taking refuge beyond the Alps ; he adopted a course more conformable with his duties ; urged the Christian princes to unite against the common enemy, and sent ships to join a Neapolitan expedition for the rescue of Otranto. In the next year that desolated city was recovered, the Turks being expelled, with loss of all their artillery, by the Duke of Calabria. The news of this event had been preceded in Rome by that of another, which excited still more joy, expressed through public solemnities—the death of Mohammed II., at Constantinople, 5th of May, reported at Rome on the 28th of that month, 1481. Thanksgiving celebrations were kept up for three days ; the Pope and all the Cardinals took part in a long procession between the Vatican and the S. Angelo bridge.

Soon after the disaster of Otranto, Sixtus showed himself ready to re-admit to favour the offending Florentines, and relieve them from the interdict. Twelve citizens, sent to negotiate peace and reconciliation with the Church, appeared in the atrium of S. Peter's on the first Sunday of Advent, and waited on their knees till the Pope should arrive. He absolved them, and through them the city and state of Florence, with the ceremony of touching their heads with a long wand, after which they heard mass, and received restitution of the territories and castles taken from the Republic in the war. The Pope now made alliance with the Florentines and King Ferdinand against the Venetians, who were besieging Ferrara.

We read much of the scandals, the vanities and worldliness of the Curia during this pontificate. Sixtus IV. gave the Archbishopric of Saragossa in perpetual *commenda* to

a child six years old, the natural son of King Ferdinand of Aragon. All the offices of the Papal court and government were purchasable, and sold at fixed tariff as publicly advertised. That Pope set the example of creating new charges expressly for the purpose of selling them to the highest bidders; and rendered venal those appointments which had hitherto been preserved from such degradation. Onofrio Panvinio observes of this corrupt system that "in this manner the liberty of the Roman Court was placed, as it were, in fetters, since the diligence of laborious and vigilant minds no longer availed, and there were no means of obtaining, save by payment of money, any of those offices which used to be given gratuitously to learned and estimable persons." For the first time a body-guard was attached to the Papal service, and provided with quarters at the Vatican; and in defiance of prejudices not unnatural at this period of crusading enterprise among Christians, a novel nomenclature was introduced among the pontific troops; Janissaries, Stradiots, Mamelukes ranked with the other soldiers in arms for the Supreme Pontiff. The "college," as it was called, of a hundred janissaries, was created at once for 100,000 ducats, paid into the palace treasury by its members. Even before this time, and in 1470, the number of venal posts in the Curia, was 650, rendering a profit of 100,000 ducats. Sixtus IV. made all the other offices venal, and developed to such an extent that he has been considered almost the originator of this system.* He imposed new taxes, increased those of earlier origin, monopolized corn, and obliged the Roman

* "Tutto vendè questo Papa, che fu considerato quasi l'inventore di questo sistema—Fu quasi vertiginoso il furore col quale la corte romana precipitossi in questa prima specie di debito pubblico."—Galeotti, *Sovranità e Governo Temporale dei Papi*, II. § IV.

bakers to use grain of such inferior quality, imported from the Neapolitan provinces, that, as Infessura tells us, it caused disease among the people. He frequently required tithes for his own benefit from the bishops in general.* In 1487, the Princes of the German Empire opposed the exacting of a tenth, never yet heard of, which he demanded from those states.

Rarely had the social conditions of Rome been more deplorable, the lawlessness of the aristocracy more ferocious, the defenceless citizens more exposed to miseries than under this pontificate. The Vandalic practice of demolishing houses or castles in punishment of their offending owners, was carried out systematically by the Pope's orders. In one day he caused two residences of the Santa Croce family to be thus destroyed, because they had attacked the palace of the Della Valle family, with whom they were at mortal feud, provoked by the murder of Prospero Santa Croce, who was slain with a knife, as he sat at supper in his own house, by Francesco della Valle, his brother-in-law. The Pope leagued with the Orsini against the Colonnas, whom he was bent on ruining. That still powerful family were lords of Marino, Palliano, other fortified places near Rome, and the district of Tagliacozzo, once a fief of the Orsini. After Sixtus had been for two months the guest of Virginio Orsini at the castle of Bracciano, he began his deliberate onset against the rival house. One of the Colonnas, Antonio, he deprived of the prefecture of Rome, to bestow that high office on his own nephew, Leonardo della Rovere. Another, Lorenzo Colonna, one of the Apostolic Protonotaries, and therefore of prelatie rank,

* See the article "Sisto IV." in Moroni, *Dizionario*; that unpromising champion of the Popes avowing that Sixtus "non senza critica esigette molte decime da' prelati."

was required to give up the county of Alvi to Virginio Orsini on payment of 14,000 ducats, for which sum it had been obtained by the king of Naples, who bestowed it on the Colonnas. The Protonotary, suspecting evil designs against his person and his family, fortified himself in their residence on the Quirinal hill, where many of his relatives and armed retainers joined him. The Pope ordered the Orsini to enter that palace by force, and at the same time sent certain magistrates to persuade Lorenzo Colonna to submit, and confide in the clemency with which he would be received at the Vatican. He was ready to comply, but prevented by his relations, who twice forced him to return when he had set out for the Papal palace. The pontific troops united with the retainers of the Orsini to attack the Colonna palace ; a regular siege ensued, with slaughter on both sides, and kept up for several hours. The Orsini at last entered, found the Protonotary wounded, and commanded him to follow them. Instead of meeting with clemency, he was imprisoned in the S. Angelo castle, repeatedly tortured, and after a month, beheaded, his poor lacerated body being one mass of wounds. In the tumult of that day so auspicious for the Orsini, one of the Savelli, a partizan of the Colonnas, was slain in a street by an Orsini for refusing to cry *viva*, for the rival house.

The Conservators held council in the Capitol, and sent to entreat the Pope to put a stop to civil warfare, and to make peace with the Colonnas. The Cardinals also met in consistory, and begged that the blazing palace of that family, which was still on fire, whilst the populace were despoiling it of everything valuable, should be rescued from destruction, and no further acts of vengeance allowed. Sixtus feigned compliance, but a few hours afterwards sent an officer to revive the fire, and to destroy other

houses besides that of the Colonnas, giving the people license to sack and despoil. In the general pillage of houses belonging to the Colonnas, on the Quirinal and elsewhere, Pomponio Leto lost his precious library. These dreadful times are described by Infessura, an eye-witness, whose narrative, though quaint and confused, is distinguished by the colouring of reality. Contrast was supplied by the unparalleled splendours, extravagance and entertainments of the Pope's nephews, particularly those raised by him to the cardinalate, as Pietro Riario, perhaps the most luxurious cardinal who ever lived. During the two years that he survived after receiving the scarlet hat he spent 200,000, some writers say 300,000 gold ducats on banquets and the pleasures of the table alone, keeping a court of about 500 persons, among whom bishops, theologians, poets, orators, were proud to be admitted. On his death, in his 29th year, this ecclesiastical prince left 300 lbs. weight of wrought silver, valued at 300,000 scudi, but also debts to the amount of 62,000 gold ducats. His entertainments were marvellous, surpassing all yet beheld in Christian Rome. For a single banquet he expended 20,000 florins. On one S. Peter's Day, he gave a pageant representing the tribute paid by the ancient world to this city in her days of imperial supremacy; seventy mules appeared, covered with rich trappings, in the processional pomp. In another series of fêtes he ordered performances in dramatic style, more characteristic of the spirit of the age, and pertaining to the class of sacred mysteries: the Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection, the Descent into Hades.

In implacable hostility against the Colonnas, the Pope ordered two of their strongest places, Marino and Palliano, to be besieged. On the vigil of S. John's Day, he solemnly blessed the artillery and bomb-shells prepared expressly for

the attack on Marino, that now quiet and picturesque little town, in sight from Rome, on the Alban hills. The defendants did not attempt long resistance; ceding the town to the Pope, they retired to their more secure castle, Rocca di Papa, the highest situated on the same mountain. The immediate motive for this cession, was the hope on the part of the owner, Fabrizio Colonna, to save his brother, the unfortunate Protonotary, whose fate has been mentioned, and who was still living a prisoner. The execution of the latter took place five days afterwards, when his mangled body was brought to the SS. Apostoli Church for burial; his mother, who received it in the midst of the weeping women and friends of that family, observed the scars left by the rack, and lifted up the severed head, exclaiming:—"Questa é la testa del mio figlio, e la fede di Papa Sisto!" Next was undertaken the siege of Palliano, but the three Colonna brothers defended that town gallantly and successfully; the pontific troops suffered from frequent sallies, and at length Count Girolamo, who commanded the assailants, wrote to the Pope that it would be vain to continue—the siege must be raised. This so mortified Sixtus that his health was affected, and soon afterwards another shock had consequences more fatal to him. After a long war between Venice and Genoa on one side, the King of Naples, the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara on the other, peace was finally made through the counsel, and with the interposition, of Ludovico Sforza, the Milanese Duke's uncle. This was concluded without any reference to the Pope, and contrary to his wishes. The intelligence so enraged him, that passion brought on, or aggravated, the malady which proved mortal. He died, 13th August, 1484, "leaving Italy at peace" (says Machiavelli), "after, during his lifetime, he had continually caused it to be at war." Infessura signalizes

the day of his death as one fortunate for Rome and for Christendom.*

Yet Sixtus IV. had qualities which enter into and produce the typical character of a great sovereign: talents, energies, learning, courage, munificence. The immutability of the religious principle (whatever the developments of dogma), and the consistent pursuit of religious interests, with steadfastness to one supreme cause amidst all vicissitudes, present a most impressive feature in the history of the Papacy, and explain the maintenance for the Roman Church of its extremely high place among agencies of Christian civilization. As was the case with other Popes whose personal example was disedifying, Sixtus proved firmly devoted to the interests of the clergy, and of the orthodoxy they were pledged to. He was a benefactor to religious orders and to charitable institutions, a liberal Mæcenas to artists and literary men. He rebuilt and enlarged the hospital of S. Spirito, with a spacious compartment for foundling infants. Following out the intentions of Nicholas V., he raised a new library at the Vatican, and endowed it with 100 gold ducats per annum, appointing Platina chief librarian, and securing the services of Latin, Greek and Hebrew writers, and "correttori"—correctors. The secret *archivio* of the Vatican may be said to have been founded by Sixtus; originally filling only four wooden coffers, and three bookcases, this collection was afterwards transferred to the S. Angelo castle, where it remained till near the close of the last century (Marini, *Memorie istor. d. Archivi di S. Sede*.) One of this Pope's excellent laws, though beyond his power

* In quo felicissimo die Deus ipse omnipotens ostendit potentiam suam super terram, liberavitque populum suum de manu talis viri, cui nullus regendi Populi Christiani amor, nulla caritatis ed dilectionis affectio, sed solum voluptas inhonesta, avaritia, pompa, seu vana gloria semper et continuo præcipue viguit, et in consideratione fuit.

to enforce permanently, required the proprietors of the Campagna to cultivate at least one-third of their lands ; in case of their neglect to do which, any one else, with license from an appointed board, might break up and sow with grain those untilled fields, with obligation to hand over to the proprietors a fixed share of the produce. The cycle of sacred solemnities was added to, and new festivals were introduced by him in honour of S. Joseph, S. Anne, S. Francis, the Immaculate Conception, and the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin. With respect to the controversy on the immunity of the Mother from original sin, Sixtus prohibited all further discussion on it between the Dominicans and Franciscans, who had agitated it from opposite points of view ; also decreeing that either opinion might be held without heresy. Perhaps he could not have foreseen, nor would have approved, the extreme consequences of another step taken by him : the institution by bull, 1478, of the Inquisition in Spain, granted at the demand of the co-reigning Ferdinand and Isabella, with prescriptions placing that tribunal under the authority of the crown, and in dependence on the Spanish bishops.

The impression made on contemporaries by this pontificate was unfavourable ; it is evident that Sixtus IV. contributed to dispel the last illusions of childlike veneration for the Papacy, and to hasten the catastrophes most injurious to its interests. A Latin poem, "*De Calamitatibus Temporum*," referring to these times, observes of the notorious venality now practised by the Church and Curia :

. . . . Venalia nobis
 Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, corone,
 Ignes, tura, preces, coelum est venale, Deusque.

And Machiavelli comments on the policy of this Pope in terms not distinctly condemnatory, though capable of being interpreted as such in the highest possible degree. Sixtus IV., he says, was " the first who began to show how

much could be accomplished by a Pontiff, and how many things, hitherto called wrong, might be hidden under the mantle of pontific authority."

The anarchic state of Rome during the interregnum was a result and proof of hatred against the family and person of that Pope, and of the utter feebleness of ecclesiastical authorities here at such periodically recurring crises. Of the twenty-five cardinals in this city, only eleven attended the funeral. The people, enraged at the avarice, monopolies, and luxuries of the Della Rovere and Riario families, attacked and despoiled the palace of Count Girolamo (near S. Apollinare), whilst one band of rioters went to the well-stocked farm of his Countess, Caterina Sforza, at Castel Giubileo on the site of the historic Fidene, drove away all the cattle, flocks and poultry, seized the provisions and drank the good wine. The corn-magazines and banks of exchange were plundered, the streets were barricaded; several of the cardinals, particularly the Pope's nephews and the Borgia, fortified themselves in their palaces. Girolamo and Virginio Riario, hearing of their uncle's death, left the camp before Palliano, but were forbidden to approach Rome within a certain distance by envoys whom the Cardinals sent to meet them. The Countess Caterina, however, contrived to reach the S. Angelo Castle, held by a garrison for her husband, and bravely maintained herself there on his behalf. The Colonnas also returned, with soldiers and artillery, like independent princes, and because they had been the enemies and victims of Sixtus, were received by the people with rejoicing. Two days after the Pope's death, the magistrates endeavoured to enforce law, placed guards at the gates and bridges, threatened capital punishment for outrage and robbery. A civic council, held on the Capitol, addressed the Cardinals, requesting them to disarm their servants and hasten in

accordance to elect to the vacant throne. Before they went into conclave, they took steps to restore order, obtained the S. Angelo and other castles belonging to the Holy See, and now held for Count Girolamo, from his courageous lady on payment of only 4000 ducats; also stipulated that the Orsini and Colonnas alike should leave the city and absent themselves for a month.

In the conclave, the purchase of votes was undisguised; palaces, offices, castles, legations were offered. We read in the admirable work by Prof. Villari, "*Life and Times of Savonarola*," that the terms, or rather donations received by each cardinal, for due support in this votation, were matter of common talk at the time in Florence. Infessura, who gives the particulars most fully, admits, however, that there were some who contradicted the reports of such corruption, and affirmed that the election was accomplished by just means. On the 29th of August it was completed, and the new Pope, Giambattista Cibo, of a noble Genoese house, whose remote origin was Greek, took the name of Innocent VIII. Though this Pope's character was pacific and benevolent, the venality of public offices, the impunity of crime, the recognised system of transacting with criminals who could pay for exemption from law, and the feebleness of authority contributed to render his pontificate scandalous and disastrous. It is an anecdote, that when some one ventured to remonstrate at the Vatican against the practice of allowing offenders to pay off the penalties deserved by them, some clerical courtier answered with unction: "God desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness, and—pay!" For the first time were given fêtes at the Vatican in which the children, a son and daughter, of the Pope took conspicuous parts; and brilliant ladies sat at banquets with his Holiness on occasion of weddings in his own well-

enriched family.* During the latter years of his short pontificate, Innocent, whose intentions were good, exerted himself to improve the social conditions, to give force to law, and efficiently protect the Roman citizens against malefactors so long left unpunished. Two brothers of the Del Bufalo family, who had been in the habit of giving refuge to, and thus withdrawing from justice, every class of criminals in their palace, were arrested and put to death. Two of the pontific secretaries, patricians by birth, were hanged for forgery, and their bodies burnt under the gal-lows. Two other persons were put to death in the same manner for no other offence than calumniating the Pope, though their families offered all they possessed, being in affluence, and 16,000 gold ducats at once, to save them. The venality of the Curia was in no way checked; rather did Innocent VIII. follow the worst example set by his predecessor. In one day he appointed thirty-two "Plumbatores Bullarum," — sealers of bulls—and sold those posts for 26,000 gold ducats; he also amplified the college of "Apostolic Scribes," adding twenty-six new secretaries, who in the aggregate purchased their offices for 55,000 ducats. He desired popularity; gave public audiences, listened patiently to complaints, &c., and aimed at peace, desiring to bring about the accord between princes requisite for the Crusade, the fur-

* As Cardinal Cibo he had recognised the many children born, it is said, before he had received priest's orders. Egidius of Viterbo (*Hist. XX. Sæcul.*) observes, with severe comment,—“*Primus Pontificum filios filiasque palam ostentavit, primus eorum apertas fecit nuptias, primus domesticos hymenaeos celebravit.*”

A very caustic Latin epigram represents Innocent VIII. as the father of eight sons and eight daughters. Though he was not older than fifty-two at the time of his election, only two of his family were then living; and some writers state that they were born of lawful wedlock, contracted in his youth with a noble Neapolitan lady.

therance of which was with him a paramount object. Yet an invasion of his States, followed by a long series of evils, was drawn down by the policy of this Pontiff. King Ferdinand of Naples had, as we have seen, been dispensed by Sixtus from the obligation of the annual census, 28,000 ducats, to Rome, though he still continued to present the white palfry. Innocent would not confirm the concessions of his predecessor, and demanded the tribute in money. War was the consequence. The Pope supported the claims of a pretender to the Neapolitan crown, René of Lorraine, grandson to the titular King, René d'Anjou, by his daughter Yolande. The Duke of Calabria invaded the Campagna with an army which carried on a desultory warfare on both sides of the Tiber. The pontific troops were commanded by a captain of some renown, Roberto Sanseverino, formerly in the Venetian service, who was made "Gonfaloniere" of the Church, receiving the sacred standard from the Pope's hand with a species of coronation, for we are told that after the ceremony he appeared in the streets clad in a mantle of gold brocade and wearing a diadem set with pearls. The Colonnas fought for the Pope, the Orsini for the King; and the latter fortified themselves on the still castellated Nomentan bridge over the Anio, whence they were not expelled till the third month after Sanseverino had begun to attack them. The miserable state of Rome during this war is minutely described from day to day in a diary by an anonymous writer, edited by Muratori.* We there read of outrages, assassinations, religious ceremonies, factious combats between rival families, all jotted down in the same dry style and tone. During an illness of the Pope the feud between the Colonnas and Orsini revived with the utmost violence.

* "Il Notario di pantiporto," in *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. iii., p. 11.

The head of the latter house rode into the city and through the Transtiberine quarter with barbaric triumph, followed by 300 horse and 400 foot soldiery, his armed retainers; he proceeded to despoil the property of the Orsini, and from one of their estates drove away 500 head of cattle and made 113 labouring men his prisoners. Devotions, stimulated by popular panic and disaster, took the form of a fetish Madonna-worship. Between the 2nd and 14th of August (vigil of the Assumption), sixteen processions carried from church to church, from *rione* to *rione*, the image of Mary enshrined at S. Agostino, which on the 20th was escorted from S. Peter's to the Pantheon by all the Roman clergy and pious confraternities with torches in their hands, followed by all the magistrates and, of course, a multitude of people. Cardinal Orsini gave up Monte Rotondo, of which his relatives were lords, to the Pope; and the neighbouring town of Mentana was taken from them by force. After the war had been kept up for some time, King Ferdinand made terms of peace, promising to pay the tribute; but as he failed to do so, hostilities again commenced, and the Pope at last took extreme steps against him. He excommunicated that king, and soon afterwards (1489) declared him to have forfeited his crown, to be theoretically deposed. It would be impossible to represent too darkly the fatal effects on the future of Italy from another proceeding, which was sequel to this step on the part of Innocent VIII. He invited the young king of France, Charles VIII., to invade the Neapolitan states and seize the crown, promising him 300,000 gold florins for the costs of that enterprise, and 6000 troops under command of the Duke of Lorraine. Charles at once consented, accepting the offers. The revolt of the Barons against the oppressive rule of Ferdinand brought on dangers which perhaps inclined him to submit to the Pope; and he was

glad to receive the absolution accorded to him and his son, when the young Prince of Capua, Ferdinand's grandson, was sent to Rome (1492) on a mission of reconciliation. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, interposed to bring about this peace.

The favourable terms secured to the Pope through the first negotiation with the Neapolitan king were, in the principal articles—that the Barons who had declared for the Pope against their unpopular sovereign should pay tribute to his Holiness, and remain, if they desired, in immediate dependence on the Church; that the Abbey of Monte Casino, its lands and castles, should be disposed of by the Pope; that all bishoprics and benefices in the kingdom should be conferred by him; that the city of Aquila, which had revolted against Ferdinand and voluntarily placed itself under the Holy See, should be left at liberty to choose its sovereign, whether pontific or regal; that the Duke René, with a French army, might pass through the Papal on their way to the Neapolitan States, and the Pope might supply them with victuals on such a hostile march; that Virginio Orsini should ask pardon of the Pope on his knees, with bare head and feet, and a halter round his neck; the Cardinal and other members of that house to submit to whatever punishment his Holiness might inflict for their rebellion.

The Prince of Capua was entertained at the Vatican with much honour. When he left Rome the Neapolitan attendants, who came with him, carried away from that palace all they could steal, the hangings of the rooms and linen for daily use, besides other moveables. The Pope had sent those servants their food, and what they could spare they sold to the people in the Borgo quarter. Infessura, who supplies these curious particulars of Neapolitan morality, mentions the supper given to the young Prince by Cardinal

Ascanio Sforza, with a degree of splendour and sumptuousness which that diarist attempts not to describe, convinced that report thereof would seem ridiculous and incredible.

The failure of all Pope Innocent's efforts to bring about the Crusade, forms one among many proofs of the impossibility of reviving the Past, and of the opposition against such enterprises from the feeling and reason of the time. European powers were now intent on other warfare—some on hostilities against the pontific throne, which lost many of its towns and districts about this period; Rieti being occupied by the Neapolitans; Perugia, Foligno, Todi submitting to local lords, the paramount aristocracy. With courage and self-devotedness, the Pope made a last attempt; he invited all the Christian sovereigns to send ambassadors for conferring with him on the holy war; and himself promised to accompany the eastern campaign, as did Pius II., provided that the King of France, the King of Spain or that of England would take the command. Even this proved fruitless. Instead of being able to disturb the Turkish Empire, Innocent VIII. found himself, through strange and unforeseen circumstances, led into alliance with the Sultan, and actually the recipient of a pension from his bounty! In 1489 arrived in Rome a stranger who excited much curiosity, Zizim (or Zem), the brother of Bajazet II., with whom he had disputed the throne, he himself having been proclaimed sovereign at Prusa soon after the death of Mohammed II., their father. Defeated in battle, Zizim had fled to Rhodes, and put himself under the protection of the Knights of Jerusalem, there settled. He was thence sent to France, and placed in a cloister of that Order in honourable captivity. The Grand Master, Pierre Daubusson, agreed to consign him to the Pope, with the consent of the French king; and Daubusson was made Cardinal in reward. Zizim entered Rome in state, accompanied

by the Pope's son, Francesco Cibo, and several courtiers of the Vatican. Introduced in consistory, he would not pay any homage, as directed, to the enthroned Pontiff, but walked straight up to him, made a slight inclination, and kissed his right shoulder. The other Moslems who came with him did as required, knelt, and kissed the foot. Presently arrived envoys from the Sultan of Egypt with magnificent offers to the Pope for the consignment of the captive prince, as that Sultan, now at war with the Turkish sovereign, wished to place him at the head of an army for invading the states of the prince's brother. He promised to restore Jerusalem to the Christians if the Pope would gratify him. This Innocent refused to do, doubting perhaps the one Sultan's means for despoiling the other. Bajazet, informed of his brother's arrival, renewed to the Pope the promise already made by him to the French king: an annual pension of 40,000 gold ducats for the custody of Zizim. The latter was lodged at the Vatican under a strong guard, but not as a prisoner, and a French Cardinal was appointed to watch over and entertain him. The envoy from Constantinople charged to make the first disbursement of the annuity, brought gifts of Oriental treasures for the Pope, and also an offering more precious than gold and gems in the eyes of the Catholic Hierarchy: that holy lance which (as believed) had pierced the side of the Crucified Lord, had been removed from Jerusalem to Constantinople by S. Helena, and been re-discovered, after long oblivion, at Antioch in 1098, buried under a church, and brought to light at the moment when its re-appearance cheered and inspired to victory the Crusaders in the defence of that city against a Turkish siege. This relic was first consigned at Ancona to two prelates sent thither for receiving it; next to two Cardinals, created Legates *à latere* for the occasion, at Narni; and lastly to the Pope

himself, who went to meet it in grand procession, with all the other Cardinals, at a certain distance beyond the Flaminian gate. After being exhibited to the people at S. Peter's, and after the benediction given with it by pontifical hands, it was finally placed in a marble tabernacle over an altar raised in that church by Innocent VIII.

If the reasoning and instructed mind could require historic arguments against such a doctrine as the personal infallibility of the Pope, a value as evidence may be recognised in the only other act of Innocent within the range of ecclesiastical things which need be noticed here. In 1484 he issued his famous bull against witchcraft and sorcery, attended in Germany with the effect of introducing under high sanction a regular system of prosecution for such mysterious crimes; and about five years afterwards was published at Cologne the "*Malleus Maleficarum*," an authorised code of procedure for such cases, drawn up, in 625 pages, by the three Inquisitors appointed by the Pope for the German states. Alexander VI. and Leo X. issued bulls of similar import. One writer on this subject, Horst, calls the bull of 1484, "a truly unique decree in its place in History, and with which, however many follies the human mind had brought forth already, scarcely any other document can be confronted as either so absurd or so horror-striking."

Disorder and crime prevailed in Rome during the last illness of Innocent VIII.; and Infessura tells us that from the first day of that illness till the day of his successor's coronation (little more than a month's interval) two hundred and twenty assassinations were committed in or near this city.* From this diarist we have the anecdote, suggestive of grave imputations of simony against the cardinals,

* Infessura does not specify further, but seems to refer to what was passing within the city gates.

that, shortly before the conclave, four mules laden with silver were driven from the palace of Cardinal Borgia to that of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, son of the Duke of Milan. Among the twenty-seven Cardinals who entered conclave, twenty-three voted for Rodriguez Borgia, Vice-chancellor and Dean of the sacred college, then sixty-one years old, who took the name of Alexander VI., 11th August, 1492. It is certain that Sforza, who received the succession to the vice-chancellorship together with the splendid palace built by Borgia for his residence, was mainly instrumental in directing the votation in his favour; and historians observe, as something portentous, the fact that all the Cardinals most active on behalf of the successful candidate in this instance, sooner or later came to grief.*

Such odium has surrounded the memory of this Pontiff, that the name conferred on him in lieu of his father's by his uncle, Callixtus III., has passed into a byword of infamy. Yet, as is usually the case when tradition seizes hold of an individual to personify in him the qualities especially exposed to hatred or contempt, the accumulative charges against Alexander VI. have gone beyond the truth; and the historian who calmly weighs evidence will be led to admit that, but for a worldly spirit, and an ambition which aimed at the aggrandisement of his own family above all things and by whatever means, this Pope might have left an honoured memory. He had some good qualities, some elements even of greatness of character. Yet it is observed of his election, and by ecclesiastical writers, that

* Raynaldus admits the notorious simony of this election, and the discredit thence reflecting on the cardinals, reproached because "*nece virum delegisse castimonia, sed stupris insignem.*" Jacobus de Volterra, mentioning the immense wealth, bears testimony also to the talents of the elected Cardinal: "*vir est ingenii ad quæcunque versatilis, et animi magni.*"

never was any such proceeding “more opposed to the spirit and discipline of the Church ; for so infamous had this man been through his well-known conduct, that the choice of the Cardinals excited astonishment and indignation” (*Art de Verifier les Dates*). Yet it does not appear that such feeling prevailed at the time in Rome. The new Pope was greeted with jubilant acclamations. Nothing had yet been seen equal to the splendour of his coronation at S. Peter’s and installation at the Lateran ; and the verses inscribed on triumphal arches erected for his pompous progress to the latter church, bestow eulogies which, read from the modern point of view as to his deserts, might be taken in the sense of bitterest irony. One of these is curious both for the degree of adulation, and for the Paganish taste it expresses :—

Caesare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima : Sixtus
Regnat Alexander ; ille vir, iste Deus !

And another has still more of the *renaissance* stamp in its strange compliment to a reputed Vicar of Christ :—

Seit venisse suum patria grata Jovem !*

The genius of satire in Rome found vent indeed in other strains, telling a different tale of this Pontiff after his subjects had known for a few years what it was to be governed by such a god upon earth :—

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum,
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.

* These fêtes are described by an eye-witness, Peter Delphinus, in a letter written from Rome to an abbot, and quoted by Raynaldus. He tells us that the Pope fainted away, overcome by the fatigues of the progress, during the ceremony at the Lateran ; and observes, what struck him as sinister, the extraordinary mustering of troops at this time in Rome : “ Quid ei (Papæ) profuerint tot armatorum acies per urbem totam ad custodiam ejus disposita ?”

De vitio in vitium, de flamma crescit in ignem,
 Roma sub Hispano deperit imperio.
 Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste ;
 Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit.*

Like the Nero with whom his name is here associated, Alexander began well: perceiving the evils of the social state in this city, he appointed four new judges of the criminal courts, created a Commission for periodically visiting prisons, and made himself accessible to all his subjects, listening to whatever complaints and petitions at a public audience once a week. The people, at least in the lowest class, seem to have been tolerably contented under his sway. Law was more rigorously enforced, though in application, conformably with the notions and practices of the time, somewhat barbaric. We read of the punishment of a soldier who, enraged at his losses in gambling, had struck with his weapon a crucifix on the outer wall of a church; both his hands were cut off, and nailed to the same wall, before he suffered death by hanging. The practice of demolishing the houses of offenders was systematically kept up, and by direct orders from the Pope.

An Archbishop of Cosenza, one of the pontific secretaries, was accused of forging briefs, and thereby granting favours in his master's name, which were unsuitable. He was tried by a commission, degraded from all ecclesiastical offices, and condemned to imprisonment for life. Burkhard gives a ghastly picture of the old man in his dungeon, never visited by light of day, at the S. Angelo fortress; his dress that of a vulgar convict, his sole diet bread and water, though he was provided, through special indulgence, with a Bible (the Old Testament?), the Epistles of S. Paul,

* Attributed to Sannazaro, and, if correctly so, the utterance of a stranger not among the Pope's subjects. That Neapolitan poet calumniated both Alexander and his daughter.

and his Breviary; also with oil to keep a lamp burning. The Pope sent some prelates to visit him, who, feigning friendship, assured him that if he confessed all of which he was accused, he should be restored to all and more than the honours he had enjoyed. He did thus confess, but to find himself deceived, never more either seeing those visitors, or hearing of Papal clemency towards him. The unhappy man died soon afterwards, declaring that he had sinned against God, but never against the Pope.

In his relations with European princes, Alexander endeavoured to maintain peace, and counselled them to direct their arms against the Turks, not for other warfare. He had five children—the licentiousness of his private life being nothing unusual or unpardonable in the eyes of the world at this time, when a rich and aristocratic prelate was concerned; and the mother of that family, a Roman woman named Vanozza, twice married to citizens of the middle class, seems to have long retained influence over her tiara-crowned lover.* For his eldest son, Giovanni, he obtained the Duchy of Gandia in Spain, and finally that of Benevento; and this dismemberment of the pontifical States for the benefit of the Pope's illegitimate offspring, only one of the Cardinals, Piccolomini, had the courage to protest against. On another son, the famous Cesare Borgia, Alexander bestowed the Cardinal's hat (1493), after giving him first a bishopric, Pampeluna, and next an archbishopric, Valencia; and for six years this man, stained with every crime, and addicted to notorious vice, as the historic page displays him, held the rank of Cardinal Deacon, taking his place in the august assemblages of the sacred college. In 1497 he was appointed Legate á latere to crown Frederick II., the Aragonese King of Naples, and performed that ceremony

* She survived him, and at last scrupled not to assume the name of Borgia. One of their sons seems to have died in infancy.

at Capua, where he made his entry with great magnificence. In his ecclesiastical capacity he enjoyed revenues from benefices amounting to 35,000 gold florins per annum. He at last renounced a career hateful to him, and dedicated himself to that more congenial one, the military, for which he had talents. The Cardinal of Valencia (as he was called) became Duke Valentino.

His younger brother, Jofré, was betrothed to an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso II. of Naples, when the bridegroom was only thirteen. The beautiful and much calumniated Lucrezia was wedded to four husbands, and by her fourth marriage with Alfonso d'Este became reigning Duchess of Ferrara. The Pope had no scruple in dissolving both her first marriage with an untitled Spanish gentleman, contracted before Alexander's election; and the second alike, her marriage, namely, with Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. Lucrezia's third husband, Alfonso Duke di Biseglia, an illegitimate son of the Neapolitan King, was assassinated by Cesare on the threshold of St. Peter's.* There is reason to believe that after her union with the Este (1502), Lucrezia, whatever her conduct amidst the evil atmosphere surrounding her earlier life, merited and enjoyed esteem and affection.† That unswerving maintenance of the mar-

* He was stabbed one night on the stairs before that church; but survived for some time, nursed by his wife, who seems to have been truly devoted to him. Whilst the unfortunate man was recovering from his wounds, Cesare caused him to be strangled in his presence. The palæce which was the residence of Lucrezia, with her second and third husbands, is now degraded to serve as a granary, and stands, in gloomy desolation, behind the Vatican colonnades, near the buildings of the Inquisition.

† Nardi, a contemporary, says: "The Signora Lucrezia, whom in after time many regarded as of most praiseworthy life, had had three former husbands, the first a gentleman of the Neapolitan kingdom while she was not yet marriageable, nor her father yet raised to the pontificate, which marriage he dissolved after attaining that rank, in order to bestow

riage tie by which the Holy See had so often rendered service to morality, and checked licentiousness on thrones, was utterly set at nought by Alexander.

He sent Cesare into France on a mission to the Court of Louis XII. (1498) for friendly overtures, and charged with a bull of divorce granted to that King against his devoted wife, Joanna, daughter of Louis XI., his union with whom had been, as Louis pleaded, compulsory and distasteful to him from the first. The ostentatious luxury of the age was displayed in the progress on this occasion ; and Cesare was charged at once with the Papal bull, and the red hat for the King's favourite, D'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen,—the illustrious envoy having before this renounced the Cardinalate. Nobles and courtiers of the Vatican rode in the grand cavalcade ; the horses of the patricians being shod with silver, that of the Pope's son with gold, and the dress of the rider himself all glittering with jewels ; 200,000 ducats were among the effects which formed the lading of some hundreds of mules. Louis XII. bestowed upon Cesare Borgia, together with the hand of Charlotte d'Albret, sister to King John of Navarre, a company of 100 men at arms, an income of 20,000 livres, and the promise of a fief in the Milanese State after its expected conquest.

Still more offensive than the divorces granted for political motives is the laxity with which the dispensing power was now used, in permitting exceptional marriages, by Alexander. In 1496 he sanctioned the union of Ferdinand II. of Naples with his own aunt, sister to Alfonso II., "a marriage," says Muratori, "beheld not without astonishment, and with still more of reprobation by sensible persons."

her on the lord of Pesaro." Lucrezia died 1520, leaving three sons by her fourth husband, and the last period of her life was dedicated to piety and charities. See Roscoe's spirited defence of her, "Life of Louis X.," and the carefully compiled biography by Mr. William Gilbert.

Truly may it be said that the Papacy now appears like a mighty magician bent on disenchanting the nations hitherto fascinated and over-mastered by his spells !

But we have to consider the great events of previous years. In 1494 the conduct of Ludovico Sforza, called "Il Moro," uncle to the young Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, gave much dissatisfaction to the Neapolitan court. Ludovico unjustly held all the rights of sovereignty, to the prejudice of his nephew, who was married to a daughter of the Duke of Calabria. The wife interceded for her husband with her father and grandfather, but to no purpose. Remonstrances from King Ferdinand II. were disregarded by Ludovico. Fearing, however, the resentment of the Neapolitan king, and other consequences of his own injustice, he adopted a policy eventually ruinous to himself ; he urged Charles VIII. of France, an ambitious and ill-counselled young King, then in his twenty-fourth year, to make good his claims on the Neapolitan crown, and invade Italy.* Alexander VI. is said to have at first encouraged the project of that invasion, which he afterwards vainly attempted to dissuade from, through a mission confided to a Cardinal Legate.† The Cardinal della Rovere, a fugitive

• René "the Good," Duke of Anjou and Count of Provence, titular King of Sicily as adoptive son of Joanna II., left by testament the Neapolitan kingdom and Provence to Charles VII., his nephew, and to Louis XI. the Duchy of Anjou, thenceforth united to the states of the French crown. Charles left to his son all the pretensions, together with the states so acquired.

† Guicciardini states the participation of Alexander in counselling the enterprise. Rohrbacher mentions researches which have brought out evidence vindicating the Pope from this charge, and showing that he had sought an alliance between Milan, Naples, and himself, which, if formed, might have prevented the invasion. I believe that one of the calumnies to which that Pope has been exposed, may be refuted in this instance.

from Rome on account of the enmity between him and the Pope, was by the side of Charles urging him to the war. That King obtained large sums from Italian bankers, at immense usury, for his expedition against their country,—from Milan, 50,000; from Genoa, 100,000 ducats. In the June of 1494 the Pope and Alfonso II., who had just succeeded to his father Ferdinand at Naples, met at the little town of Vicovaro near Tivoli—an interview the ceremonial of which is fully described by the diarist Burkhard, without any particulars as to its political import.* At the beginning of the next September, Charles VIII. crossed the Alps with an army whose numbers are variously reported—at the lowest as 25,000 horse and 15,000 foot, at the highest as 98,000 in all; according to some writers, 60,000.† A French fleet of 450 sail advanced towards the Italian coast. It would have been easy to defend the Alpine pass by which the invaders entered Piedmont; but that State was now governed by a Regent-duchess for her infant son, Carlo Amadeo; and so far from resisting, the governors of all the towns were ordered to receive Charles with honours. A species of dramatic pageantry representing the deeds of Charlemagne, was displayed for his amusement at Turin; and the Duchess lent him her own jewels, which he pawned for 12,000 ducats; she also bestowed the steed he rode on throughout his campaign. Asti, where the King next made sojourn, was already subject to his cousin, the Duke of Orleans, who had inherited it from his grandmother, Valentina Visconti.

* He tells us that several Cardinals conducted the King to the castle, where the Pope lodged; that Alfonso went through the usual homage; after which Alexander led him into the recess of a window, and they conversed together “for about the eighth part of an hour.”

† Muratori (*Annali*) admits a much lower amount. Guicciardini reports 17,000, including the King's guard of 200 nobles.

The massacres perpetrated by the French in certain towns of Romagna, where they encountered and defeated a Neapolitan force, were, says Guicciardini, "acts yet unknown, and exciting the greatest terror in Italy, where for a long time war had been rather a splendid spectacle than a reality manifested in its perilous and sanguinary character." The Neapolitans, led by Alfonso's brother, Don Ferdinand, were also defeated by land and at sea before Rapallo, a small port on a gulf south-east of Genoa. At Pisa the citizens took the opportunity of Charles's presence and assumed friendship to cast off the yoke of Florence, which they abhorred; the shield of that city was torn down, the symbolic lion ("marzocco") gave place to the statue of the French king. Declarations of hatred against Florentine sway, made to Charles by young Pisan ladies at a state ball given for his entertainment, strangely exhibit the intense municipal enmities prevailing in Italy.* At Pavia the King was received with all honours by Ludovico Sforza, and visited in the castle the unfortunate Gian Galeazzo, now at the point of death, and supposed to be the victim of poison given him by his usurping uncle. Ludovico was present at that interview, when Isabella, the duchess, threw herself at Charles's feet, imploring his protection for her husband and child, and his generosity towards her relatives at Naples. She obtained nothing save fair words in return. Two days after the French had left Pavia, Gian Galeazzo died, and Ludovico was instantly proclaimed Duke of Milan, he having already procured for money, 40,000 gold florins, a diploma of sovereignty

* "Ululantes se male passim ubique vagantes, sui corporis quæstum turpiter facere, quam honeste in Florentinorum vivere tyrannide."—Sfrenati, *Chronicle*.

from the German Emperor. The ingress of the French into other Italian cities left enduring traces.

Shortly before Charles VIII. entered Florence the power of the Medici was overthrown. Piero, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, had taken it upon himself, unauthorised, to parley with Charles in his camp before Sarzana, and promise to deliver up five principal cities, including Pisa and Livorno. On his return to Florence, the doors of the government palace were shut against Piero; his family were placed under ban as rebels; their splendid mansion was sacked by the populace; they fled to Bologna, the young Cardinal Giovanni (afterwards Leo X.), following his brother in the disguise of a Franciscan friar. The French entered Florence in imposing array, 17th November, 1494. The King's exorbitant demands, requiring absolute dominion over and submission from the city, the restoration of the Medici, and the payment of 200,000 ducats, were rejected. The treaty drawn up by his ministers, insulting to the honour of the independent Republic, was cancelled by the famous act of Pier Capponi, one of the deputies sent by the "Signoria" to confer with him as to admissible terms, who, on the threat that French trumpets should be sounded for combat in the city, tore that document before the king's eyes, with the words which have become classic: "*Voi suonorete le vostre trombe, e noi suoneremo le nostre campane*" (You may sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells)—namely, as signal for armed resistance.* Charles at last agreed with the haughty patriots, and reduced his pretensions. Pisa and Livorno were to be delivered to him with their fortresses, and restored gratuitously after his Neapolitan campaign. The

* Pier Capponi appears in act of tearing the treaty among the statues of Florentine and Tuscan worthies under the porticoes of the Uffizi.

sum of 120,000 ducats was to be paid to him in three advancements. This treaty was solemnly proclaimed, and sworn to by the King and the magistrates during religious rites at the cathedral. Charles left Florence with his army, and accompanied by two ambassadors of that Republic, the next day, 28th November.

The Pope now endeavoured to avert the tempest, or at least turn aside the onward march of invasion from Rome. He sent an embassy to the Sultan, desiring his support against the French, and representing to him the danger to his own throne, the probability that Charles would raise up the captive Zizim in his place. Burkhard gives a letter from Bajazet to Alexander (considered of doubtful authenticity), in which the former requests the latter to consign the dead body of Zizim, offering 30,000 gold florins for the compliance, which he intimates full expectations of obtaining. Alexander, devout in his fears, sent his own effigy in wax, life-size, to be suspended as an *ex-voto* before the Madonna in the Annunziata church at Florence, where it was solemnly welcomed, and accompanied with sound of trumpets to the sanctuary of the "*Servi di Maria*."* The Colonnas and Savelli now entered into the service of Charles VIII., and encamped with such forces as they could muster, 4600 men, near Frascati, while Fabrizio Colonna occupied Ostia, and raised on its battlements the banners of the French king and of the Della Rovere—the Ostian castle having been built by the Cardinal of that house, who was bishop of the see, for his own residence; and here had the dauntless Cardinal Giuliano for some time defied the power of Alexander VI. That Pontiff, full of suspicions, and not disposed to spare those of the sacred college who

* It was long the usage to hang up such *ex-voto* images both at the Annunziata and S. Croce. Olduinus had seen that effigy of Alexander in its place, and describes it as a faithful portrait.

offended him, summoned the Cardinals Colonna, Sforza, and three others to the Vatican, and there detained them under guard; the next day sending the two above-named, for severer durance, to S. Angelo. Colonna, however, was soon liberated, and charged with a mission to the French king. At this juncture the Pope changed his tactics, and made the attempt to induce Charles not only to turn aside from Rome on his march, but forego the projected invasion and direct his arms instead, with nobler purpose, against the common enemy, the Turks; promising the co-operation of other European princes for such a crusade. To this Charles paid no attention, though the purpose of an ulterior enterprise for the conquest of Constantinople had been professed by him, and in the January of 1494 the Pope had formally bestowed on him the title of Emperor of that capital.

An effort to rouse the Roman citizens to activity in defence of the pontificate was fruitless; in vain were they supplied with arms by the Pope's order, and alike vain was the appeal to the German residents in this city; a few artisans of that nationality met at the hospice near their church, and declared that they would obey only the "Caporioni," regionary magistrates—manifestations of the civic temper which certainly afford no proof of loyalty. The last envoy sent to Charles was the Cardinal Giovanni Borgia, the Pope's nephew, who found that king at Bracciano, the guest of the Orsini at their castle on the beautiful lake; and the only object now in view was to stipulate terms for the French ingress into Rome with guarantees for the pontific honour and authority. The terror of the Pope now betrayed the perturbation of his conscience, and his apprehension of dangers to himself, more serious in his eyes than any which threatened Rome. He ordered the treasury of the Papal chapel to be deposited

in the fortress, his table service, furniture, and even bed to be packed up, his horses kept ready for flight in the stables. Certain influential Cardinals, and the ambassadors from Spain and Venice prevailed on him to remain at his post.

A Neapolitan force, led by the Duke of Calabria, marched into Rome, and remained till Charles insisted upon their dismissal. Alexander, thus obliged to deprive himself of his protectors, obtained from the king a safe-conduct for the Duke Ferdinand through the pontifical states, which the latter haughtily refused to avail himself of.

On the last day of the year 1494, the Neapolitans and their leaders marched out of Rome by the Appian gate, whilst the French entered by the Flaminian, or Porta del Popolo. Six hours elapsed before the whole invading army had made its ingress. At 7 p.m. arrived the King in complete armour, with lance in rest, the Cardinals Della Rovere and Ascanio Sforza riding beside him, the Cardinals Colonna and Savelli following; the flower of the French noblesse accompanied that army, reported by some chroniclers as between 30 and 40,000. Long after dark did the people continue to gaze on the imposing spectacle, unlike any military pageant yet beheld in Rome; torches lit up the scene; and enormous cars, laden with artillery, such as never yet had been seen in Italian warfare, drawn by horses instead of oxen (formerly used for such purpose) went clattering along the pavement of the narrow streets. Nothing, says Paolo Giovio, so much astonished the Romans as the French cannons, 140 of large calibre, and 1200 smaller pieces, at this memorable ingress; and as they passed, the unthinking crowd, delighted at a show whatever it might portend, raised the cries, *Francia,—Colonna,—Vincoli!* by that last designating the Cardinal della

Rovere, who took his title from the S. Pietro in Vincoli church.

The King took up his lodging in the S. Marco (now Venetian) palace, beneath whose castellated walls the artillery was drawn up, whilst troops bivouacked on piazzas. The Pope took refuge in the S. Angelo castle, accompanied by only two or three Cardinals.* French cannons were twice pointed against the old fortress, and withdrawn without firing; but it was noticed as a sign of Divine wrath against a simonical Pontiff, that a portion of the building fell, yielding to natural decay, during his residence there. The other Cardinals waited on the King, who held his Court with customary state; and now began that opposition which Alexander had probably foreseen. Certain Cardinals advised Charles to convoke a General Council for the deposition of Alexander VI, whose election had been simonical and personal example scandalous.† But that king had neither the thought nor wish to assume the part of a Reformer or restorer of discipline in the Church.

* Guicciardini says that the Pope retired into the castle on the entry of the French; others, that he did not do so till the 6th January. As for the accommodation with which the King had to content himself in Rome, it is thus described: "Le palais de S. Marc, ou logea le Roi, était tenu fort salement, les chambres remplies de paille, qui l'on ne nettoya pas. Ils attachaient les chandelles aux portes des chambres, et aux cheminées—*omnia habebantur ad instar stabuli porcorum.*"—Burkhard, edited by Leibnitz, 1697.

† It is to be regretted that we have such scanty details of this remarkable coalition. Guicciardini mentions it but vaguely, giving the names of three Cardinals, "Vincoli, Ascanio, Colonna, and many others." Some writers add also Perauld, a French Cardinal; and Raynaldus states that the leaders were the two above-named, Della Rovere, Sforza, and Perauld, called "Gurcensis" from his bishopric. The latter accused the Pope of entering into culpable alliance with the Sultan, but the main charges were simony and immorality.

One of his ministers, Brissonet, hoped for the red hat, and probably influenced him for the interest of the Pontiff. Partial disturbances now occurred; the mansions of some rich prelates were broken into and pillaged by French soldiery, and assassinations, the usual result of Roman quarrels, began to cut off lives from the ranks of the armed foreigners. On the 13th January several civic quarters ("mezza Roma," says one chronicler) were sacked; and two days later the Pope yielded, accepting all the terms he had first refused, as dictated by the King. He promised to consign to the French till after the conquest of Naples either three or four of his cities; to restore Ostia to Cardinal della Rovere, grant amnesty to all those of the sacred college who had opposed him, and consign Zizim for six months to the French, receiving from the King in return 20,000 ducats; also to depute Cesare as Cardinal Legate to accompany the invaders to Naples.* The bestowal of the Neapolitan crown was comprised in these terms (v. Guicciardini, and also Burkhard); but it is certain that such concession was never actually made. The Pontiff and King now met, for the first time, in a garden communicating with the corridor (rebuilt by Alexander) between the castle and the Vatican. His Holiness refused the proffered genuflexions and kiss of the foot. Both repaired together to the palace, where, in an impromptu consistory, the Pope at once bestowed the cardinalate on Brissonet, bishop of

* Cesare contrived to escape in disguise from the French camp when they had marched no further than Velletri. The unfortunate Zizim, led away according to compact, and bargained for like a slave, died at Capua, as supposed of poison given to him before he left Rome. Bajazet rejoiced to receive his brother's corpse, consigned at his request. His last advancement of 40,000 ducats for Zizim's maintenance had never reached the Pope, being seized by the brother of Cardinal della Rovere at Sinigallia.

S. Malo, at Charles's request.* Next day the King appeared at a public consistory; went through the usual homage, kissing the pontific hand and foot; took his seat among the Cardinals, and respectfully proffered three requests, the most important being for the investiture of the Neapolitan kingdom, to which the Pope replied that he must consult with the sacred college on so serious an interest. On the morrow Charles attended the Papal High Mass at S. Peter's, and presented the oblations, serving as acolyte at the altar. During his stay in Rome he acted like a devout pilgrim, visiting basilicas, revering the principal relics; and founded a church, the Trinità de' Monti, on the Pincian hill. On the 28th January, after again attending mass celebrated by the Pope at S. Marco, close to the palace where he lodged, and dining with his Holiness, Charles quitted Rome at the head of his army for the facile conquest of Naples.

In that city religious influences were felt amidst the general excitement, fear on one side, sanguine hope on the other. As Savonarola had prophesied at Florence, so did S. Francesco di Paola raise his voice at this crisis announcing evil to come; and because he had foreseen the taking of Constantinople and the Turkish descent on Otranto, this Saint had the credit for prophetic powers among the people. Towns, castles, villages, received the French with gladness, and the inhabitants sent the keys of their gates to Charles while he was yet far off. Meantime Alfonso II., agonized by remorse and terror, imagined him-

* Burkhard gives an amusingly minute description of the interview, which must have presented a curious study for the physiognomist. The chamberlain was shocked at the non-formalities of the consistory, so hastily summoned; and all the process of the vesting of the new Cardinal is recorded. An epigraph, placed near the spot of the meeting, remained long to remind of that event, and a painting in the castle (which has disappeared) served for the same purpose.

self haunted by the shade of his angry father, and heard the cry of "Francia" continually ringing in his ears. He abdicated (23rd January) in favour of his son Ferdinand, and carrying with him 300,000 ducats, embarked for Sicily, where he entered a cloister of Olivetan monks at Mazara, and died in that retreat a few months afterwards.

During the occupation of city after city, and after effecting the conquest of the Neapolitan States without striking a blow—the defenceless Ferdinand II. having fled to Ischia—the French behaved with unbridled licentiousness, permitting themselves every species of excess. The revenues of institutions and schools, the funds belonging to industrial and other establishments, were absorbed for their pay. Thus was the Roman University deprived of its endowments; and the schools and printing presses of Aldo Manuzio were dispersed. In the splendid palace of the Medice at Florence, these foreigners laid hands on all they could carry away, and the precious artistic objects collected by the magnificent Lorenzo became their spoils. Whilst at Rome, Charles, like the German emperors during their sojourn here, took upon himself all the rights, and exercised the functions of a sovereign in his own capital; coined money with the title of Emperor to his effigy, pronounced judicial sentences, his ministers inflicting such punishments as amputation, scourging, and death by the gallows. Guicciardini dwells on the incalculable evils, the long succession of troubles extending over a far-distant future, which this invasion brought upon Italy: "mutations of government, subversion of kingdoms, desolation of districts, massacre in cities, most cruel slaughters; also new customs and manners, novel and sanguinary modes of warfare, and diseases hitherto unknown." The invader's presence on this side of the Alps was regretted, and its further consequences were dreaded by foreign as well as

Italian sovereigns. The Spanish king desired either to restore his relatives to the Neapolitan throne, or already laid his plans for betraying their cause, and subjecting Naples to his crown.

A league was formed against the French by the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Spain, the Duke of Milan and the Venetian Republic; and these allies soon brought 40,000 men into the field. This intelligence alarmed Charles amidst the pleasures to which he was abandoning himself at Naples. He left a Viceroy and garrisons in the conquered state, and two months after his arrival quitted for his march towards the Alps. On his return to Rome, the Pope withdrew to Orvieto, thence to Perugia. The King restored the pontific cities received in pledge. During his second sojourn, of only two days, in Rome, he is said to have ordered all Spaniards found here at the time, to be put to death; and their property confiscated; but this seems inconsistent with the King's known character, and is not mentioned by all writers of authority as to these events. On his further progress he avoided Florence, conforming in this, as believed, to the counsels of Savonarola, sent to meet him at Poggibonsi. When descending from the Apennines on the plains of Lombardy, the French encountered the army of the league, commanded by the Marquis of Mantua, and suffered the defeat (battle of Fornovo, 6th July, 1495), which proved almost equally disastrous to both, and was claimed on both sides as victory. It is asserted (Muratori, *Annali*), that more Italians than French were left dead or wounded on that field; but immense booty, the spoils of southern palaces, convents, and probably churches also, passed into the hands of the Italians, who could not prevent the orderly retreat of their foes, nor the safe exit of Charles from the country where his presence had brought

so much disaster and left such evil traces. Accounts of that battle differ strangely ; some making it last for nine, others for two hours ; one stating that all was over after about one hour of hot conflict ! The Duke of Milan erected a chapel on the spot ; the Gonzaga of Mantua founded a church, *S. Maria della Vittoria*, in his city ; and with the same intent of pious thanksgiving, processions were organized at Florence and Venice.

Ferdinand II., who had been betrayed and deserted by his own army and generals when he attempted to defend the pass of S. Germano against the invaders, now returned from Ischia to Naples, received like a conqueror, and entered on a war of two years duration to liberate his states from the French occupation, and expel the forces of the Viceroy deputed by Charles. Through the aid of Consalvo di Cordova, the "Great Captain," he was finally successful ; and the last remaining French garrison capitulated after the Viceroy Montpensier's death, soon after which Ferdinand also died, 1496. His successor, Frederick III., was the victim of the coalition for dividing the Neapolitan kingdom, as effected in 1501 between Ferdinand of Spain and Louis XII.

The latter, succeeding to his cousin Charles VIII. (1498) on the throne of France, at once assumed the titles of King of the Two Sicilies and Duke of Milan, claiming the latter state by right of inheritance from his grandmother Valentina, Duchess of Orleans, sister of two reigning Visconti, both of whom died without issue. The Pope entered into a league with Louis, with Ferdinand, Venice and Florence, in the ulterior object of promoting the project of those two kings to overthrow the Aragonese dynasty at Naples, and divide that kingdom between them—*execrabile, ac Italiæ funestum foedus*, as even an ecclesiastical writer

(Ciaconius) scruples not to call this compact.* It stipulated also the annexation of Milan to the French states, the consignment of Cremona to the Venetians, and the recognising of Cesare Borgia as Duke of Romagna. The subjection of the baronial families who had held many cities of the pontific states under their sway, was completely accomplished under Alexander VI., and mainly through the military successes of Cesare, assisted by the French. The nephews of Sixtus IV. lost Imola and Forlì, though the latter city was gallantly defended by Caterina Sforza, widow of Girolamo Riario; the Sforzas themselves lost Pesaro; the Malatestas were driven from Rimini; the last of the Manfredi, the beloved and unfortunate young Astorre, was besieged at Faenza, treacherously made prisoner after he had capitulated, and mysteriously put to death in the S. Angelo fortress.† Cesare, now Duke of Romagna and “Gonfaloniere” of the Church, enjoyed the honours of a superb triumph when he re-entered Rome after a victorious campaign, amidst the devout observances of the Jubilee year, 1500.

On a Sunday in Lent, the Golden Rose was blessed as usual by the Pope. After High Mass, celebrated by a Cardinal at S. Peter's, the *vexillum* also was blessed by the Pope with holy water and incense, and given to Cesare, who, kneeling, made his profession of devotedness and fidelity; next was

* “Fuit mihi a veridica persona relatum sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum in ultimo consistorio secreto pronunciasse Fredericum de Arrogonia, Regem Neapolitanum, regno Neapolitano privatum, et Regem Franciæ de eodem regno, et Regem Hispaniarum de Ducatu Calabriæ investisse.”—*Burkhard*.

† He was probably precipitated, alive or dead, down one of the dark abysses called *trobocchetti*, which used to be shown by torchlight in that castle, “by many a foul and midnight murder fed,” but which (for what reason I know not) are now kept out of sight.

bestowed on him the mystic Rose, with the usual very beautiful prayer of consecration ; and, finally, the cap of the Gonfaloniere was placed on Cesare's head by his father. The "volto santo" was exposed at the end of the long ceremonies on this day. As to ceremonies in general, the dislike of Alexander to loss of time in such matters, is curiously apparent in Burkhard's narrative. Being subject to syncope, he used to feign such fits ("finxit syncopare") when the ritual fatigued him, thus finding pretext for ordering it to be abridged. Firmer foundations were laid for the temporal power than had ever yet been secured ; but it was mainly the aggrandisement of his own family, which was the object of Alexander's desires. If it has been, not without reason, objected against some pontiffs that they had no scruples in postponing the interests of Italy to those of the tiara, the charge to be brought against Alexander is that he, engrossed by ambitious projects for his children, postponed the interests of the tiara to those of the Borgia house. Thus did the endowment with the long maintained temporal power lead the Papacy, as represented by this man, into such a course as the deliberate spoliation of its own dominions, and sacrifice of the inheritance to be transmitted with its throne, for the benefit of a single family ! Even the ordinary decencies and discipline of the Vatican were now disregarded. Alexander, bent on the ruin of the Gaetani family and confiscation of their estates and wealth for his children, quitted Rome to direct in person the siege of their fortress at Sermoneta, and deputed the fair Lucrezia to act in his absence as his Vicar, —presiding in the pontific apartments, giving audiences, opening letters, &c. with a Cardinal by her side as her subordinate counsellor ! Contrast this with the almost monastic routine and proprieties of the Vatican at the present day ! Comedies of Plautus, masquerades, dramatic

pageants, banquets, at which fair ladies (not always the most estimable) sat beside the Pope, among cardinals and prelates, were among the more innocent recreations which Alexander delighted in, though at the same time notable for his temperance and most assiduous application to business. These things are only entitled to historic notice, seeing the impression made through the unavoidable notoriety to which such Vatican amenities were exposed. Much more scandalous orgies described in some editions of Burkhard, as now polluting the Papal palace, are incredible. Had they taken place, would the decorous chamberlain have mentioned them?

After the occupation of Sermoneta by the pontific troops, Lucrezia purchased that town, ostensibly from the Camera Apostolica, for 80,000 ducats. She thus became titular duchess, and was also appointed by her father to the government, as Regent, of Spoleto. The head of the Gaetani family was decoyed to Rome, imprisoned in the S. Angelo castle, declared guilty of treason by a venal tribunal, and sentenced to the forfeiture of all his possessions. He made formal protest against this, and soon afterwards (1500) died in the fortress, still a captive, and probably a victim of poison.* His nephew, Niccolo, was assassinated near Sermoneta by the myrmidons of Cesare.

The first check to the prosperity of the Borgia house came from the powerful Orsini family, whose possessions Alexander coveted for his children, while at the same time bent on punishing them for their temerity in taking part with the French, contrary to his express commands. But the Orsini, assisted by Vitelli, lord of Città di Castello, were able to repulse the pontific troops, besieging their

* The protest of Giacomo Gaetani, still in the archives of that family, is given by Gregorovius.

castle of Bracciano, and also to obtain a signal victory near Soriano over those forces commanded by the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, and by Giovanni Borgia. The Duke was made prisoner, Giovanni wounded ; and a Cardinal Legate fled from that field with such haste and terror that his death was the consequence. The Pope now came to terms with the Orsini, restored the towns and castles taken from them, but not without receiving in return 50,000 florins. In this episode we see how completely the position of independent powers was that still held by the great baronial families in the pontific states.

To meet the demands for civil war and the endowments of his children, Alexander (following the example of his predecessors) created venal offices, and sold for 761 scudi (or gold florins) each of the eighty posts in a new "college" of Secretaries of Briefs.* About this time the castle of Ostia was seized by Consalvo of Cordova, who duly consigned it to the Pope ; and in that lone fortress on the unhealthy sea-coast took place an interview between his Holiness and the Great Captain, who had the boldness to reproach the Pontiff for his disedifying life and the abuses of the Curia. A cruel blow fell on Alexander VI. in 1497, and for a time awakened the better instincts of his nature, affliction leading him, in anguish, to avow his dereliction from the high standard of his supreme office and duties. His son Giovanni, Duke of Gandia, had been invested, as we have seen, with the Duchy of Benevento, to which were added Terracina and Pontecorvo as countships ; and only one of the Cardinals protested in consistory against this deliberate dismemberment of the Papal states for Borgian interests. Shortly before the day for the departure of

* Julius II. added one hundred more to the same college, selling each post for the same price.

Giovanni to visit his new Duchy, he and his brother Cesare (still a Cardinal) were riding back to the Vatican after a supper with their mother in a vineyard near S. Pietro in Vincoli. Near the palace of the Chancery (now Sforza Cesarini), Giovanni took leave of Cesare, rode off with a single attendant, a mysterious masked man, and never more was the young Duke seen alive after that night, 14th June. His disappearance excited no alarm at first, his habits being well known; but on the evening of the day afterwards his father became anxious; ordered every search to be made, and the Tiber to be dragged by 300 fishermen. The body of Giovanni pierced with nine wounds, the hands tied, a purse of ducats still in its place, was soon found, drifted far down the stream. A charcoal seller, who had been passing the night of the 14th June in a boat on the river, at the small port of "Ripetta," within the city, deposed to having seen a corpse brought to the Tiber bank, laid across a horse, and thrown into the water by some men who had taken sundry precautions to avoid notice. When asked why he had not sooner reported this, the witness answered that in his time he had seen a hundred corpses thrown into the river by night, yet never had any care been taken about such occurrences. Suspicion soon pointed out the murderer of Giovanni Borgia—no other than his brother Cesare. The Pope, wounded through the affections for which he had sacrificed so much, and probably soon led to suspect the author of the heinous crime which darkened his house, shut himself up in his chamber for three days without speaking, and long refusing food. Burkhard says from the Wednesday evening to the Saturday he thus starved himself, and never slept for twenty-four hours. After the first burst of grief he seemed a new man, bent on atoning for the past, and on applying all his energies (which were great) to the uprooting of evils, the

purifying of the atmosphere around him. He even thought of abdicating, and announced this intention to the King of Spain, who dissuaded him. In consistory he declared his resolve to promote a general reform of the Curia and of discipline; appointed a commission of six Cardinals to deliberate and propose the measures suitable for that worthy object. No more dignities or benefices were to be sold; the Cardinals were to content themselves with a single bishopric each, and 6000 florins' revenue. But the cares and ambitions of this world soon choked the good seed in the stony soil of that mind. The salutary measures proposed by the commissioners were met by objections on the ground of privilege, prerogatives, *ragion di stato*, &c. So ended the repentance and virtuous intentions of Alexander VI. !*

It is mentioned that the ghost of his murdered son was heard wailing through the vast chambers of the Vatican on the winter nights of that same year.†

* One of the Cardinals commissioned for the reforming measures was the Piccolomini who succeeded to Alexander VI. Raynaldus gives an eloquent letter from Peter Delphinus, addressed to that Cardinal, and urging on him the consideration of the high importance of the task now before him. "Editae sunt ab iis (Cardinalibus) pluris sanctissimae sanctiones, quae perductae ad exitum non fuerunt, *an.* 1497." Thus, once more, during the XV. century, did the Papacy thwart and prevent the reform of the Church as projected and approved by her own representatives!

† Sanuto, l. 1, 623—see also Gregorovius: "The people believed in these phantoms, and it was said that Demoniac Powers dominated in the vicinity of the Pope." The belief in the supernatural, to a degree and with direction not common in the Italian mind, seems to have prevailed at this time, fostered perhaps by the tragic events and horror-striking crimes so frequently darkening the moral horizon and historic scene. It was reported at Naples, shortly before the arrival of the French, that the ghost of King Ferdinand had appeared on three successive nights to the court-surgeon, and commanded him, first mildly, then with sternness, to tell Alfonso II., from his father, that it was vain

The coalition of Cardinals at the time of the French King's stay in Rome, was not the only antagonism which aimed at the extreme object of causing Alexander VI. to be deposed from the Papal throne. More severe denunciations were heard in Florence; and the voice of Savonarola was the organ through which the conscience of the Church, the religious sense of the people, spoke in reprobation of one who was considered to dishonour the sacred throne he occupied. That celebrated Dominican preacher wrote letters to potentates, the principal kings of Europe, urging them to convoke an Œcumenical Council for effecting the desired reforms, and especially for the deposition of Alexander, whom the eloquent writer denounced as neither true and legitimate Pontiff nor even a Christian.* One of those letters was seized, through contrivance of Ludovico Sforza, from the courier, who was waylaid and robbed on his journey to France; and the Duke of Milan, eager to ingratiate himself with the Pope, immediately sent it to him. Can we be surprised that such a man as Rodriguez Borgia should have determined on the ruin of the audacious Dominican who had so conspired against him? The deposition of an unworthy Pope was believed to be fully within the competency of General Councils;

to resist the invader, for their dynasty, the Aragonese, was doomed, and their race destined to be soon extinct. (Guicciardini, l. 1.) The Duke of Gandia, who lived only 24 years, was the ancestor of the present Borgia family, illustrated by some eminent men in the Spanish and Italian branches, as Francis Borgia, a canonized Saint and third General of the Jesuits after S. Ignatius.

* Two of these letters, but in Italian, not the original Latin, are given by Mansi in the Appendix to Baluze, *Miscell.* t. I. Savonarola goes so far as to accuse the Pope of atheism; but the trustworthy account of his death by Burkhard does not justify or confirm this imputation. Externally at least Alexander complied with all the requirements of the Church at the last stage of mortal existence.

nor had the arguments heard at Constance and Basle been forgotten; but it may be doubted whether any such assemblage would have dethroned Alexander.

In the Museum of the Propaganda College we see a memorable record of this pontificate: a map of the New World, prepared soon after the return of Columbus from his second voyage (1493), and with the line of demarcation drawn by the Pope's own hand, for dividing all the territories yet discovered, and to be discovered, between Spain and Portugal. A far-extending sea-coast, the shores of both American continents, and the isthmus between them are marked, and distinctly enough, on this parchment, however defective the geographic details. Spain has the lion's share—in fact, all the land from one hundred miles west of Cape Verd and the Azores. This last among acts of the Papacy in its character as supreme Arbiter over Christian nations and rulers, might have raised Alexander's soul above the meshes of tortuous policy and struggles for family aggrandisement. There is some proof that, for a time, it did so; the language of the bull addressed by him (4th May, 1493) to Ferdinand and Isabella shows that he could rise to the moral height of the occasion, could feel the solemnity of obligations now resting upon him. In making concession to the Spanish Sovereigns of all islands and continents, discovered by their envoys or captains within certain limits, he lays down the conditions that "in virtue of holy obedience, and according to the promises you have made to us, and which we doubt not your intention of fulfilling, you will take good care to send learned, experienced, and virtuous men to those continents and islands, in order that the nations may be instructed in the Catholic faith and in sound morality."

There are those who describe the conditions of Rome as ameliorated under the energetic sway of Alexander; but

others draw a picture in very dark colours. "Never (says Raphael Volaterranus, *Vitae quatuor Summ. Pontif.*) had the audacity of gladiators (hired soldiery) been greater in this city, nor the freedom of the people less. The city swarmed with spies; the slightest expression of displeasure (or anger) was punished with death. Moreover, Rome was now filled with robbers, so that no street was safe at night. The asylum of nations, the fortress of all people, as this city had ever been, now became a slaughter-house; and all this Alexander permitted out of affection for his children." Yet the same writer elsewhere testifies to the tranquillity of Rome at this time: "Nullum in urbe tumultum, nulla sensimus arma!"

Fallen indeed were the credit and dignity of the Holy See when Catholic Kings could send embassies to its capital, expressly to admonish the Pope of the duty of attending to ecclesiastical interests, of correcting the enormous abuses, and putting a stop to the flagrant vices prevailing among Christians, and especially around his own sacerdotal throne; complaining, as crowned monitors now did, of the disgraceful traffic in sacred things, and the notorious fact that the chief See, the source of spiritual authorities in the Church, set the worst example, had become the centre of the greatest scandals in Christendom!*

Yet many acts of this pontificate in the range of eccle-

* Embassy from Emanuel of Portugal, called the Great, to Alexander VI.: "Misit ad Alexandrum legatos, qui eum admonerent, ut rebus Ecclesiæ prospiceret, nam mores esse profligatos, pietatis studium resinctum, flagitiorum licentiam solutam, res sanctissimas pretio indignissimis addici. In ea urbe, quæ fuerat pietatis et sanctimonix domicilium, officinam impudentiæ atque sceleris institui, ecclesiamque Romanam insigni infamia flagrare, remque esse in extremum pene discrimen adductam; proinde se illum orare et obsecrare — — ut iret obviam sceleri, reseccaret libidinem, coerceret avaritiam, moresque laxos disciplinâ severiore devinciret," &c.—Raynaldus, *anno* 1498.

siastical affairs are pronounced commendable. Alexander confirmed some recently founded, and highly useful religious Orders: that of Minims, whose originator was S. Francesco di Paola; that of S. Mary Magdalene for female penitents, instituted at Paris by a Franciscan, Jean Tisseraud, and that of Nuns of the Annunciation, founded by the divorced Queen of Louis XII., who bore her trials with saintly fortitude, herself entered the convent of her sisterhood, and died there after about a year (1505)—canonized as S. Joanna of Valois, 1738. Alexander had the wisdom to grant the abolition of celibacy, seeing that it had led to no good consequences, on behalf of the military Orders in Portugal. To the King of Spain he granted the rank and revenues of Grand Master to three such Orders, the Knights of S. James, Calatrava, and Alcantara. The title "Catholic" was conferred by him (1496) on Ferdinand and his successors for ever, having been first bestowed on that King, but only *in personam*, by Innocent VIII., after the conquest of Granada. Alexander permitted the Bishop of Wilna and the Lithuanian Clergy to use arms, otherwise unlawful, for defending their country against the Tartars. He made some efforts to check the abuse of indulgences, and passed decrees against magic and witchcraft, &c.* He did not institute the ecclesiastical censorship, but was the first to apply it to printed books, prohibiting the publication of any works not provided with the attestation of the respective bishops that their contents were in no way contrary to faith or morals. Prosecutions for heresy were severe during this pontificate. A Spanish bishop, Pedro de Aranda, who held high office at the

* Enormities mentioned by Moroni, with commendation of the Pope's endeavours to check them, as "at this time gaining ground, and principally in Germany and Bohemia."—*Dizionario*, article *Alessandro VI.*

Vatican, was condemned to imprisonment for life in the S. Angelo castle, and degraded from all ecclesiastical rank, for teaching, or believing, various false doctrines ; denying the Holy Trinity, the existence of a Heaven and Hell, and maintaining that indulgences were a human invention for base lucre, therefore null and void, &c.

The holy bell, which invites to the prayer of the "Angelus" at noon, and for the original intention of reminding the faithful to invoke Heaven's aid against Turkish invasion, was first introduced (as we have seen) by Callixtus III. The practice had fallen into neglect for some years, till it was revived by that Pope's nephew and successor ; and since the 19th August, 1500, it has never ceased. Strange that a universal observance of Catholic piety should be linked with the memory of a Pope long considered a disgrace and dishonour to the Church !

An important place is assignable in History to this pontificate. It seems the intensified expression of the subordinating of the spiritual to the temporal, and the extreme consequence of that endowment with a civil principedom, which so many thoughtful writers have agreed with Dante in deeming the chief cause of deterioration to the Papacy.

During this century the Supreme Pontificate went through, and rose superior to, many shocks, recovered credit after deep degradation. It sustained in some signal instances that grandeur of character and vocation which cannot be denied to it, its nobler aspects being considered, by any unprejudiced mind well acquainted with its eventful historic career, its various phases, and astonishing activities. During long ages it preserved its ascendancy over the life and institutions of the more civilized world, and caused that life, those institutions to be penetrated by the Christian influence ; thus contributing to the fulfilment of

the sublime purposes and heavenly office proper to that Religion.

When, however, we remember the earnest efforts made during the period whose History is slightly sketched in these pages, for the object of effectuating reforms based on ancient doctrine, with loyal adherence to the ancient Hierarchy; and, on the other hand, the antagonistic position assumed by the Roman See towards that movement and its leaders—we are constrained to own that at those critical epochs while famous Councils of the Church were seated at Constance, Basle, Florence, the Popes proved the greatest impediment against the accomplishment of that high ideal of Catholicism which the intellect of the XV. century conceived and desired to realize. Yet even this charge, however it may be substantiated, does not cancel the debt of Christian Civilization to the Holy See.

CHAPTER IX.

MONUMENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

ROME.

INTERESTING indeed is it to trace in art-creations the progress of religious ideas, or any such movements as have their sphere within the inner world. Subordinating our studies of arts and monuments to the study of that which possesses more deep and enduring importance, to the estimate of Humanity itself, we shall find ever new sources of instruction and pleasure in our wanderings through historic cities or memory-haunted lands.

The metropolis of the Church produced no great school properly her own, and few artists whose names have escaped oblivion in this century. Only two sculptors of Roman birth, Paulo Romano and Gian Cristoforo, are remembered among competitors in their walk during this period. In architecture we see a remarkable change, alien to that ancient basilica-type the massive simplicity of which supplied a groundwork for superadded splendour, serving to link together the earlier and later ages of Christianity. The leading features of those Roman churches which exemplify the first appearance of the Italian renaissance in this city, are the following: externally, façades divided by flat pilasters with cornice along the entire sky-line, triangular or pyramidal summits, sculptured ornaments in low

relief round doorways, and sometimes a sacred group in such relievo over the chief entrance, windows numerous and round-arched; in the interior, nave and aisles divided by quadrate pilasters (or rather piers), with half-columns leaning against those structures, semicircular arches, and instead of the paneled wooden ceiling, a grained vaulting; the orders imitated in capitals and cornices, classic or approaching the classical type.

Noteworthy examples of this style, and of the period here in question, are the following: *S. Maria del Popolo*, rebuilt 1477, by Sixtus IV. from designs by the Florentine architect Baccio Pontelli, who was engaged for almost all the public buildings in Rome by that Pontiff—this church being now to a great degree altered and, one may say, masqueraded by the florid fantasies of Bernini; *S. Maria della Pace*, founded about the same time and designed by the same architect, its name allusive to the peace between long belligerent powers which Sixtus IV. desired to commemorate, whilst at the same time fulfilling a vow made to the Madonna, by the erection of this church—the present façade of the 17th century, designed by Pietro da Cortona;* *S. Agostino*, founded 1479, finished 1484, by a munificent French Cardinal, Estouteville, this principal church of the Augustinians being the first seen in this city with the distinguishing feature, afterwards so grandly developed, of the cupola, henceforth substituted for the mediæval belfry-tower; the whole of the interior modernized by Vanvitelli,

* A small church stood previously on the site, and in its portico hung a Madonna picture, which shed blood when struck by a stone hurled by some profane hand! The explicit belief in such miracles at the time is attested by the solemn act of the Pope, Sixtus IV., and the principal clergy, who went in procession to revere that wounded Madonna; and it was then that the Pope made a vow to raise the larger temple, in which the same picture now hangs over the high altar.

1750; *S. Marco*, rebuilt, all except the tribune of the 9th century and the mediæval campanile, by Paul II., 1468; *S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, rebuilt, 1495, by Cardinal Riario, and incorporated with his magnificent palace, now the Cancellaria, but much altered, the interior almost completely renewed, by works of the present century; *S. Maria di Monserrato*, built, together with an ample hospice for the Spaniards, from designs by Antonio Sangallo, except the façade designed by Francesco di Volterra, 1495; the other church of that nationality, *S. Giacomo*, having become ruinous not many years after it was founded, (1450), though still remaining, as we see it, in abandonment and decay. This originally Gothic Franciscan church, *Aracoeli*, is said to have been in two-thirds rebuilt, 1484, by a Cardinal Caraffa, a benefactor of that Order, and the additions are still distinguished from older parts by a style transitional between the earlier and later, by what may be called a reminiscence of the Gothic feeling. Observation leads me to conclude that far less than the proportion supposed is really due to that Cardinal benefactor, and that in the greater part of the *Aracoeli* church we still see the thirteenth-century architecture, raised soon after it had been bestowed on the Franciscans, 1251. The two campanili, with stunted spires, on the northern side of the Lateran, were raised by Sixtus IV. In the interior of that basilica the great chancel-arch reminds us of Alexander VI., to whom also is due an interesting memorial, the gilding of the gorgeous paneled ceiling of *S. Maria Maggiore* with the first gold brought to Rome from America—an offering of Ferdinand and Isabella to that Pope. Among examples of restoration in this century we may notice the *SS. Quattro Incoronati*, with its fortress-like convent built as a Papal palace in the XII. century,* and *S. Stefano Rotondo*, unfortunately so much

* Restored, with much alteration, as apparent, by a Spanish Cardinal

altered through the works ordered by Nicholas V. that the outer of two circular aisles surrounding the central pile has been cut off, and is now only traceable in ruins left in the quiet garden amidst which this interesting old church stands isolated on the Coelian hill.* The *Trinità di Monte* on the Pincian hill still reminds of the terror-striking ingress of French invaders in 1495, when it was founded by Charles VIII. with a convent for the Friars Minim of S. Francesco di Paola, at the request of that spiritual counsellor, but the buildings now before us are of the restoration ordered by Louis XVIII., 1816, and designed by a French architect, Mazois. The imposing staircase in front, ascending to the Pincian from the piazza below, is also a French work. *S. Sisto* on the Appian Way was restored, or rebuilt, 1475. Other restorations of about this time are *S. Balbino* and *S. Cosimata*; and the small church, ranking as a cathedral at Ostia, is a good example of Baccio Pontelli's style.

The Popes of the XV. century had great projects for restoring or embellishing their capital. Martin V. undertook to rebuild, or at least restore, all the parish churches. Eugenius IV. did much in the way of church-building and repairing, but not always with good taste. The Lateran of the XIV. century was now disguised, all its old columns being immured in heavy square piers by his architect. After his nine years' exile from Rome, that Pope ordered the principal streets to be widened, and those traversing the Campus Martius to be provided with pavement, a yet

under Martin V. The first lines of a Latin epigraph, above the entrance to an outer court, picturesquely indicate the state of weed-overgrown ruin in which this church had been long left :—

Hæc quæcumque vides veteri prostrata ruina
Obruta verbenis, hederis, dumisque jacebant.

* Abandoned to decay during the Avignon pontificates.

unknown luxury. It was then that the noble portico of the Pantheon was disencumbered of the paltry booths for traders, which had long filled its inter-columnations and partly hidden its granite shafts. Nicholas V., whose modest monogram, N.P.P.V. frequently meets the eye as we pursue our walks along the outer sides of the dusky old walls and towers which still encircle Rome—those Honorian fortifications so often repaired by Popes—had projects truly grandiose. He desired to create a new S. Peter's and a new Vatican: the great cathedral to be built in the form of a Latin cross crowned by a stupendous dome, with contiguous residence for its capitular clergy; the palace to be fortified by towers, and to suffice not only for pontifical residence, but also for the whole college of Cardinals and other ecclesiastical dignitaries; to contain a suitable place of assemblage for the Conclave, a hall of state for imperial coronations, and even a theatre (for public disputes and recitations?), besides vast parks and gardens. When Nicholas V. quitted this life but little of his great undertakings had advanced beyond the first stage. The buildings for the new S. Peter's, by the Florentine architect Rossellini, rose to the height of a few feet only behind the tribune of the ancient basilica; and of the new palace nothing was completed except one wing, first inhabited by Alexander VI., and comprising two chapels, dedicated to S. Laurence and the Holy Sacrament. Significant was another work, destructive not creative, ordered by the learned Pope Nicholas for the demolishing of the Constantinian basilica—a procedure which might be said to symbolize the severance of the comparatively modern from the more ancient Papacy; but it was long before the old S. Peter's actually disappeared. Under Innocent VIII. was built by Antonio Pollajuolo the celebrated Belvedere Villa, subsequently united by long corridors to the Vatican

palace. Another lofty pile of buildings, still known as the "Torre Borgia," was added to that residence by Alexander VI. The Sistine Chapel, called after its founder Sixtus IV., was finished in 1473, and the most celebrated painters were invited to Rome expressly for adorning its walls; the style of that building, so little ecclesiastical in the interior, being admirable of its kind, and as viewed from without, imposing. Part of the outer cincture of walls and towers raised by Nicholas V. are still distinguishable among the heavy, incongruous piles of building which form the Vatican of the present day. As to the merits of Sixtus IV. in the monumental walk, we should remember his bull (or rather edict), 1477, threatening not only excommunication but a heavy fine for the frequent offence of despoiling churches, even basilicas, in this sacred city of marbles, porphyry, and other incrustations for private uses. A similar edict was called for, and passed by Urban VIII. in 1640, against the Vandalism of removing monuments or epitaphs from churches.

The church-architecture of the XV. century, though distinguished by a certain grace and symmetry, wants the characteristics of a truly religious style. In the attribute of grandeur it is surpassed by the palatial style of this period. Not only the civilization but the religious life of ages is attested by the architecture they have left; and at Rome the palace confirms the evidence on the historic page, recording the luxury and pride of the higher Clergy whilst the spiritual beauty of the Church was overclouded and disfigured. An evil sign of the times is it that the house of the lordly priest should surpass in splendour that of God upon earth! And here, in the Rome of this time, we find such to be the case; we might pass almost unnoticed such churches as *S. Lorenzo in Damaso* and the renewed *S. Marco*, incorporated in and concealed as they

are by the contiguous palaces of the Cardinals who restored them. In other instances, however, we are reminded of charity and munificence well employed by dignitaries who raised stately piles for others' rather than their own benefit; and there were members of the Sacred College, in this century, who shone by virtues as well as by learning. Some of these palaces exemplify the transitions between the Italian Gothic and the early renaissance, as the following, which we may visit in their chronologic order.

Palazzo Capranica, 1460, founded by the estimable Cardinal Domenico Capranica, and left by him, according to his testament, as a college liberally endowed for a certain number of students, to whom he left also his library of about 2000 volumes.* *Palazzo di S. Marco* (now *di Venezia*), founded by Cardinal Barbo (Paul II.) 1455, and finished about 1468.† *Palazzo del Governo Vecchio*, built by a munificent Cardinal, Nardini, 1475, as a college for the gratuitous education and maintenance of twenty-six poor students; called by its present name after becoming the official residence of the Governor of Rome—now let to families.‡ *Palazzo Cancelleria*, raised for himself by Car-

* There is a fine recumbent effigy of this Cardinal (ob. 1458) in the Rosary Chapel at *S. Maria sopra Minerva*. The building actually used as a college was added to the older part of the Capranica palace by another Cardinal, Angelo, the brother of Domenico. Two styles are still distinguishable in the different parts, though this palace, now in part a theatre, has much deteriorated.

† Vasari gives the architecture to Giuliano da Majano; other writers mention two other architects as engaged on this palace; and it is not improbable that all three may have been successively employed here before the buildings were finished. Besides the great court with porticoes there is a smaller court, also with a good quadrangular portico on the south-eastern side.

‡ It is traditionary that Beatrice Cenci was brought to trial in this palace, and for some time confined in the lofty tower which overlooks the now much disfigured and neglected court.

dinal Raffaello Riario, 1495, the architecture of Bramante, distinguished by majesty and grace, especially the great court surrounded by two* orders of colonnades. Another palace designed by Bramante for a Cardinal, is that now called *Palazzo Giraud* (or Torlonia), near S. Peter's, which became the residence of the English Ambassadors, and was presented by our King Henry VIII. to Campeggi, who figures as "Cardinal Campeius" in Shakespeare's tragedy.† The palace now called "Sforza Cesarini," built for himself by the Cardinal Borgia who became Pope, and by him presented (part of the price for a vote in Conclave, as is said) to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, has been modernized; but still displays in its spacious court with arcades the style of the original architecture. The turbulent Alexander VI. is brought to mind also by the enormous rotunda in brickwork rising

* Finished, at least, in the year 1495; the travertines taken from the Colosseum; the columns of the inner portico said to be from the now buried ruins of the *hecaton-stylon* of Pompey, adjoining which was the Curia. The Cardinal who built this majestic palace was that grand-nephew of Sixtus IV., who witnessed the murderous outbreak of the Pazzi conspiracy, and remained pale, from the terror of the moment, for the rest of his life. Accused of complicity in the conspiracy of Cardinal Petrucci against the life of Leo X., he was degraded from all his dignities and benefices, deprived even of cardinalitial rank, and of this grand palace, now confiscated for the Camera Apostolica. On the intercession of the other Cardinals, Leo accepted a fine of 100,000 scudi as commutation of his punishment, allowed Riario to retain his place in the Sacred College, and inhabit till death, though no longer as master, the palace thenceforth officially held by the Chancery of the Roman Church. The disgraced Riario fell into profound melancholy, and died at Naples, 1520; his plain and almost forgotten monument is seen near the high altar of the SS. Apostoli.

† Cardinal Campeggi, the "Campeius" of Shakespeare's *Henry the Eighth*, was twice sent by Clement VII. as Legate to the King; first with the object of promoting a league between England, France, and Spain against the Turks; next, in 1528, for the celebrated divorce-case, which he could not bring to conclusion.

above what remains of the antique travertine structure of Hadrian's mausoleum ; for the actual Castle of S. Angelo is in the greater part the work of that Pope, rebuilt, 1495, after the fortress of Boniface IX. had been ruined by a thunderbolt which struck the powder-magazine. The corridor communicating between the Castle and the Vatican reminds us both of the stormy period of the Papal schism, and that of Borgian domination : originally built, according to some writers, by Alexander V. (who never saw Rome in his capacity as Pope), or, as others state, by John XXIII., it was either finished or restored by Alexander VI., and in our own time by Pius IX., after the communication had been cut off by republican authority in 1849.

With few exceptions, the sculptures, as well as the architecture of this period at Rome, are by Tuscan masters. Striking indeed is the progress apparent in the sculptor's art when we contrast the earlier with the later produce of the same century, when we compare the coarse and clumsy portrait statue of Boniface IX. at the S. Paul's basilica* with the statues and monuments by the Contucci called Sansovino. Among statues not monumental or connected with groups, one of superior claims is by the artist of Roman birth known as Paolo Romano : S. Paul with a book and an emblematic sword, the head finely intellectual (date supposed, 1417), now placed at the entrance to the S. Angelo bridge from the Tiber's left bank, whither it was removed from the Sistine chapel by Clement VII., to occupy, with its companion statue of S. Peter by Lorenzetto, the site of two oratories destroyed during the siege in 1527.† Among

* Formerly in the cloisters, now in a hall entered from the Sacristy : a seated figure, crowned with the triple diadem, which is said to be, in this instance, for the first time represented by art.

† A monument, of severe and simple style, to Cardinal Stefaneschi degli Annibaldi, at S. Cecilia, bears the signature of this artist, " Magister

other sculptures of this class entitled to notice are the S. John Baptist, and S. Sebastian, the latter rather classical than Christian in sentiment, in a lateral chapel of *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, both by Mino da Fiesole, whose best works date between 1461—1481. One of the noblest statues of Saints hitherto erected in Rome, is that of the Apostle S. James, in pilgrim costume, by Andrea Contucci (or Sansovino), who lived from 1460 to 1529, executed for the Spanish church of *S. Giacomo*, and now at *S. Maria in Monserrato*. A group by this artist of S. Anna and the Virgin Mary with the Divine Infant in her arms, in a chapel of *S. Agostino*, is distinguished by tender grace and delicacy; the relation between the aged and youthful mother felicitously expressed. A bronze statue of S. John the Precursor, in the Lateran Baptistery, is from an original in wood by Donatello—the only statue by him in Rome—now in the sacristy of that basilica. SS. Peter and Paul, statues by Mino del Regno (a little-known artist) were placed by Pius II. before S. Peter's church, and are now to be seen in a corridor leading to the sacristy, removed by Pius IX., to be succeeded by other statues of those Apostles, works by living sculptors. These earlier statues are of no high order; but the S. Paul is noticeable as the supposed portrait of Thomas, Despot of the Morea, brother to the last Constantine.

Authentic Papal effigies on coins were not known till the time of Martin V., who engaged the ablest Italian medal-lurgist living, Vittore Pisanello of Verona, to execute the coins of his pontificate. From Nicholas V. to Sixtus IV. the Papal money bore impressions executed by Guazzalotti of Prato. Paul II., first among Popes, introduced the

Paulus," with the date 1417. I know no other evidence as to the period during which he was at work.

practice of inserting medals in the foundation-stones of public buildings and palaces. When the eye passes along the array of colossal pontific heads in mosaic above the colonnades of the S. Paul's basilica, we know that from the Apostle who bore the keys of heaven to the infamous John XXIII., deposed at Constance, little value can be set on compositions which, with few exceptions, are purely imaginary.

Much historic, though no high artistic value must be ascribed to the bronze sculptures of the portal ordered by Eugenius IV. for the old S. Peter's, and still serving for the same purpose at the great entrance to the modern basilica. These are by the Florentine sculptors, Filarete, and Simone, said to be a brother of Donatello.* The reliefs on the two valves may be divided into historic, devotional, legendary, and mythological. On the principal panels are the largest figures, Christ blessing (of type like that hitherto given in art to the Eternal Father), and the Blessed Virgin, both seated on thrones; below these, S. Peter giving the keys to the kneeling Pope Eugenius, and S. Paul with a vase of flowers beside him—allusive to his scriptural epithet, *Vas Electionis*. On much smaller scale are represented the martyrdoms of the two Apostles; that of S. Peter taking place between two pyramids,† with the Castle of

* A relationship stated, without proof, by Vasari alone. Mr. Perkins ("Tuscan Sculptors") shows that the artist who assisted Filarete in casting these doors was Simone Ghini, a Florentine goldsmith. A statue of S. John the Baptist, at S. Clemente, is the best extant work by this Simone.

† Probably intended for two mausolea whose ruins have since disappeared; one near S. Peter's erroneously called the tomb of Scipio Africanus, demolished by Alexander VI. to widen the street he opened between the basilica and the bridge; the other near the Porta del Popolo, and believed to be the tomb of Sulla,—destroyed about 1662 to give place to one of the two churches between the piazza and the opening of the Corso.

S. Angelo in the foreground, restored according to the fantastic notions of that time as to what Hadrian's mausoleum had once been; the martyrdom of S. Paul, with introduction in the background of a scene illustrating the legend of the pious matron, who received from him, after his death, the handkerchief she had lent the Apostle for bandaging his eyes at the last moment.* The other subjects represented in relief on smaller scale, are: the coronation of the Emperor Sigismund by Eugenius IV. at S. Peter's (1433); the Pope and the Emperor, after that ceremony, proceeding together on horseback amidst attendants to the S. Angelo bridge, where they part according to the etiquette of such occasions; the Greek Emperor John Palæologus, with the Patriarch and other dignitaries, embarking at Constantinople for Venice, on their way to attend the Council at Florence; their disembarkation and festal reception at Venice; the arrival at Rome of monks deputed by the Ethiopic and Armenian Churches, and the homage paid by those envoys to Eugenius IV. in recognition of the Papal supremacy. The framework of these doors is sculptured with tiny and very fantastic reliefs, amidst foliate *ornato*,—the subjects in some instances strangely chosen,—besides heads of Roman Emperors and Heathen Philosophers, we see Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, Diana and Actæon, Ganymede

* Baronius supposes this matron to have been Plautilla, the mother of S. Flavia Domitilla, and who is said to have been baptized by S. Peter, surviving the two Apostles but a short time.

† Explained by the Latin lines here inscribed under the figure of S. Paul :

Ut Graeci, Armeni, Aethiopes hic aspice, ut ipsa
Romanum amplexa est gens Jacobina fidem.

Under the figure of S. Peter is the compliment to Eugenius IV. :
Sunt haec Eugenii monumenta illustria quarti :
Excelsi haec animi sunt monumenta sui.

and the Eagle, the Rape of Proserpine, and some of the Labours of Hercules !

Monumental sculpture now undergoes a remarkable change in prevailing character and general conception. The graceful acute arched canopies, the angels drawing aside curtains, as if to display the dead whose form lies on a sarcophagus like a funeral couch, now disappear ; in place of those accessorial details we see classical *ædiculæ*, with pilasters, friezes, cornices, sculptured tympana, and a profusion of *ornato* reliefs, trophies, garlands, weapons, masks, musical instruments, sometimes reminding rather of the joyous rites of antique Polytheism than of either the trials or hopes of the Christian. The effigy of the deceased is still, as in earlier monuments, recumbent on the sarcophagus, in repose neither like actual death nor sleep, but an ideal state between the two, more solemn than the one, without the awfulness of the other. Looking at these often finely characterized and affecting images laid before us on the sculptured couch, we may be induced to cite the appropriate line :

“ After life’s fitful fever he sleeps well ! ”

In the accessorial sculptures also, usually conspicuous in these compositions, new tendencies are apparent. Sacred groups, the Virgin and Child, sometimes the Crucifixion, and frequently the Eternal Father, who gives blessing, are introduced ; but the subjects generally preferred, or at least more prominent, are Saints and Doctors of the Church, the Founders of Religious Orders, personified Virtues and Sciences—the latter less frequently seen than the stately matron forms representing Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Fortitude.

Many are the monuments in Rome which may be cited as types of this school, and best displaying its conceptions

or sentiment. Among churches particularly rich in such works of fifteenth-century art, I may mention S. Maria del Popolo (pre-eminent in this respect), the Minerva, Aracoeli, S. Clemente, S. Cecilia, the crypt of S. Peter's, and at the Priorate of the Knights of Malta, the chapel of their establishment, in a delicious garden commanding most impressive views, on the height of the Aventine above the Tiber. In the court of the Spanish hospice, at S. Maria in Monserrato, are several interesting monuments, removed from the ruinous S. Giacomo, of prelates of that nationality. The subterranean church (*grotte*) of S. Peter's is richest of all in sculptures of this period from the tombs of Popes, or from the altars and *ciboria* presented by Popes to the ancient basilica, and inexcusably ill-treated, being broken up and dispersed without order, as we now see them by torch-light in this dark retreat. Without attempting description, that would resolve itself into a mere catalogue, or enumeration of all noteworthy works, I may mention, as distinguished by beauty and solemnity, the monument to Rocca, Archbishop of Salerno (ob. 1482), in the sacristy of S. Maria del Popolo; that of Cardinal Albret, or Alibret, (latinized as De Lebretto), of the blood royal of France, ob. 1465; and that of Cardinal Savelli (1498), both in the church of Aracoeli; that of Cardinal Pietro Riario (the luxurious nephew of Sixtus IV.,—ob. 1474), near the high altar of the SS. Apostoli; that of Cardinal Fortiguerra (1473), at S. Cecilia; those of two Prelates, De Coco and Sperandio (1495), at the Minerva; those of the Cardinals Antonio Venier (1479) and Rovarello (1476), at S. Clemente.*

* The masterpieces of Andrea Contucci, those nobly conceived and exquisitely wrought monuments to the Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Basso della Rovere, in the choir of Maria del Popolo, both ordered by Julius II., are of date just beyond the limits to which my subject is con-

Among the monuments of Popes (far more interesting than those of later date) erected in this century, may be signalized the following: that of Martin V., recently removed from the nave to the "confession," or crypt-chapel, below the high altar of the Lateran, with bronze effigy in low relief, the countenance bearing a stamp of wisdom and gravity, laid in a low sarcophagus, by Filarete and Simone, assisted, it is said, by Donatello; that of Eugenius IV., (one of the few works extant by its artist, Isaia of Pisa), with recumbent effigy and statuettes of the Four Doctors,* a monument long treated with neglect strangely contrasting with the *fusti* and vicissitudes, the notoriety, triumphs, and trials of a pontificate which fills so prominent a place in history. From the old S. Peter's it was removed to *S. Salvatore in Lauro*, the church of the Regular Canons, whose Order the Pope entered in his youth, and was there placed first in the cloisters, next in an oratory, where it still remains, and which, long unused for worship, has been degraded into a soldiers' dormitory, where coarse beds and bedding in part conceal the sculptured ornaments on this memorial of the Pope, before whom the Emperor of the East knelt to acknowledge his supremacy over the united Greek and Latin Churches.† In the crypt of S. Peter's

finied, 1505 and 1507; so also is another, with a finely treated recumbent effigy, to Gomiél, Bishop of Burgos (ob. 1514), in the sacristy of the same church.

* The best works of this sculptor are said to have been those in the chapel of S. Monica at St. Agostino, to which the body of the former saint was brought from Ostia, 1483. Isaia's sculptures, here placed, were, with cruel injustice to his memory, broken to pieces and sold as waste marble when the chapel was modernized with the rest of that Augustinian church!

† S. Salvatore in Lauro was founded by Cardinal Latino Orsini, about 1450. A piece of Vandalism has been perpetrated here within my recollection. The otherwise plain façade had a fine porch, with

a finely wrought and expressive bronze effigy is laid on the tomb of Innocent VII., erected by Nicholas V., the artist unknown; and a well individualized statue by Mino da Fiesole of the pomp-loving Paul II. lies on his sarcophagus.

The monument, with a poorly executed statue, shown by custodi as that of Alexander VI., is in reality that of Callixtus III., but is empty, both that Pope's remains and those of his nephew, Alexander, having been transferred to the Spanish church, with intent on the part of certain Spanish cardinals to raise a joint monument to both. No such memorial having been executed, the bones of the two Borgia Popes are not even interred, but lie in a wooden coffin in a chamber near the sacristy of S. Maria di Monserrato. The monuments of Pius II. and his nephew, Pius III., have both been brought from the old S. Peter's to the Theatine church, *S. Andrea della Valle*, on the site of a palace of the Piccolomini family. In one edition of Vasari they are ascribed to two sculptors, Pietro Paolo and Niccolò della Guardia, pupils of the above-named Paolo Romano; but the traditionary dates can scarcely be reconciled with such conclusion. The last-named sculptor is said to have been engaged in 1417. Pius II. died in 1464; Pius III. in 1503; and in fact the Le Monier edition of Vasari names two other artists, Pasquino, a pupil of Filarete, and Bernardo Crivelli, as authors of these Papal monuments. We might desire to see a memorial to the gifted and heroic-minded Pius II. superior in character to that before us, the reliefs on which are confused and somewhat feeble. In the large and splendid chapel of the Holy Sacrament at S. Peter's, stands majestic and isolated, like a clustering pilasters and guardian lions of early date, all swept away for a renovation, ordered under Pius IX., which has given to this front the aspect of a modern post-office or club house.

sculptured funeral couch, the tomb on which is laid the beautifully wrought bronze statue of Sixtus IV., with bas-reliefs of the personified Virtues and Sciences around the base-ment and on the platform around that recumbent effigy.* The Sciences here represented are: Rhetoric, Dialectics, Grammar, Perspective, Geometry, Philosophy, Theology, Arithmetic, Geography, with the Virtues, more easily recognized by their attributes, and one of the fine arts, Music. These allegoric female figures display the exaggeration of the manner and taste of the renaissance—premature indeed, the dates of Pollajuolo's life being considered. The attitudes of the Sciences, seated or reclining, are affected and stagey. Some novelties of symbolism are observable. The *Charitas* has a cornucopia and a flaming heart, besides her usual children, one at the breast. *Dialectica* reclines against the front of a throne supported by Sphinxes, and holds in one hand a knotted skein, signifying the difficulty of the questions she has to solve. *Grammatica* reads from a book held before her by a floating Genius. The seven Virtues are designed with more purity, and in seated postures more dignified. I have seen simple folk on their knees before this monument, mistaking it for that of a saint! and its imposing effect accounts for the error. Theology, almost nude, with a quiver full of arrows slung to her shoulder, might be taken for Diana at the bath, but for a not felicitously conceived introduction of Christian mysticism—a triple head, apparently belonging to one body, to symbolize the Holy Trinity! By the same sculp-

* Ordered by the Cardinal who succeeded to the Papal throne as Julius II., and whose remains here repose together with those of his uncle Sixtus. The Pope who ordered for himself a mausoleum which would have towered supreme, the principal object to attract all eyes, in the centre of the great church founded by him, has no monument of any description, neither "storied urn nor animated bust," within its walls!

tor is the much more quiet monument, in the south aisle of the Basilica, to Innocent VIII., with the peculiarity of two portrait statues, one seated on a throne, the other laid on a sarcophagus. The former represents Pope Innocent with one hand blessing and with the other holding the sacred lance sent to him by the Sultan Bajazet, and so often exposed at S. Peter's among the three "Major Relics." Five relievi figures of Virtues, in arched recesses, are graceful; and this monument is altogether in purer taste than that of Sixtus.

Once more to return to the subterranean S. Peter's. Originality, effective grouping, and well-marked character distinguish many of the sculptures from the tombs of Popes, or for the altars erected by them, now so injudiciously stowed away in this dark crypt, without any regard to the integrity of the original compositions. Some of the statues and relievi figures of the Apostles are intellectual and expressive, as the SS. John and Matthew, and the two SS. James from the monument of Callixtus III.; the SS. John and Bartholomew from that of Nicholas V. Most beautiful is that of Hope, from the tomb of Paul II., by Mino da Fiesole, with intensely expectant gaze and joyous faith expressed in her upturned countenance. A relief of the Virgin and Child, with that Pope kneeling before them, and SS. Peter and Paul, among the sculptures by the Fiesole artist, are examples of his power and feeling; and his most complicated work in relief, the Last Judgment, from the same tomb, exemplifies the new conception of that awful subject in progressive Art: the Christ is in benediction and of mild aspect; the Virgin is not introduced, but Apostles and Martyrs are grouped round the Judge, and immediately below stands S. Michael, a prominent and majestic form; among the Dead who rise to life, the righteous are distinguished by their draped figures, the

others being almost nude ; there is nothing grotesque or bestial in the fiends. The relievi from a ciborium (altar-canopy) presented by Sixtus IV. are among the most elaborate, and betray the tendency to seek the effects of painting in sculpture ; they represent the lives and martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul ; the scene where the two Apostles are brought before Nero, with numerous figures divided by the columns of a classic portico, especially marked by the characteristics of the renaissance. A relief of the Supreme Being, within an elliptic nimbus amidst Angels (Mino da Fiesole), is an example of the ideal of the Father, now more widely severing itself from that of the Divine Son, in Art. Among other monuments with recumbent effigies, besides the Papal, those of two Cardinals della Porta (1434 and 1493), and of Cardinal Bernardo Herulus (Eruli), bishop of Narni (1478), may rank with the finest of their style and period.

Beauty and refined feeling distinguish another class of sculptures which the Art of this period produced with singular success, and many specimens of which are seen in Roman churches: the shrine, or tabernacle, and altar-piece with statuettes and reliefs ; the architectural design usually classic, with graceful *ornato* introduced among accessories. Some of the best examples are in that church so rich in fifteenth century Art, *S. Maria del Popolo*—one an altar-piece, the general design graceful, with statuettes of S. Catharine of Egypt, S. Antony of Padua, and S. Vincent, above which are reliefs of the Annunciation, and the Deity blessing ; another in a corridor leading to the sacristy, with figures of the Virgin, S. Augustine, and S. Catherine, this being a donation made to the Augustinians of the convent, 1497. In that sacristy we see one of the largest and finest examples of the sculptured shrine, presented by Alexander VI. when Cardinal, and destined for the Madonna-picture, ascribed

to S. Luke, which still hangs over the high altar of the church, but in another, more modern, and far less beautiful setting. This, Cardinal Borgia's donation, now contains another Madonna-picture,* and is adorned with admirable statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, SS. Jerome and Augustine, the half-figure of the Deity on the tympanum, and lowly adoring angels below ; the *ornato* details, tasteful. A small church in Trastevere, S. Cosimato, formerly a Benedictine abbey, but rebuilt by Sixtus IV., 1475, for the Clarisse nuns, who have been located in the adjoining convent ever since 1250, contains the very master-piece of this class in sacred art, the most exquisite example in Rome of the sculptured tabernacle, and admirable alike for design and for delicacy of finish : on the central panel the Virgin and Child attended by Angels, with the Apostle Bartholomew and another Saint (probably S. Lawrence), who presents a kneeling Cardinal, the donor, no doubt, of this work ; also, in recesses against lateral pilasters, statuettes of Faith, Hope, Charity and Justice, in all which figures a serene grace is blent with genuine dignity. This tabernacle was originally in the Cibo Chapel at S. Maria del Popolo ; and from the epigraph on a lintel, *Sanctae Martyri Christi Severae*, we may conclude that it was placed over an altar dedicated to that saint.

Among works of this class are the shrines for the holy oils, in some instances with sculptures, of the period here in question, uniting a mystic conception with remarkable delicacy of treatment—as one at S. Maria in Trastevere, with small highly-finished reliefs by Mino da Fiesole ; another in the chapel of the Genoese hospice, a building with cloisters of graceful architecture, founded by a Genoese

* Of the Giottesque school ; found in a long deserted chapel of the ancient, below the modern, convent, when the former was demolished, early in the present century, for the sake of enlarging the piazza del Popolo.

citizen, whose monument, with an effigy (ob. 1481) stands in the same chapel; another at the Lateran with reliefs of the *Ecce Homo*, and S. John the Apostle before whom is a kneeling Pope, perhaps a portrait, and intended for Leo I.—time of Sixtus IV. At S. Gregorio we see an elaborately finished tabernacle for the Holy Sacrament, presented by an abbot of the monastery, 1469, with reliefs and statuettes, displaying Tuscan influence, somewhat spoilt by profuse gilding. The Abbot kneels before the Virgin and Child, round whom stand lovely girl-like Angels; S. Gregory and another Saint stand in lateral niches; above is the Annunciation, and a glory of Angels round the door of the recess for the Host; above this, on a frieze, is a quaint relief of the vision seen by S. Gregory during the plague, as he passes in procession before the S. Angelo Castle—here restored with little archæologic probability. The altar of the chapel of S. Gregory, in the same church, has a sculptured front, with subjects mystically illustrating the efficacy of the Sacrifice of the Mass offered up by that great Saint*—also of this century, though the archaic style might lead us to suppose a date much earlier. Other examples of the sculptured altar-pieces are: the Crucifixion, a relief attributed to Mino da Fiesole (but not worthy of him) at S. Balbina on the Aventine, but originally at S. Peter's over an altar erected by Cardinal Bembo, afterwards Paul II.; another superior treatment of the same subject, also rilievo, and with the figures of several saints, of SS. Peter and Paul beside the Cross, a work bearing the date 1463 and the name of the donor, De Roa, placed in a vestibule entered from the court of the Spanish hospice above-named. Another tabernacle, with small relievi of superior style, is

* He delivers souls from Purgatory; and at one of the three Masses here represented, the Saviour appears above the altar.

that by Antonio Pollajuolo which contains the reputed chains of S. Peter, in the sacristy of S. Pietro in Vincoli. In that church, rebuilt by Julius II., we see a bas-relief remarkable for conception of subject, as well as for the celebrity of the donor whom it records: S. Peter, with book and keys, seated on a throne, whilst an Angel kneels before him, either receiving or consigning the much revered chains, and on the other side kneels a Cardinal, Nicholas Cusa, one of the most learned, and with regard to the opinions he maintained, one of the boldest theologians of his time, who took a prominent part at the Basle Council, and was among the firm advocates of the theory that General Councils are superior to Popes. Finally abandoning that party of opposition, and becoming reconciled to Eugenius IV., he was made Cardinal, 1448, by Nicholas V., and employed in different legations. His works fill three large tomes; and in one, "*De Concordia Catholica*," he rejects the legend of the donation of Constantine, ascribing to the Emperor authority much higher than that of the Pope.* The sculpture before us was the adornment of a shrine for the precious chains, ordered by this Cardinal, and beneath which he desired that his bones should lie, as we learn from the epitaph, with date, 1465:

Hic jacet ante tuas Nicholaus, Petre, Cathenas;

Hoc opus erexit, cetera marmor habet.

Some later sculptures of this century, reliefs from an altar tabernacle erected by the French Cardinal Estouteville at S. Maria Maggiore, are now placed along the walls of the tribune behind the modern high altar; the subjects here

* "*Imperator Christianorum in sua præsidentia Christi Vicarius, qui Rex Regum et Dominus dominantium existit.*"—Such the theory sustained by this Cardinal, in the brief notice of whose life, by Bisticci, we find him described as "*grandissimo filosofo e teologo, e grande platonista.*" He was of German birth, by his first preferment Archdeacon of Liege, and died at Tivoli, 1465.

represented: the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Assumption, and the legend of the founding of this basilica by Pope Liberius, A.D. 352, on the site indicated by a preternatural fall of snow on the Esquiline hill, 4th August that year.

In the last year of this century was placed in one of the chapels near S. Peter's, namely, S. Petronilla—destroyed to make room for the modern basilica—a work by a young sculptor, who now appears a star among the brightest yet risen on the horizon of Christian art, and whose name leads thought into a sphere removed by wide moral distance from that within which our studies have hitherto been confined. A French Cardinal, Jean de la Grolaye, bounteously bestowed on that chapel in 1499 a gift consisting of a group of the Mother with the Dead Christ, executed in his twenty-fifth year by Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who had arrived in Rome, engaged by Cardinal Raffaello Riario at the Cancelleria palace, in 1496. I need not describe that sculpture of the "Pieta," announcing so totally new an ideal, and so original in its treatment of the sublimely pathetic subject. Where we now see it, in the first chapel off the right aisle in the new basilica, it was not placed till 1749. The commission for it was given by another French Cardinal, Villiers, ambassador of that kingdom at the Court of Alexander VI. The sorrowing Mother might be said to personify the Church in grief for the insults to her Son and His divine authority which were offered and tolerated under that inauspicious pontificate. No Roman painter is conspicuous in this century, but the illustrious in that Art from other Italian regions were much engaged by several Popes. Martin V., Nicholas V., and Sixtus IV. proved liberal patrons to the painters, most of them Tuscans, whom they commissioned to adorn churches, or the chapels of the Vatican. Sixtus IV. gave by brief its first constitu-

tion to the "University of Artists," which developed into the Academy of S. Luke, but had existed long before this time, and used to meet in a hall adjoining a church dedicated to that Apostle on the Esquiline, their affairs being managed by Consuls, and the Senators of Rome being *ex officio* their protectors. The now well-known Academy did not, however, attain its present form till 1577, and its privileges were finally confirmed by Sixtus V. about 1588. Martin V. engaged the first masters of the time, Masaccio, Gentile da Fabriano, Vittore Pisano, to paint on the walls of the Lateran, where, unfortunately, all their works have perished; and we have alike to regret the loss of those of Mantegna in the Vatican palace, ordered by Innocent VIII.

Among pictures which serve as landmarks to the history of thought, or signs of the influence exercised over the Christian world by revered and saintly individuals—and such works alone can here be particularized—I may mention the most noteworthy still seen in Roman churches.

By Tommaso di S. Giovanni, called Masaccio,* the frescoes on the walls of the Gothic chapel of S. Catherine at S. Clemente, representing the legend of that saint of Alexandria, and other subjects not easily explainable. The principal episodes in the story of that Virgin Martyr, as to whom so little resting on any historic basis is known, are here treated with much dramatic effect and pathos.†

* Born 1402, at S. Giovanni, a town in the Val d'Arno, being the son of a notary, whose family name was Scheggia. The date of his death not quite certain; but the Annotators of Vasari (Le Monier edition) place that event in 1428; and that Masaccio died at Rome, and prematurely, is not doubted.

† Her legend was not known before the 8th century, and there is no proof that it was received in Western Europe before the 11th century, when the Latin Church first appointed a day—25th November, for her

Though some critics have questioned the genuineness of these frescoes as works by the great Tuscan artist, they certainly correspond to the high qualities manifested in his other compositions. The scenes represented are: the Saint refuting the Pagan philosophers by her arguments in favour of Christian doctrine, before the Emperor; in the background of this picture, the martyrdom in the flames of those same philosophers, who, converted by her, thus suffer, while consoled in their sufferings by the eloquent young maiden; the Saint arguing against idolatry, while she points out to derision before a multitude the statue of a god in its temple; the conversion by the Saint of the Emperor's daughter, who visits her in prison; the decapitation of that princess, a martyr for her newly embraced faith; the saint condemned to die between wheels set with hooks to tear the flesh, but rescued by an angel; her martyrdom by the axe; and finally, the transport of her body, borne by angels, to the summit of Mount Sinai. The four scenes painted on the opposite wall cannot, I believe, be referred to either the legend of S. Catherine or

commemoration. She is said to have been the daughter of Costis, a son of Constantius Chlorus, by his first wife, Sabinella, a virtuous though heathen princess, daughter and heiress of the King of Egypt, and to have suffered martyrdom, after refuting the arguments of fifty Pagan philosophers and rhetoricians, in presence of the Emperor Maxentius (or Maximinus), A.D. 307. Perhaps the earliest known introduction of her story, namely, her martyrdom, in art, is that seen among the very curious wall paintings in the ancient S. Clemente, discovered below the more modern church, through the intelligent exertions of the estimable Father Mullooly, Prior of the Irish Dominicans here established. One of the first Mystery Plays ever performed in England was founded on the story of this Saint, being written by Geoffrey, a learned Norman, who was invited from the Paris University, about 1119, to superintend the Abbey schools at Dunstable, and whose drama on this subject was acted by his pupils. Dryden's "Tyrannic Love" is founded on the same legend."—v. Mrs. Jameson, "Sacred and Legendary Art."

the life of Pope S. Clement. On the wall above the altar is the Crucifixion, a large picture with numerous grouping, the Mother fainting amidst the attendant women, Roman soldiers, the two thieves on their crosses, and the now generally admitted episodes of the Angel and Demon receiving the soul of the converted and that of the impenitent malefactor; also spectators of different classes, knights and citizens, not concerned in the historic action, only united by the common sentiment of adoration and faith; this picture being an example (not the earliest) of the withdrawal of its awful subject from the historic, and its transfer to the mystic and the devotional sphere. Here also landscape, a distant sea coast, mountainous, wild and lonely, is treated with a degree of carefulness and knowledge hitherto rarely seen. On the vaults are the Evangelists and four Doctors; on the outer wall, beside the arched entrance, the giant S. Christofer carrying the Infant Christ—that favourite of northern legends comparatively little known in Italy, and whose romantic story the Church has wisely consented to dismiss to the realms of pious fiction. The Annunciation, above the arch, is another beautiful picture by the same hand; Mary, who kneels (her suitable position), while the Angel stands before her, distinguished by a gentle and subdued loveliness.

The great master of religious art in this century, Fra Giovanni Angelico (1387-1455) came to Rome about 1445, invited by Eugenius IV., and painted in the chapels of the Vatican under his patron and friend, Nicholas V. He died at the Minerva convent, where we see his monument, with an indifferently executed effigy in relief and a metrical epitaph ascribed to that Pope.* The last of Angelico's

* Non mihi sit laudi quod eram velut alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe, dabam,
Altera nam terris opera extant, altera coelo;
Urbs mihi Johannem flos tulit Etruriæ.

more important works was the series of frescoes round the walls of the S. Lorenzo chapel at the Vatican, representing in six scenes the life of S. Stephen, and in five that of S. Lawrence; on painted pilasters the four Latin Doctors and four other saints admitted to rank with those holy fathers, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Bonaventura, and Thomas; on the vault, the Evangelists. It would be superfluous to point out the merits of these paintings, but I may observe the solemnity of effect in the two ordination scenes—S. Stephen ordained priest by S. Peter, and S. Lawrence by Pope Sixtus II., here a portrait of Nicholas V.; also the artist's power, and his mastery of perspective in the two pictures of the distribution of the alms of the Church, at Jerusalem and Rome, by the two martyr deacons; and alike in that of S. Lawrence before the Prefect Decius. Another chapel, that of the Holy Sacrament, added to the Vatican buildings by Nicholas V., was also surrounded with frescoes by Fra Giovanni; but was remorselessly destroyed together with those precious contents, about 1549, for the comparatively trivial object of securing space for the Sala Regia built from Sangallo's designs under Paul III. Nothing could more strikingly prove than does this proceeding the want of appreciation for the highest order of religious Art (at least that anterior to the Sixteenth Century) at the Papal Court. Another circumstance, almost alike discreditable, is the actual oblivion into which the chapel of S. Lorenzo, both as to its existence and the means of entering it, had fallen before the latter years of the Fifteenth Century. Teja (see his Description of the Vatican) owns that he had long supposed it to have been destroyed; and Bottari says that he had *at last* succeeded in effecting entrance through a window; the German Art-critic, Hirt, had the credit of accomplishing a second discovery which led him into this pictured oratory in

his explorings through the *terra incognita* of the Vatican (v. Goethe "Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert"; Rumohr, "Italien. Forschungen," b. II. 13). In the time of Pius VII. the frescoes of Fra Giovanni were retouched by Camuccini—probably not the first restoration they have suffered from. One, a Deposition from the Cross, on the side above the altar, has totally disappeared.

By Filippino Lippi (1460-1505), frescoes, executed 1489, in the chapel founded by Cardinal Caraffa at the Minerva church, and in which reposed the body of the Saint to whom it is dedicated, Thomas Aquinas, till those relics were removed, 1511, to Naples. Here we see the third example (two others I have already noticed) of a sort of apotheosis in Art, for honouring the memory of that great theologian. St. Thomas is seated, together with four allegoric female figures, on a lofty estrade, setting his feet on a prostrate old man (Arius or Sabelius), near whom is a scroll displaying the words, *Sapientia vincit malitiam*; an open book, held by the Saint, having the words on its pages, *Sapientiam Sapientium perdam*. In the foreground are two groups of persons different as to class and costume, and between them, thrown to earth, lie several books, on two of which we read the condemnatory epigraphs: *Si Filius natus est, erat quando non erat Filius—Error Arii*; *Pater a Filio non est alius nec a Spiritu Sancto—Error Sabelii*. Above this picture is another on smaller scale, admirably composed: S. Thomas kneeling before the Crucifix, which bows its head and speaks approval of his writings, the volumes here laid before that holy symbol. Angels attend the Saint in his extatic prayer; to the right, in a portico like that of a church, we see another Dominican friar, and in front of this portico, are three persons, two of them women in nun-like dress, driving away a rash intruder in Turkish costume, probably meant for the false Prophet. Over the altar is

the Annunciation, with S. Thomas presenting the Cardinal Caraffa to the Virgin; this, and the Assumption with the Apostles, on the same wall-surface, being also by Filippino Lippi.*

By Bernardino Betti, called Pinturicchio (1454-1513), are the frescoes on the apsidal vault of *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, representing the legend of the True Cross from its discovery by S. Helena to its restitution at Jerusalem by the Emperor Heraclius after his victory over the Persians; above this dramatic and interesting series, the Saviour seated in an elliptic nimbus, with one hand blessing, while the other holds the Gospel open at the words, *Ego sum Via, Veritas, et Vita*—a nobly benignant figure, announcing a progressive and elevated conception of the Divine personality in Art. Some critics question whether these paintings can be given to Pinturicchio; and some suppose that if he really executed them, he was probably assisted by Luca Signorelli.† An event which caused much sensation, and was hailed with joy by authorities in Rome, is connected with the history of these remarkable frescoes.

In 1492 some repairs, ordered by the Cardinal Titular, were progressing within this church, when a niche was discovered near the summit of the apsidal vault, and on the outside of this recess, the inscription, "Titulus Crucis." In the inside was found, on removal of the brick front, a leaden coffer fastened with three seals, and in which was deposited that famous relic believed to be the largest extant

* An early and ominous instance of conventionality, of disregard for the ideal proprieties of a subject, is before us in this Annunciation by Lippi: the Virgin turns away from the Angel and from the Divine Dove, who descends along a ray of light, exclusively giving her attention, with the mannered grace of a high-born lady, to the kneeling Cardinal!

† Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle speak of them as a work which "seems a medley of Bonfigli, Signorelli and Pinturicchio, such as might be expected from one of the numerous inferior Umbrians," &c.

portion of the true Cross, or rather of a part of the title placed above the head of the Sufferer, and containing certain letters of the words, in Syro-Chaldaic, Greek, and Latin, *JESUS NAZARENUS REX*. Great interest was excited by the announcement of this discovery. The Pope, Innocent VIII., and all the Cardinals came in procession to inspect and revere the relic, which was transferred to a chamber communicating with a balcony above the high altar, where this and other sacred objects are solemnly exhibited, three times a year, by the mitred Abbot of the Cistercians. A Spanish Cardinal, Carvajal, ordered, about 1492, the paintings illustrating the story of the true Cross, which cover the vault before us, and are generally ascribed to Pinturicchio; the figure of that Cardinal being introduced, kneeling before the Cross erect in the centre foreground, with S. Helena on one side.

Other undoubted works of Pinturicchio are seen in several Roman churches built or restored in the latter years of this century, as S. Maria del Popolo, S. Onofrio, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Cosimato, Aracoeli. At the first-named church, two Holy Families with Saints, an Assumption, and (in lunettes) scenes from the life of Mary and from that of S. Jerome (date 1485); on the vault of the choir, more important and admirable pictures, commissioned for S. Maria del Popolo by the Cardinal della Rovere (Julius II.): in the centre, the Coronation of the Virgin, with the sole figures of the Saviour and the Madonna seated opposite to each other (the motive, in this composition, earlier introduced and longer retained than any other for the same eminently popular subject), while the Divine Son, serenely glorious, places a crown on the earthly Mother's head; ranged round this group, on a decorated ground, the Evangelists with their emblems, the four Doctors, nobly venerable figures each seated within a classically designed *ædicula*, and four Sybils in graceful recumbent attitudes.

At Aracoeli the same artist executed some very interesting pictures in a chapel founded by the Bufalini family, and (it is said) especially to commemorate the extinction of a deadly feud. Pinturicchio's frescoes illustrate the life of S. Bernardino, to whom that chapel is dedicated : over the altar, Christ in glory amidst Angels, SS. Bernardino, Anthony of Padua, and Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse, two Angels holding a crown over the head of the first-named, who stands between the other Saints, holding a book open at the text, *Pater, manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus*.* On one side, the reception of the Saint into the Franciscan Order at Siena, the Saint discoursing to some devout hearers, and S. Francis receiving the Stigmata ; on the opposite wall, the funeral of S. Bernardino, with renaissance architecture in the background, and in a group under a portico, portraits of two members of the Bufalini family ; an infant in a cradle before the bier on which lies the corpse, said to be intended for the same Saint, his childhood in juxtaposition with his old age in death. At S. Onofrio, the church with convent and gardens pleasantly situated on the Janiculan hill, are some frescoes in the tribune, the Virgin and Child, the Coronation of Mary, the Deity blessing, and other subjects, ascribed partly to Pinturicchio, partly to Baldassare Peruzzi. The monument of the pious hermit, Beato Niccolo, of the diocese of Sulmona (ob. 1441), at whose request this church and convent were built 1437—'46), with a characteristic relieve effigy, placed near the chief door, deserves notice among the sculptures of the period.†

* Words of an antiphon in the Vespers for the Vigil of the Ascension, which were being sung at the moment this Saint expired at Aquila, 1444. How early he became popular both in devout regards and among subjects of Art, these paintings testify.

† The Beato Niccolo was one of a band of hermits who inhabited

The frescoes on the walls of the Sistine Chapel by artists the most illustrious of their time, who were liberally engaged for this task by Sixtus IV.—I do not here consider the marvels of Buonarotti's genius, within the same walls—form a series most important as displaying the spirit and tendencies of Art towards the close of the XV. century. A manifest change had passed over the world of its ideal creations since the earlier years of this epoch, and even within the shorter period elapsed since the death of Fra Angelico. In one aspect we see progress in power and knowledge; in another, decline from the standard of devotional ideality. Art is now seen emancipating herself from ascetic conventionalism. The painter, instead of giving a simple and solemn presentment of a sacred theme, crowds his canvas with accessorial figures in the costume of his own time, mere spectators, unconcerned in the main action—a method first introduced, with admirable success indeed by Masaccio. Details of ornament become profuse; landscape, more ably treated, now affording proof of intelligent observation of nature. Above all, architecture, invariably copied either from the models of classic Rome, or from those of the renaissance founded on such models, takes a conspicuous place on the canvas or in the wall-painting, sometimes dividing attention with the figures to which it serves as background.

At first sight the interior of the Sistine chapel is disappointing. Neither is the style of this building religious, nor are the paintings, in the effect immediately perceived, so impressive as may have been anticipated. Many are faded, and the figures are, with few exceptions, too small for the height at which they are placed, whilst farther

some scattered cells on the Janiculan before the convent, which was the last retreat of Tasso, had arisen, founded by Eugenius IV., and a Cardinal protector of the Jeronymites, on this spot.

losing by comparison with the colossal creations of Michael Angelo.

By Cosimo Rosselli (1416-84) are—the Passage of the Red Sea, and Pharaoh amidst his Counsellors; Moses receiving the tablets of the Law on Mount Sinai; and breaking those tablets in his wrath at the idolatry of the Israelites; the punishment of that idolatry; the Sermon on the Mount, and the healing of the leper; the landscape in the last picture by the artist's pupil, Piero da Cosimo (1441-1521). By Rosselli also is the Last Supper, with four spectators quite unconcerned in the sacred action, and in the background, seen through an arcade, the Saviour on the Mount of Olives, His capture by the Jews, and the Crucifixion,—an unworthily subordinate introduction of such subjects.

By Sandro Botticelli (1437-1515): Moses slaying the Egyptian, and assisting the daughters of Jethro to water their flocks; the emigration of Moses with several followers (from Midian) into Egypt; the appearance of the Deity in the burning tree; the punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with architecture in the background, a classic ruin, and (strange example of the tendency above noticed) a Roman triumphal arch, evidently suggested by that of Septimius Severus. By the same artist, the Temptation of Christ, the three acts of which are represented in the same picture; in the foreground the high priest receiving a patera, or goblet, from a white-robed worshipper, which accessorial and fanciful group may attract attention *more* than the principal subjects; and it is remarkable that the mediæval idea of the demon is here totally abandoned, a stern and sombre, *not* hideous or brute type, being imagined in the personality of Satan.

By Domenico Ghirlandajo (1447-93): the calling of SS. Peter and Andrew while they are engaged in fishing, and the calling of SS. John and James, who are in a boat

on the lake, while the Divine Master addresses them from the shore, both these subjects being in the background, and the foreground filled with a finely treated group, the two first-named of those Apostles kneeling before Christ, with many spectators on both sides. The Resurrection, by the same artist, was injured by the falling of a beam, and has been so badly repainted, that in its present state this fresco in no way reminds us of Ghirlandajo.

By Luca Signorelli (1439-1521): subjects from the life of Moses and the Exodus, a grandly conceived series, the several episodes so united as to form only two large compositions; one representing the earlier life of the Lawgiver, the other his last days while accompanying his people on their progress through the wilderness. In the first, (nearest the altar), we see the journey of Moses and his wife, with many others, from Midian into Egypt; Moses met by an Angel, who threatens him with a drawn sword;* the circumcision of his son by Zipporah, and in the background a group of shepherds, most graceful and animated, dancing to music on a mountain side, perhaps intended for the rustic festivities at the marriage of Moses.† In the other picture, the Exodus subjects, we see Moses consigning his staff to Joshua, Moses seated on a mound, the book of the law in his hand, delivering his inspired song to the Israelites, a numerous group, around him; in the background an angel shows to Moses the promised land from a mountain-height; and lastly we see the death of the Lawgiver, or rather the mourning of the Israelites over his body—a subject not treated with strict regard to the account of

* See the mysterious text (Exodus iv. 24): "And it came to pass by the way, in the inn, that the Lord met him (Moses), and sought to kill him."

† Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe the whole of this composition to Pietro Perugino.

the mysterious circumstances attending his funeral.—Deuteronomy xxxiv. 6.

By Pietro Vannucci (Perugino, 1446-1524): the Baptism of Christ, with a vision of the Eternal Father as well as the celestial Dove; in the background, the Sermon on the Mount and the preaching of S. John the Baptist. By the same artist—a masterpiece and example of his highest powers—the Delivery of the Keys to S. Peter in presence of all the Apostles, in the background architecture, renaissance and classical, with several groups variously engaged, and quite unconcerned with the main action which fills the foreground, where it is contemplated by certain other persons, besides the twelve Apostles, with reverential interest. The principal group is a composition to rank among the triumphs of sacred art; and accordant with the solemnity of the subject is a serene dignity which pervades and elevates the whole scene. The architecture may be intended to symbolize the triumphs of the Church, or at least of the Papacy; in the centre rises a temple with a cupola reminding us of Brunelleschi's happiest performances in this class; lateral to this are two classic arches, richly sculptured, and inscribed with epigraphs in honour of Sixtus IV.: *Immensum Salomon Templum, tu hoc, Quarte, sacraſti—Sixte opibus dispar religione prior.*

Among the most important and successful works by Pinturicchio are the frescoes adorning the "Appartamento Borgia," a suite of halls in the Vatican either built or finished by Alexander VI., in which that Pontiff resided, and in one of which he died. These paintings (1492-'94) are most interesting as testimony to the spirit and tendencies of art at the time, and exemplifying the now intimate union of the legendary with the evangelico-historical, of renaissance taste and decoration with sacred or mystic subjects. In the first chamber, called that "of

the Sibyls," are half-lengths, in lunettes under the vaults, of twelve Prophets, and as many Sibyls, all holding scrolls, on which are inscribed texts of prophecy and verses attributed to Sibylline inspiration; the Cumæan Sibyl having for her motto the lines from the "Pollio" of Virgil—

"Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
Jam nova progenies coelo demittitur alto."*

On the vault are seven medallion pictures representing the planets, personified according to mythologic ideas, and advancing in their chariots through the sky, the pursuits and conditions of life they severally preside over being introduced below. Thus under Luna are people fishing in the sea (her influence over tides); under Jove, the chace, deemed the especial amusement of royalty; under Apollo, with singular blending of the Christian and Pagan, a Pope seated among his Cardinals and prelatie courtiers.

In the next, "Chamber of the Credo," are twelve Prophets in like manner paired with the Apostles, and holding scrolls, those of the former displaying texts from their prophecies; and those of the latter, clauses from the Apostles' Creed, according to the tradition admitted by Baronius and Durandus, which assigns to each of the Twelve a clause in that symbol of belief. Thus S. Peter begins the orthodox profession with the clause: "Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terræ." In the third, "Chamber of the Liberal Arts," are seven large pictures, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomy, Grammar, and Dialectics, personified as beautiful and

* It is about this period, towards the end of the XV. century, that the Sibyls first become conspicuous in art. Many representations of them are seen in Rome, but all dating from the XV. to the XVII., none in earlier centuries. Cardinal d'Estouteville ordered, 1480, a painting for the Augustinian church at Cori, the Coronation of the Virgin, with a group of six Sibyls, each having her oracular Latin distich.

majestic women seated on splendid thrones with appropriate emblems, and groups of individuals who excelled in the practice, or promoted the culture, of those Arts and Sciences severally. Thus is Geometry attended by the mathematicians, Rhetoric by the orators of antiquity; the latter having for attributes a sword and a golden globe, signifying the power of eloquence to penetrate, pierce and disarm, and also to keep the world suspended by the charm of her utterances. The archivolt of an arch, which divides the room into two sections, is dedicated to the subject of Justice, treated in five small pictures; that of Virtue personified in the centre; laterally, the parting of Jacob and Laban, the flight of Lot from the burning city; a judge seated on a tribunal, with merchants before him who are pledging each other to keep faith in their transactions; the widow appealing to Trajan for justice, her only son having been accidentally killed by the Emperor's son, (*v.* "Legenda Aurea;" Dante, "Purgatorio," X.; Joan. Diacon., "Vita S. Greg.")*

In the next, "Chamber of the Saints," the Legends of the Alexandrian S. Catherine, of S. Paul the Hermit, of the Virgin Martyrs Barbara and Juliana, the martyrdom of S. Sebastian, and the Visitation (sole subject from Scripture in this series), are treated with singular wealth of imagination and variety in composition. The story of S. Catherine, occupying the largest space, is presented with

* It was in this chamber that Alexander VI. died, 13th August, 1503. The account of his last illness by Burekhard, in every respect trustworthy, shows that he succumbed to an attack of tertian fever. The belief, common at the time, that he died of poison, prepared not by himself but by his son, for certain wealthy Cardinals, is attested by Guicciardini, Onofrio Panvinio, and others; see also Gregorovius, who supplies all the evidence on this subject. It is certain that the Pope received the Sacraments, and made confession before Communion, on his deathbed.

complicated details ; the fair Saint standing before the Emperor on his throne, philosophers and knights in 15th century costume grouped around ; in the distance a triumphal arch, like that of Constantine, with the epigraph, *Pacis Cultori*. S. Barbara escaping from her tower, and pursued by her tyrant father with a drawn sword, is among the rarer subjects in Art, and here presented with much dramatic effect.* Admirable is the pictured meeting of S. Anthony the abbot and S. Paul the hermit in the desert, where they divide the loaf brought by a raven, devout disciples attending, and three fair women approaching near enough for the discernment of their true character as demon tempters, with batwings, talons, &c. In the background to the martyrdom of S. Sebastian, who is shot with arrows by the imperial guard (but not thus put to death), is introduced the Colosseum, and in ruins as now before us !† In the picture of S. Juliana, who is married by force to a Pagan governor, delivered up to executioners and beheaded,‡ a gracefully designed fountain is conspicuous in the midst, with domestic animals around its basement—an example of the increasing disposition to give importance to accessories and decorative detail. Over a door is a much obscured picture of the Madonna teaching the Infant Christ to read ; cherub-heads in a circle around ; the Virgin erroneously said to be

* Place of martyrdom unknown ; nor is it agreed whether this Saint (if she ever existed) lived in the third or fourth century. She is said to have been beheaded by her own father, Dioscurus ; has become the Patroness of Artillery ; and her festival, 4th December, has been celebrated by the Greeks since the 8th, by the Latin Church since the 9th century. Her attribute is the tower, from which she escapes miraculously.

† Of this picture Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle observe that it is “ much restored, more so indeed than any part of these paintings, which have all undergone more or less retouching.”

‡ She suffered at Nicomedia in the IV. century, during the last persecution.

a portrait of Vanozza, the mother of Cesare Borgia, but in reality meant for Giulia Farnese, a lady whose name is not honourably associated with that of Alexander VI., and whose brother received from him the Cardinal's hat, living to succeed to him as Pope Paul III. On the vault is represented, in several medallion pictures and gilt stuccoes, the whole mythologic history of Isis and Osiris, a far-strained compliment to the Borgia house, allusive to their device, an ox, or rather cow, *vache passante*. It was in this chamber that the body of Alexander lay in state, simply vested in white, on a couch hung with crimson silk.

In the fifth, "Chamber of the Life of Our Lord," the subjects are: the Annunciation, Nativity (or rather Adoration of the Divine Infant), the Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Pentecost, (Descent of the Holy Spirit), and Assumption of the Virgin—all treated with a rich redundance of detail and numerous grouping. In the picture of the Resurrection is introduced Alexander VI., kneeling, pontifically vested, with the tiara on the ground, the face in profile; in that of the Assumption, is another interesting portrait, Cesare Borgia in his capacity and costume as Cardinal, kneeling beside the vacant tomb, on the other side of which kneels S. Thomas; the head of Cesare that of a man about thirty, serious and sensible looking; a glance sufficing to convince that the portrait by Raffael in the Borghese collection, commonly called "Cæsar Borgia," is not the likeness of this notorious personage. On the pendentives of the vault are seven Prophets with scrolls, the texts on which refer to the subjects of the larger pictures. Solomon is made to predict the Assumption of the Virgin in the words: *Quasi Cedrus exaltata sum in Libano*. (Ecl. xxiv. 17.)

In the sixth, the largest room of this suite, all the works of Pinturicchio were destroyed by Leo X. (who ought to

have known and done better), and in their place were painted sundry uninteresting decorative designs, mythologic and others, by Giovanni da Udine and Pierino del Vaga.

In one of the Vatican *Stanze* containing Raffael's frescoes (the *Incendio del Borgo*, &c. being in this), four circular paintings on the vault, by Perugino, were saved from destruction by his more illustrious pupil, who refused to paint over them, as requested by his employers. He did well to preserve them, for these compositions are among the most devotional and refined in religious feeling of all that Umbrian master's works. They represent, on scale less than life: Christ seen in a gilt nimbus with the personified Justice and Mercy, majestic and graceful forms, standing before Him, angels and cherub-heads floating around; the Transfiguration, Christ standing between Moses and Elias, with angels attending, two of those mysterious beings placed between the Saviour and the visionary Lawgiver and Prophet; the Eternal Father enthroned among clouds and blessing, with a glory of angels around; the Holy Trinity, an original treatment of that subject, the Father seen in the heavens with a globe in one hand, the other raised to bless, the Son standing on clouds below, the Apostles kneeling around Him, and also on clouds instead of resting on earth, the Dove hovering beneath the feet of the Christ, who blesses as does the Father. The distinction of age and aspect is strongly marked, and the relationship between the Father and the Son is conceived from a human point of view, less spiritual, one might say less orthodox than the conception of earlier Art, which presents the Divine Son as sole embodied and visible manifestation of the Infinite. Both are of nobly benignant aspect, however otherwise contrasted, in these pictures; and the grave, beautiful sweetness in the countenance of the Son corresponds to the idea of Him who, intensely human, is touched with the feeling

of our infirmities, and is the sole Mediator of whom sinful creatures can have need, or whose advocacy can be relied on before the Holy of Holies. Genius seems here implicitly to reject the notion of any human intercessors being requisite, or empowered to aid, between the erring creature and the all-powerful Son of Man !

Melozzo degli Ambrosi, called from his birthplace "da Forlì" (1438-'92), was prominent among the artists invited to Rome by Sixtus IV. When Cardinal Pietro Riario enlarged the SS. Apostoli church, this master was engaged to adorn the tribune with a great picture, the largest he is known to have ever undertaken. Its subject was the Ascension ; but its merits did not save that portion of the building from being taken down, and Melozzo's fresco consequently in the greater part destroyed, when the church underwent some tasteless modernization in 1711. Portions of the picture were, however, preserved. The colossal figure of Christ soaring heavenward amidst angelic choirs, is now set into a wall above the first landing-place of the great stairs in the Quirinal palace. An inscription below, said to be by Pope Clement XI., ascribes to Melozzo either the inventing or the perfecting of the method of painting on vaults, for the *di sotto in su* effect. The Saviour ascends with outspread arms, the gaze directed downwards, the hair long and dark, the drapery floating in broad folds ; behind Him are a multitude of cherubim, in semicircular orders, rising one above another ; the ideal of His form utterly unlike that familiarly seen in earlier art, partaking more of the intellectual and powerful than of the benign or gracious—a character indeed so strongly marked as almost to approach coarseness. The innocent joy and childlike loveliness of the little angels are affecting in moral contrast with the awe and mystery of the great transaction they are gazing on. Fourteen other fragments of the same picture

are in the *stanza capitolare* of S. Peter's : eight half-length figures of angels playing on instruments, in extatic and rather overstrained, but very expressive attitudes, the types of countenance all feminine ; two groups of lovely child-angels ; and (finest of all) four heads of Apostles, gazing intensely upwards, decision of character and earnest feeling predominant in their countenances. Progress in technical skill and knowledge is apparent ; but the angels in this composition betray decline from the more spiritual idea of such individualities, and are mere creatures of earth compared with those imagined by Fra Giovanni and Benozzo Gozzoli.

Another happy specimen of Melozzo's powers, and also of the new direction and truthfulness now apparent in portrait painting, is a fresco transferred to canvass, and moved from its original place (a vestibule of the ancient library) to the pinacotheca of the Vatican, representing Sixtus IV. seated in that library, built by his order for the increasing collection on its shelves ; the Pope being here attended by his nephews, Cardinal Riario and the Cardinal who became Julius II., also by two secular persons conjectured to be his other nephews, Count Girolamo and Giovanni della Rovere, with the historian Platina kneeling before his Holiness on occasion of his appointment as Vatican librarian.*

* Platina points to the verses inscribed below the picture, and which form a compendious account of the public works carried out by Sixtus :

Templa, domum expositis, fora, moenia, pontes,
Virgineam Triviæ quod repararis aquam,
Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portas,
Et Vaticanum cingere, Sixte, jugum :
Plus tamen Urbs debet, nam quæ squalore latebat,
Cernitur in celebri Bibliothecæ loco.

As *pendant* to this may be quoted a Latin epigraph in honour of the

In the older portions of the convent of Oblate Nuns, Tor de' Specchi, near the Capitol, founded by S. Francesca Romana, are some curious wall-paintings, with the date 1485 over one part, illustrating the spiritual experiences, visions, temptations, extasies, and miracles of that saintly matron. In one is depicted a vision of the whole infernal realm, displayed to her in ghastly distinctness, while she is guided by her Guardian Angel. Interesting as records of the devotional and mystic ideas of the time, these paintings have not the least value as art works, but serve to recall the realities (whatever the dreams or illusions) of a noble life, which cannot be omitted from the religious history of Rome at this period. Francesca, of a family named Bussi, born in 1384, had advantages of social position and fortune which were augmented through her union with Lorenzo Ponziani, a young man of the higher class, to whom her parents gave her in marriage against her will, as it appears, for the religious, that is the cloistral state, had been her preference from childhood. Trials came upon her in her capacity as wife and mother, in both which characters her conduct was most exemplary. During the shocks of violence and social disorder caused by the conquest and occupation of Rome by King Ladislaus, her husband was exiled, her eldest son imprisoned, and all the fortunes of the Ponziani were dispersed. Francesca lived to see the return of peace, and to be reunited to her family, now possessed again of all they had lost. From that time Francesca and her husband lived together as brother and sister. Several Roman ladies desired to follow her ex-

same Pope, placed by the Curators of Rome, and still seen, on a house in the *Vicolo de' Balestrari*, dated 1483, and the last two verses running thus :

Digna salutifero debentur premia Xysto :
O quantum est summo debita Roma Duci.

ample in a life of piety and charities; and she became the founder of a religious sisterhood, united under a rule from the year 1433, and in 1439 approved by the Pope. They placed themselves under the direction of the Olivetan monks, and were called "Oblates," from their act of self-offering; but they bound themselves by no vows, were not strictly cloistered, being severed from the pleasures and cares of this world without artificial restraint. Francesca, become a widow, desired to enter this community, and presented herself prostrate on the ground, bare-footed, and with a cord round her neck, craving to be received among them. She refused at first the office of Superior, but was finally induced to accept it by the urgencies of those who wished to obey one they so much loved and revered. Not the less did she continue, though in the post of authority, to dedicate herself to the lowliest duties, and exercise her charities both without and within her convent-walls—for her rule did not impede the liberty of doing good. She died 1440, aged 56, of a malady caught from her son whilst nursing him. The Roman people had experienced her goodness and known well her virtues; consequently she received, immediately after her death, such honours as are usually paid to canonized saints, though it was not till 1608 that she was actually enrolled among that company by act of Pope Paul V. Her body was now transferred to a splendid tomb at *S. Maria Nuova*, the Olivetan church, which thenceforth received a new dedication as *S. Francesca Romana*. The benignly majestic figure of this virtuous saint becomes familiar in the art of later ages, and is usually accompanied by another, an Angel, allusive to the deeply significant legend that such a heavenly guide, beautiful and glorious in aspect, was for many years visibly present to her, and that another Angel, still more radiant than the first, was sent to be her perpetual com-

panion during the last years of her life.* It seems to me that the moral characteristics of that holy life announce a more enlightened and cheerful apprehension of the religious calling than appears in earlier hagiography. There is little in Francesca's career at all analogous to the startling and almost horror-striking austerities of saints in former times. All is brightly serene, lit with the glow of virtue rendered heroic through self-sacrifice, in the example of this admirable woman.

Quitting the city for one of the beautiful regions comprised within the Agro Romano, we find a singularly rich specimen of the Italian Gothic, with sculptured decoration, at Vicovaro, between Tivoli and Subiaco. In the principal street of that impoverished little town stands the octagonal church of *S. Giacomo*, founded about the middle of this century by the Orsini, Counts of Tagliacozzo, and lords of this place; the sculptures on its exterior, by Simone, a Florentine pupil of Brunelleschi, and mentioned by Vasari with the information that he died at Vicovaro, while engaged on his labours here. Seven sides of the octagon are plain. That on which opens the sole doorway is profusely adorned with sculpture, statuettes and reliefs on small scale, some much injured by time. On the tympanum is a relief of the Virgin and Child, with two graceful angels, who present the kneeling figures of the two Orsini brothers, founders of this church. The Divine Dove and adoring Angels are seen within an arch over this. At each side of the portal are six statuettes of saints, male and female, under Gothic canopies; other saintly figures stand in niches on flanking pilasters. On the summits of half-

* An impressive picture of her with the angel, by Romanelli, is in a hall of the Conservators' palace on the Capitol, there placed by Urban VIII. in 1638—"aeternæ memoriæ Franciscæ Bussix de Pontianis, eximia pietate ac Romana nobilitate matronæ."

columns, and at the apex of a triangular pediment, are other statuettes, so much mutilated that neither their subjects nor artistic merit can be well discerned ; that on the pediment probably intended for the Saviour blessing. An inscription over the door gives the title of the Orsini brothers, "Taliacociastae Comites," and mentions the Bishop of Trani, who consecrated this church, but supplies no date. An inscribed tablet in the interior gives further particulars, and records the indulgences conceded by Pius II.—that learned Pope who himself penned a brief notice of this interesting little church in his "Commentaria," lvi.*

* He speaks of it as "nobile sacellum ex marmore candidissimo," adorned "statuis egregiis," but left unfinished owing to the death of Francesco degli Orsini.

CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTS.

(1400 to 1500).

Rome.—S. Peter's—bronze doors by Filarete, 1445; bronze monuments by Pollajuolo to Sixtus IV. (1493), and Innocent VIII.; group of La Pietà (the Mother with the Dead Christ) by Buonarrotti, 1499; in a corridor of sacristy, statues of SS. Peter and Paul by Mino del Regno; in Chapter-house (*stanza capitolare*) twelve fragments of Melozzo da Forlì's picture of the Ascension from the SS. Apostoli church; in *grotte* (crypt) monuments of Innocent VII., Paul II., and Callixtus III., of two Cardinals della Porta (1434, 1493), and sculptures (several by Mino da Fiesole) from various Papal monuments, and from the ciborium presented by Sixtus IV.; Lateran Basilica, monument with bronze effigy of Martin V. by Filarete, of a Portuguese Cardinal, 1447; sculptured tabernacle for holy oils, time of Sixtus IV., wooden statue of S. John the Baptist by Donatello, and relievi of the two SS. John, &c., in sacristy; silver processional cross, 1451; S. Paul's Basilica, statue of Boniface IX. in hall off sacristy; S. Maria Maggiore—four relievi from canopy of ancient high altar, now in the tribune, other relief-sculptures from the same altar set into the altar of a chapel left of entrance to the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, added to basilica by Sixtus V.; panelled ceiling of nave; S. Marco, rebuilt in greater part, 1468—relievo of S. Mark over entrance, 1470, in sacristy two bas-reliefs by Mino da Fiesole; S. Maria Aracoeli, rebuilt in part 1464-85—relievi of SS. Matthew and John over lateral doors of façade, monuments

of Cardinals De Lebreto* (Albret), 1465, and Giovanni Savelli (in choir), 1498, of Catherine Queen of Bosnia, 1461, and others ; in chapel of S. Bernardino, frescoes illustrating the life of that Saint by Pinturicchio ; S. Maria di Monserrato, built 1495—statue of S. James the Apostle by Con-
tucci (Sansovino), in portico of court monuments of Spanish Prelates, dated 1467, 1479, 1486, 1498 ; in vestibule leading to this court, relieve of Crucifixion and Saints, 1463, in sacristy sculptured tabernacle for holy oils ;* S. Maria della Pace, founded by Sixtus IV. ; S. Maria del Popolo, rebuilt 1477, architect Baccio Pontelli—in first chapel (l.) monument of Cardinal della Rovere (time of Sixtus IV.), in second chapel, of S. Augustine, monument to Duke Della Rovere (di Sora) 1485, and frescoes by Pinturicchio ; in fourth chapel, of S. Catherine (founded 1479), sculptured altar-piece, monument of Albertoni, a Roman nobleman, 1485 ; in chapel of S. Jerome, frescoes by Pinturicchio, about 1485 ; in chapel of S. Lawrence (first r.) two sculptured tabernacles with statuettes, on vault of choir Pinturicchio's Coronation of the B. Virgin, etc.; in corridor of sacristy monument of a Knight of Jerusalem, 1488, and sculptured altar-piece, 1497 ; in sacristy monument of Archbishop of Salerno, 1482, and tabernacle for Madonna-picture, with statuettes, presented by Alexander VI. ; S. Maria sopra Minerva, apse added to church by Cardinal Antonio Gaetani (*ob.* 1417), monuments of Cardinals Domenico Capranica (1458), Collescipoli (1446), and Orsini, of the Prelates De Coco and Speranzio (1495), of Fra Angelico (1455), and of two members of the Rustici family (1482-1488), last in vestibule leading to lateral entrance ; that of the Florentine merchant, Tornabuoni, by Mino da

* These monuments, etc. were removed from S. Giacomo, the other Spanish church, in the Piazza Navona, founded 1450, and now ruinous.

Fiesole; by the same artist, statues of SS. John Baptist and Sebastian in lateral chapel; recumbent effigy of S. Catherine of Siena under high altar,* in chapel of S. Thomas Aquinas, frescoes illustrating the theological rank of that Saint, and altar-piece of Annunciation by Filippino Lippi, in chapel off r. aisle, altar-piece ascribed to Lippo Lippi†; in cloister, two monuments, one of a Spanish Cardinal, 1478; S. Maria del Priorato (of the Knights of Malta), monument of the Grand Master Caraffa (1405), attributed to Paolo Romano, and of the Knight Scipando, 1465; S. Maria in Trastevere, monument of Cardinal degli Annibaldi, 1417, by Paolo Romano, tabernacle for holy oils, by Mino da Fiesole; S. Agostino 1479-'84, in lateral chapel group of the B. Virgin and S. Anna by Contucci; S. Andrea della Valle, monument of Pius II ‡; SS. Apostoli, monument (near high altar) of Cardinal Pietro Riario, 1474—one of the finest of its style and period; S. Balbina, restored, rilievo of Crucifixion attributed to Mino da Fiesole, ordered by Cardinal Barbo (Paul II.) for the ancient S. Peter's; S. Cecilia, monument of Cardinal Fortiguerra, 1473; in a side chapel, wall-

* Placed in a chapel over her tomb soon after the canonization of that saint by Pius II., and removed to the high altar after her relics had been transferred, with much solemnity, on occasion of the restoration and reconsecrating of this church, 1855. (*v supra*, p. 205-6.)

† Ascribed also to other masters. This beautiful picture being designed to commemorate the institution by Cardinal Torquemada of the annually dispensed charity of bestowing dowries on young girls through the agency of a pious sodality, the recipients of that donation are introduced, kneeling before the Madonna, in the picture, as also is the Cardinal who founded, and is interred beneath, this chapel—not the Torquemada who was Grand Inquisitor in Spain, but one of his ancestors.

‡ Subject of the principal relief on this now ill-placed monument, the consignment of the head of S. Andrew to Pope Pius amidst an assemblage of dignitaries.

picture of the Crucifixion, with life-size figures, attributed to Fra Angelico, above an altar adorned with rich intarsio, probably of this period; S. Cesario, reliefs of angels in front of high altar; S. Clemente, monuments of Cardinals Rovarello (1476) and Venier (1479), statue of S. John Baptist by Simone of Florence, frescoes by Masaccio in chapel of S. Catherine; S. Cosimato, restored by Sixtus IV., altar-piece, or shrine, of S. Severa (probably of date in this, or opening of next century), in lateral chapel; Madonna and Child with SS. Francis and Clare by Pinturicchio (?); S. Croce in Gerusalemme, frescoes on apsidal vault attributed to Pinturicchio, 1492; S. Francesco a Ripa, monuments (removed to sacristy) of Anguillara family, one a warrior in armour, 1482; S. Gregorio, monument, in outer cloisters, to two brothers; in chapel of S. Gregory altar with sculptured front, in Salviati chapel, altar tabernacle, with reliefs and statuettes, 1467; S. Onofrio, church built 1437-'46, on outer wall monument of the Beato Niccolo (Jeronymite Hermit), ob. 1441; on absidal vault, frescoes ascribed to Pinturicchio and Baldassare Peruzzi; S. Pietro in Vincoli, monument of the brothers Antonio and Pietro Pollajuolo, with busts in relief; tabernacle ordered by Cardinal Cusa for the chains of S. Peter, 1465; in sacristy, tabernacle now containing those relics, with bronze reliefs by Antonio Pollajuolo; S. Prassede, monument of Cardinal Alain, 1474; S. Sabina, monument of Cardinal da Poggio, 1483; S. Salvatore in Lauro, monument of Eugenius IV., by Isaia di Pisa, in oratory entered from cloisters; S. Vito, wall-painting of time of Sixtus IV. (?);* S. Agnese (extramural Basilica)

* To this period belongs a painting, the Saviour with Saints, in the now desecrated *S. Maria del Sole*, alias Temple of Vesta (though mis-called as such), first dedicated to Christian worship by the Savelli, and afterwards by the Della Rovere family.

sculptured altar-piece, S. Stephen and other Saints, 1490; S. Lorenzo (extramural Basilica) Virgin and Child, with SS. Stephen and Laurence, in choir, by Pinturicchio. Churches rebuilt or restored (besides the above-named): S. Lorenzo in Damaso (1495), SS. Quattro Incoronati, S. Sisto, S. Stefano Rotondo, S. Teodoro.

In Vatican Palace: Sistine Chapel, 1473, wall-paintings by Botticelli, Rosselli, Ghirlandajo, Signorelli, Perugino; Chapel of S. Lorenzo, frescoes by Fra Giovanni Angelico; Appartamento Borgia, wall-paintings by Pinturicchio, 1492-'95. In pinacotheca, paintings by Melozzo da Forlì (portraits of Sixtus IV. and of his nephews), Pinturicchio, Pietro Perugino, and two anconas (altar-pieces with Gothic frames) one dated 1466, by Niccolò Alunno of Foligno. Statue of S. Paul by Paolo Romano, on parapet of S. Angelo bridge. Quirinal Palace: on wall above landing-place of staircase, fresco of Christ ascending with Angels, being part of Melozzo da Forlì's great picture above-named.

Palaces built in this century: Capranica, 1460; S. Marco di Venezia (1455-68);* Nardini (now "Governo Vecchio") 1475; Cancelleria, 1495; Giraud (or Torlonia); Sforza Cesarini. Hospital of S. Spirito, rebuilt 1471—to which period belongs part of existing structure.

Miniature Paintings: In Vatican Library, Dante, with illuminations and miniatures by different artists; Pontifical, with twenty-five miniatures; Breviary of Matthias Corvinus, with miniatures, one bearing the date 1492, ascribed to Attavante of Florence.

Archives of S. Peter's.—Missal of Nicholas V., miniatures

* A bust of Paul II. by Velluno da Padua, on the upper story of the portico in the chief court of this castellated palace, is the sole example of such portrait-sculpture of this century (besides those on monuments) to be seen in Rome. Another is at the Albani Villa, and preserves the likeness of a lady named Teodorina Cibo.

few, the most important a Crucifixion; Missal of Cardinal Adimari (Archbishop of Pisa, *ob.* 1422) splendid illuminations and highly finished miniatures; principal subjects a Crucifixion, and Christ in glory amidst adoring angels, also the Four Emblems.

Barberini Library: Dante, with miniatures, the MS. completed 1419, and signed by the copyist Jacopo Serlandio.

COMARCA, OR ROMAN PROVINCE.*

Ostia.—Cathedral of S. Aurea, designed by Baccio Pontelli; castle rebuilt, 1483-6.

Vicovaro.—Church of S. Giacomo, with sculptures and Gothic ornamentation on exterior.

Subiaco.—In monastic church of S. Benedetto, wall-paintings of various dates, some assignable to the XV. century, as a figure of Pope S. Gregory I. blessing, with inscription dated 1489, by Stammatico or Psammatico, a Greek; and the Last Judgment, with inscription dated 1466—very archaic and rude. In upper church, a Madonna of school of Pinturicchio; in sacristy, Pietà, a wall-painting of this period. In S. Francesco, wall-paintings attributed to Pinturicchio—probably by some inferior imitator; also, over high altar, a Madonna with the Child standing on her knees and caressing her—a panel-picture of much beauty and refined feeling, by an artist known as Antonio Romano, and inscribed *Anno Dñi 1467, Antonius de Romæ me pinxit die 4 Octobris*.†

* A territorial limitation no longer retained.

† Only shown to the public on certain festivals, being usually covered and hidden by another picture representing S. Bernardino. I know of no other work by this certainly superior artist.

APPENDIX TO CHRONOLOGY OF XIV. CENTURY.

(v. p. 401.)

Modena.—In Cathedral, ancona by Serafino de' Serafini, subjects the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin, with Saints, 1385; colossal wall-painting of the Deity, the Eternal Father with the Son, as an infant blessing, held in His hand; relievi (archaic) of the Last Supper and Scenes of the Passion,* etc.; altar-piece by Tommaso da Modena; other wall-paintings, the Annunciation, S. Peter, the Virgin, etc.

Cagli.—In S. Francesco, frescoes, subjects from legend of S. Anthony, date about 1389.

Barletta.—East end and apse of S. Maria Maggiore, a church founded in the XII. century.

Bitetto.—Cathedral, commenced 1355.

S. Pietro in Galatina (Peninsula of Apulia).—S. Caterina, church founded 1355, by Raymond de Baux, lord of town, older parts (except façade) in French Gothic, aisles added among later buildings.

Palermo.—Atrium (round-arched) of S. Maria della Catena, about 1392; façade and towers of Cathedral, 1300-1359.

* These sculptures (among other subjects, the washing of the Apostles' feet and the Denial of Christ by S. Peter), are more archaic than might be expected at the date to which I understand they are assigned.

APPENDIX.

Mediæval Paintings at Naples.

SOME wall-paintings in the Convent of Donna Regina at Naples, made accessible to the public since the suppression of monasteries, are interesting examples of mediæval art in Southern Italy, and are referred by criticism mostly to the XIV. and XV. centuries ; in part also, namely those that form the higher of two orders carried along the walls of a vestibule, to still earlier date, within the XIII. century. They cover the walls both of that chamber and of a large oratory used by the nuns ; are much damaged, faded or blackened by time, except where a few figures have been repainted. The subjects can, in some instances, be scarcely distinguished, and the prevailing tint is a dusky reddish brown, far from pleasing. In the vestibule we recognise, besides several figures of saints, standing or seated within painted frames like architecture, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Transit of the Virgin, the latter subject with the usual traditionary treatment—the Saviour standing among the Apostles by the bier, and holding in His arms the liberated soul in the form of an infant. On the walls of the oratory is represented, in several orders of groups on a small scale, the entire Gospel History, the Last Judgment, and, on a larger scale, near the place of the altar, are separate figures of Apostles and Prophets. The Judgment picture, occupying the wall opposite to the altar, is the most damaged and unintelligible ; but what remains suffices to show a conception of the subject not according to the Greek but the Latin ideal : beside the Saviour and Judge stand Moses and Elias ; the twelve Apostles preside over the groups of the Blessed, and as many other personages

(Prophets?) over the terrific scene of the resurrection to second death. We notice the giant S. Christopher with the Divine Infant on his shoulders, and S. Anthony the Abbot among Saints in the vestibule. No particularly original or striking conceptions are manifest, and these paintings are of a description less interesting to the lover of Art than to the antiquarian. On the dark panelled ceiling of the oratory is an alto-relievo in gilt woodwork of the Coronation of the Virgin. This chapel is now converted into the Court of Assizes; the Judge's seat fills the place of the altar, and on one side the painted walls are in part whitewashed over—not, I believe, through any recently ordered arrangement. The immense monastery, restored after the ancient buildings had suffered from earthquake, by Mary, consort of Charles II., 1293—the pious Queen who spent the last years of her life, and died, in this retreat—is now undergoing strange transformations, which threaten to sweep away its half-ruinous porticoes and arcades, battlemented walls, and Gothic windows. I had neither seen nor heard of the curious paintings in its formerly impenetrable interior, till informed on the subject through the valuable work lately commenced, and now appearing in periodical fascicoli, *Studj sui Monumenti d'Italia Meridionale dal IV. al XIII. secolo*, by Demetrio Saluzano, Inspector of the Pinacotheca at the National Museum of Naples. This learned author arrives at the conclusion that Art never became absolutely extinct in Southern Italy, but kept the tenor of its way through ages of turmoil and imperfect civilization, still an independent school, which neither required nor received lustre from the kindling of a new light by Cimabue or Giotto. What other long buried treasures of Art may we not expect to see brought before the public eye, in the cloistral retreats of veiled sisterhood or obscure mendicant community, after the full enforcement of new laws in the Italian Kingdom?

The Catacombs of Naples.

Since my notice of these cemeteries (supr. p. 219) was written, works of exploration have been recommenced, and intelligently

directed in them, with results that promise to add valuable things to the range of Christian and Greek Antiquities in the capital of the ex-kingdom. A full report of these interesting labours and the fruit hitherto obtained by them, is given in De Rossi's "Bullettino" of Christian Archæology, 2nd series, *anno* II., No. I. It is needless to observe that such Art as is found in the hypogaea in question, does not fall within the limits of my present subject.

The Popes at Avignon.

Romanin, "*Storia documentata di Venezia*," throws doubt on the whole story mentioned above (p. 128), of the abject humiliation of the Venetian Envoy, Dandolo, before John XXII., when that Republic submitted (1323) to the wrathful Pontiff, craving release from the interdict provoked by the taking of Ferrara in 1308, and fulminated by Clement V.

An instance of dignified opposition to spiritual despotism occurs in the narrative of another embassy to Avignon, sent from Florence after Gregory XI. had cited the representatives of that Republic (1376) to answer before his tribunal for the offence of inciting the pontific cities to revolt against his government, or rather that of his unworthy ministers, in the Roman States. The Florentine Orators began by declaring that: "During the four hundred years they had enjoyed liberty, this blessing had become so naturalized among them that every citizen would be ready to sacrifice life for its preservation." The Pope would not allow them to speak further; but forthwith launched the interdict which, among other clauses, authorized all who had either the means or will to seize the persons and confiscate the property of Florentine citizens. On this one of the Ambassadors, Donato Barbadori, turned to a crucifix in the audience-hall, and appealed to the Redeemer against that sentence, citing the words of a sacred text: "My Protector, leave me not! even though my father and my mother should abandon me."

Church Restorations.

The numerous restorations of ancient churches, now in progress in Central and Northern Italy, are, so far as I have had opportunity of observing, directed by a just taste and intelligent appreciation of the original architecture. The mediæval is respected and preserved; and it is the obvious aim of these undertakings to reintegrate without altering the sacred buildings so cared for.

At Venice several of these works, now advancing to completeness, were commenced by Austrian, others by Italian authorities. The restoration of St. Mark's was begun many years before the change of government, and the entire northern side of that basilica is now renovated, the ancient material and all the sculptures being carefully replaced, by an architect named Biondelli, who finished his task in 1862. In 1865, another architect, named Dorigo, began the works still in progress at the southern side, and directed according to the same principle—a reintegration of the antique with the use of the old material, and the refitting of all parts after such repair as is necessary. Signor Dorigo proceeds slowly on system, employing comparatively few labourers, and scrupulously superintending all they do. I learn with regret that it is intended to restore the façade by the same process—an operation which, it is to be feared, will divest that marvellous structure, to some degree, of the time-worn grandeur and rich, venerable Orientalism which so impose and fascinate in its aspect. In the course of the works it was discovered that, conformably with local traditions, the original design of the architecture is simple, the construction of brick little overlaid with ornament, and the splendid incrustation of coloured marbles and heterogeneous sculptures but a mask of later origin, concealing the ancient walls of this ducal basilica. The "*Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*," by Francesco Zanotto, published since the restorations in question were begun, points out this confirmation of the conjectures of historians and critics as to the original character of St. Mark's cathedral.

Restorations at the church next in grandeur and in historic

importance at Venice, *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, were begun fifteen years ago, and are yet far from completion. The exterior has been isolated, so that every part of its elevation, and the pentagonal apse with its stories of lancet windows, are brought fully into view, unobstructed by modern buildings. No injury inflicted by time has been fatal to any leading features of this church, founded in 1240; and it has only been necessary to strengthen the lofty columns, especially the two which serve to support the cupola. The painted glass has been removed, and is (I understand) to be, if possible, restored, or else replaced by other glass-paintings prepared at the factory for the service of the Duomo at Milan. The chapel of the Rosary, destroyed by fire in August, 1867, and in which perished on that occasion a masterpiece of Titian and one of the most admirable Madonna pictures of Giovanni Bellini, is rebuilt and re-roofed. Two other Venetian churches, interesting examples of the later Gothic and the earlier Renaissance, are undergoing repairs. *S. Maria dell' Orto*, with a fine façade (1474) and sculptures attributed to Bartolomeo Buono (or Bon), had been used as a barrack for five years before 1862, when it was determined to repair and reconsecrate this church. I cannot approve of the extent to which colour and gilding are introduced in the new embellishments; and though on the flat wooden ceiling such decoration is suitable, its profuseness around archivolts and on the capitals of marble columns seems discordant with the gravity of style and massiveness of forms in this interior. I can more unreservedly commend the repairs at *S. Maria dei Miracoli*, the most exquisite Venetian example of the Renaissance style, rich in sculptured *ornato* and inlaid work of coloured marbles—a masterpiece of the architect Pietro Lombardo, who built this small but conspicuous church, 1481-9. The method adopted for the restoration is like that at St. Mark's: the removal and retouching of the marble pieces, for replacement after the sculptor or stonecutter has done his task, but no alteration of design or admission of novelty. The exterior of the whole building is already thus renewed. In the interior I found all the marble incrustations, friezes, &c. lying heaped up on the

pavement, the choir alone, raised above the nave, and provided with ambones projecting from its platform, being finished.

The cathedral of *S. Donato*, on the Murano island, which, according to Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*), was founded 950 and consecrated in 957, has been undergoing restorations since 1867, though such works have been at intervals suspended. The pentagonal apse, with two storeys of arcades, and much curious inlaid work, is completely renewed with the old material; so also the keel-formed wooden ceiling, which is to be painted. It has not been necessary to touch the columns of Greek marble or their Corinthian capitals, but the present altars, in bad modern style, will be restored to an olden type, and the high altar provided with a canopy like that at St. Mark's. The grand and sombre, long-neglected, but most impressive Duomo, on the island of Torcello, is to become also a scene of restoring labours.

Visiting that almost deserted island in the September of last year, I was sorry to observe signs of unchecked decay in that venerable monument of Christian architecture, the cathedral founded in the tenth century, and in the greater part rebuilt, A.D. 1008, by the bishop of this See, Orso Orseoli, son of the Doge Pietro. The highly valuable mosaic which covers the western wall above the chief doorway, and is (I believe) the earliest example, being coeval with the original church, of the Last Judgment represented in such form of art, was in part concealed by scaffolding for the requisite repairs at the time of my visit. In this composition the figure of the Eternal Father is introduced as well as the Saviour and Judge,—the Two Persons being similar in type, though the Father (on larger scale) has more of the severe and sombre in aspect than the Son. The gate of Paradise is guarded by a Seraph on the outer side, by S. Peter with his keys and S. John the Baptist within. Angels are precipitating the souls of the reprobate into hell-flames, the benignant ministers thus discharging the task assigned in later art to Demons. Below is seen the purgatorial state, with souls, in form of nude human figures, plunged in its cleansing fires. Central, on the lowest plain, is the apocalyptic throne, with a cross and jewelled book laid upon it,

Archangels guarding it, and, on one side, S. Michael with his scales for weighing good and evil deeds, on the other, a group of black scaly-winged Devils.

The adjacent church of S. Fosca, founded in the X. and restored in the XII. century, is better kept than the Duomo, though used for worship but one day in the year, while a daily Mass is celebrated at the latter. The fine pentagonal portico of S. Fosca is the part most damaged.

At Verona I found works recently commenced at the historical basilica of *S. Zenone*, which promise well, and have already swept away several tasteless adjuncts and alterations for which the capitular clergy were responsible. Entering this majestic church, we now see at once to the extremity of the spacious crypt, divided into aisles by forty-eight columns of red marble, like that at S. Miniato near Florence. The removal of whitewash has brought to light many mediæval frescoes on the walls; and among these the most remarkable is a painting, near the tribune, attributed to Altichieri, and, I should say, worthy of that master; the subject, a Crucifixion, with five Saints, one of whom presents a kneeling donator, also angels hovering around the cross. In the cathedral of Verona has lately been rescued from whitewash an important composition in fresco, on the wall of an aisle: several saints, dignified and characteristic figures, standing each apart within a framework of painted architecture, an inscription being preserved with the artist's name, Giovanni Falconetto, and the date 1503. Vasari supposes that this Veronese artist died in 1534, aged 76; Lanzi, that he was probably living in 1553.

I cannot but look with some apprehension on repairs, however judicious or desirable, in a church so rich in memories, and of architecture so worthily corresponding to the sanctities of the past, as *S. Ambrogio* at Milan. The restorations still progressing here, were begun about fifteen years ago. The high altar, under which were lately discovered three skeletons, those of St. Ambrose, St. Gervasius, and St. Protasius, is undergoing restoration; and its highly curious canopy, with archaic reliefs on the four sides, has been restored and regilt where

originally so ornamented. This canopy, resting on porphyry columns, is among the objects by which the church was enriched when almost rebuilt by Archbishop Galdinus, 1169. A crypt has been found under the mosaic-adorned chapel of St. Satyrus, which is supposed to be another and more ancient church, the basilica of Fausta, incorporated with the Ambrosian; and here are to be laid the relics of St. Satyrus and St. Victor, hitherto kept in a sculptured marble urn over the altar. Some remnants of frescoes adorning the walls and pillars of the nave have been brought to light by the removal of stucco. On the whole, I must speak favourably of all that has yet been done at S. Ambrogio. The grave dignity, the olden charm of this celebrated church, and its severely simple architecture, do not appear, hitherto, injured.

At Pavia I was glad to hear of the project for finishing the cathedral according to the designs of Cristoforo Rocchi, who commenced this building 1488: the completion to be accomplished at the cost of the citizens, who have opened a subscription. One benefactor left 50,000 francs by will. Some incipient works, too little advanced for any estimate of style, are to be seen against the lateral walls. The magnificent Certosa of Pavia fortunately requires no repair, nor any touch from modern labour for its elaborate and splendid details. Its marble and mosaic encrusted chapels, gorgeous choir, and vast Renaissance cloisters may now be visited in every part by both sexes. Cloistral restraints are removed, though eight Carthusian monks (three only in priest's orders) still remain here as guardians and ministers of this famous sanctuary. At Piacenza I saw with pleasure the restoration, and I believe strictly to its original type, of *S. Antonino*, the former cathedral, founded in the tenth, and partly (as, no doubt, in the acute arches of its interior) a building of the twelfth century. Some grotesque reliefs round the portal are, I believe, the oldest details. Of the frescoes on pilasters (mentioned by Messrs. Crowe and Cavaleaselle) I could find only one, the single figure of St. Anthony the Hermit.

Comparing the works for church-restoration carried out in

recent years by ecclesiastical government at Rome and by constitutional government in other Italian cities, one is struck by singularity of contrast. In the pontifical metropolis sacred antiquity has been overlaid and disguised under modern splendours, with questionable taste ; under the constitutional *régime* it has been scrupulously revered and preserved, so far as possible, in the processes of renovation ! The Italian Government is accused, and not without cause, of systematic antagonism against the claims and privileges of the hierarchic body, and against all ecclesiastical institutions. The spirit and intention with which such sacred monuments as I have above alluded to are now cared for, with lavish expense, announce the strength and reality of an opposite feeling, the Catholic and traditional, in the Italian mind ; and perhaps may be construed as a guarantee for the maintenance of the old religion, however modified or newly influenced, in this classic land—the centre of so many supremacies. (*Communicated to the “ Academy.”*)

The Ducal Palace, Venice.

Further study with reference to this historical Palace has led me to modify the opinion expressed above (pp. 346-7), and to conclude that, though the terms used by some writers seem to imply the fact of a total re-edification begun in the second year of Francesco Foscari (1424), some parts at least of an architecture older than the XV. century are still seen in the imposing pile before us. Two of the acute-arched windows with tracery, on the front towards the “ Riva,” are at lower level than others in the same storey ; and the more antique character is apparent in the small acute-arched windows of the highest storey overlooking the inner court. The new buildings, we are told, were finished up to the imposts of the arches opposite the “ Scala dei Giganti” in 1457, the last year of the Doge Foscari. In 1499 the directing architect, Rizzo, was succeeded by Pietro Lombardo.

No statement by trustworthy writers obliges us to conclude that the time-honoured residence of the earlier Doges was demolished without sparing a single detail. The opinions of critics are divided, as I have observed, respecting the period

of the very remarkable sculptures on the capitals of the lower arcades; and perhaps it may be inferred that, if executed in the XV. century, the intention and ideas manifest in those works pertain to the preceding.

The Jubilee Year and Confraternities in Rome.

The more frequent recurrence of the Jubilee—determined by bull of Paul II., afterwards by Sixtus IV., for every twenty-fifth instead of every fiftieth, or (according to the original decree) every first year in each century—supplied fresh stimulus throughout the range of ecclesiastical undertakings. During the years which immediately preceded the great twelve months' festival there was a continual movement towards the restoring, embellishing, or founding of churches. In this way, probably, much was lost that deserved to be retained; but no doubt much was accomplished with energy. So also did the founding of national hospices, attached to churches, for French, Spanish, Portuguese, Slavonians, Genoese, Bretons, contribute to the motives for exertion and to interests of art in Rome during this century. And the continual growth of pious confraternities, each dedicated to some special office of devotion or charity, each provided with its proper oratory, was at the same time an operative cause for securing similar effects. Now arose, with the form of pious sodalities, the guilds of traders and artizans; that of gardeners and fishermen, who built the richly ornate church of *S. Maria dell' Orto* (1489) in Trastevere; that of innkeepers, ferrymen, and boatmen of the Tiber, who built *S. Rocco*, with a hospital, (1499,) modernized in 1657; that of druggists, who founded a hospital (1430) beside *S. Lorenzo in Miranda*, rebuilt in 1602, amidst the ruins of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina; that of bakers, who formed themselves into a guild in 1500, and commenced in 1507 their church, *S. Maria di Loreto*, finished 1580, from the designs of Antonio Sangallo. The sculptors and stonecutters chose for their worship the ancient chapel of S. Sylvester, contiguous to the SS. *Quattro Incoronati*. The painters, though earlier constituted as a privileged association, did not obtain a church for their

aggregate worship—*SS. Luca e Martina*, on the Forum—till 1588.

If the fifteenth century has its darker aspect in the annals of Rome and of the Papacy; if (especially within its later years) some individuals, raised to the chair of S. Peter, proved little worthy of that high post; and if ecclesiastical policy, under such auspices, manifested increasing tendencies to worldliness,—granting that all those evils existed, we perceive, nevertheless, a brighter side of the picture, radiant and attractive in the lustre thrown on the records of these times from the progress of intellect and inspirations of piety.

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